



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Yours truly, J. M. 2.21

THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1796.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE,
in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Commonwealth, and the Usurpation
of CROMWELL.

L O N D O N,

Printed for G. G. and J. ROBINSON Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCXCVI.



P R E F A C E.

AS no alteration has taken place in the conduct of the New Annual Register ; and as the little cavils which have been raised against it by interested persons, have been completely silenced by time and experience, which have sanctioned our opinions, there is little to be said in presenting to our readers a new volume.

Our Domestic History will be found to be chiefly occupied, this year, by the very interesting debates of parliament on the celebrated bills which produced so material an alteration in our system of law concerning treason and sedition,—on the conduct of the war,—and on the finances of the nation. In this department of the work, we have pursued our usual mode, that of bringing together all the debates on every particular topic, in order to present to the reader the most complete and satisfactory view of the arguments on every subject.

The slightest inspection of our Foreign History will convince our readers that it is not compiled from newspapers, or from any common sources of intelligence. It will, therefore, in many respects, be found to differ from the accounts now generally received. We can, however,

1000 / 200

CONTENTS.

THE History of Knowledge, Learning, and Taste, in Great Britain, during the Commonwealth and the Usurpation of Cromwell, page xlii

BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

Great Britain. Short Retrospect of political Transactions from the Commencement of the War. Humiliating Proposals of the French Republic to appease the Resentment of the British Cabinet. Offer on the Part of the Republic to relinquish her Colonies to Great Britain, as the Price of Neutrality. State of Affairs at the Conclusion of 1795. Meetings of the Corresponding Society. Outrages offered to the King in his Way to and from the House of Lords. Examination of Witnesses at the Bar of the House. Proclamation for apprehending the Offenders. Proclamation against Seditious Meetings. Lord Grenville's Motion in the Lords for a Bill for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government. Debate on that Motion. Bill read a second Time. Mr. Pitt's Motion in the House of Commons for a Bill to prevent Seditious Meetings and Assemblies. Warm Debate on that Bill. Mr. Fox's Motion for a Call of the House. Mr. Dundas's Declaration that the two Bills had been in Contemplation before the Outrage against the King. Debates in the Lords on the Commitment of Lord Grenville's Bill. Amendments proposed by the Duke of Leeds and Earl of Lauderdale. Lord Grenville's Bill passed in the House of Lords. Public Meetings in Opposition to the two Bills. Lord Grenville's Bill read a first Time in the House of Commons. Mr. Sheridan's Motion for an Inquiry concerning Seditious Meetings. Further Debates in the Commons on Lord Grenville's Bill. Debates on Mr. Pitt's Bill—in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords. Reflections on these Bills. Never yet acted upon by Ministry, 3

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. II.

Abstract of his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of the Session. Debates on the Address—In the Commons—In the Lords. Committee on the high Price of Corn. Bill renewed for allowing a free Importation. Motions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the Corn Laws, &c. Debate on these Motions. Report of the Committee on the high Price of Grain. Bounty on Importation of Corn moved for by Mr. Pitt. Bill enabling Overseers to extend Relief to the Poor at their own Houses. Mr. Whitbread's Motion for raising the Wages of Labourers. Negatived by the Interference and Influence of Mr. Pitt. Engagement entered into by several Members of both Houses to reduce the Consumption of Wheat Flour in their Families. Motion of Sir John Sinclair for the Cultivation of waste Lands, 54

CHAP. III.

Committee of Supply. Seamen and Marines voted. General M'Leod's Motion respecting the Military Force of the Country. Army Estimates. Debate on that Subject. General Smith's Motion for recommitting the Report of the Army Estimates. Discussion on the West-India Expedition and the Barrack System. General Smith's Motion relative to Barracks. Negatived, 72

CHAP. IV.

The Budget. Estimates. Taxes. Debate concerning the Loan. Further Debates on this Subject. Motion for a Committee of Inquiry concerning it. Close Committee appointed. Report of the Committee. Debate on the Report. Motion respecting the fictitious Hamburg Bills drawn by the Treasury. Debates on the Vote of Credit Bill—In the Commons—In the Lords. Opposition to the Tax on Tobacco—To the Horse Duty. Tax on Callicoes given up. Debates on Collateral Succession Tax. Tax on Landlord Succession abandoned by the Minister, 82

CHAP. V.

Message from the King relative to Peace. Debates on that Subject—In the House of Commons—In the House of Lords. Mr. Grey's Motion for Peace—Rejected. Maroon War. General M'Leod's Motion on that Subject. Mr. Sheridan's Motion for Papers relative to the West India Expedition. Successive Debates on this Subject. Motion relative to M. Sombreuil, and the Quiberon Expedition, 105

CHAP. VI.

Discussion in the House of Lords on the general Conduct of Administration. Mr. Grey's Motion in the Commons for the Impeachment of Ministers. Debate on the Sardinian Subsidy. Lord Guildford's Motion on the Conduct of Ministers. Mr. Fox's Motion on the same Subject, 130

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VII.

Finances. Mr. Grey's Motion on that Subject. Mr. Pitt's second Budget. Debates on the new Tax Bills. Discussion on the Finances in the House of Peers. By Lord Moira, Grenville, &c. The Earl of Lauderdale's Speech and Motion on the same Subject. Discussion on the Game Laws. The Slave Trade. Bill for rendering permanent the Westminster Police Establishment. Bill introduced for the Relief of the Quakers. Curates' Act. Bill for Relief of insolvent Debtors thrown out. Colonel Carwathorne expelled the House. Dissolution of the Parliament. Its Character, 153

CHAP. VIII.

France.—Preparations for the Campaign of 1796. Revolt of the Chiefs of the Vendée. Proclamation of Stofflet. Death of the rebel Chiefs, and final Submission of the insurgent Departments. Opening of the Campaign in Italy. Command of the Army given to Buonaparte. Attack of the Combined Armies. Victory of the French at the Battle of Monte Notte. Battle of Millesimo. Brave Defence of the Piedmontese General Rovera. Defeat of the Austrians with the Loss of ten thousand Men. Surprise and Repulse of the French at Dego by Marshal Beaulieu. Ceva taken by the French. Retreat of Count Colli across the Stura towards Turin. Defeat of the Piedmontese Army at Cherasco. Suspension of Arms demanded by the King of Sardinia. Peace concluded between the French Republic and his Sardinian Majesty at Paris. Conditions of the Treaty. Reflections on the Treaty. Observations on the Mode of Conducting the War. Evacuation of Piedmont by Marshal Beaulieu. Possession of the Piedmontese Fortresses by the French. Preparations made by Beaulieu to prevent the Passage of the Po at Valenza. Passage of the Po by the French at Placentia. Defeat of the Austrians at Fombio. Repulse of the Austrians at Codogno. Death of General Laharpe. Armistice solicited by the Dukes of Parma and Modena. Defeat of the Austrians at the Bridge of Lodi. Conquest of Lombardy. Causes of the Discontents between the French Republic and the United States of America. General Washington's intercepted Letter to Mr. Morris. Representations made to the French Directory to prevent an immediate Rupture. Rise and Progress of the Discontents in Holland. Negotiations of the discontented Party with the French Government. Assembly of the Dutch Convention. State of Parties. Declaration of War against England. Proposals made at Basle by the English Ambassador for opening a Negotiation with France. Remonstrances of the French Directory with the Canton of Basle. Envoy Extraordinary, sent from Basle to Paris. Appointment of a Minister of the Police. Troubles in the South of France. Insurrection in the Department of the Nièvre. Proclamation of the Directory. Jacobin Societies suppressed. Severe Laws enacted against them. Revolt of the Legion of the Police. Conspiracy of Babeuf. Troubles occasioned by the refractory Clergy. Laws respecting the Division of the Estates of Emigrants, 182

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. IX.

Opening of the Campaign on the Rhine. Object of the Campaign. Battle on the Sieg. Victories of the French at Altenkirchen. Passage of the Lahn. Attack of the French by Prince Charles. Retreat of the French to their former Positions. Passage of the Rhine by the Army under Moreau. Kehl taken. Austrian Army in Italy take Refuge in Mantua. French take Possession of Leghorn. Entrance of the French Army on the Territories of the Pope. Surrender of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino. Armistice concluded with Naples and the Pope. Conditions of the Armistice. Petition of the French Artists against the Removal to Paris of the Monuments of the Arts from Italy. Refusal of the Directory. Operations of the French Army in the Brisgaw. Return of Prince Charles from the Lower Rhine to the Assistance of General Wurmser. Battle of Reuchen. Battle of Radstadt. General Jourdan advances to Frankfort. Battle of Ettingen. Retreat of the Imperial Army into Germany. Passage of the Rhine at Huningue. French in Possession of the Course of the Rhine. Trial of the Murderers of September 1792. Acquittal of the Insurgents in the Affair of Vendemiaire. Causes and Consequences of that Insurrection. Affairs of Finance. Extinction of the Assignats and Rescriptions. Creation of Mandats. Loans enforcing their Circulation. Great Depreciation of this Paper. Forced Loans. State of the Public Revenue. Various Modes of granting the Supplies. Suppression of religious Houses in the Low Countries. Expulsion of the Pope's Envoys from Paris. Dismissal of the Sardinian Ambassador. Dismissal of the Plenipotentiary from the Duke of Tuscany. Expulsion of the Swedish Envoy,

207

C H A P. X.

Arrival of General Wurmser in Italy. Repulse of the French. Siege of Mantua raised. The Pope takes Possession of Ferrara. Defeat of the Austrian Army on the Mincio. Defection of the Polish Soldiers from the Imperial Army. Conduct of the Milanese during the Contest. The French Army under Moreau in Possession of the whole Circle of Suabia. The Army under Jourdan in Possession of the Circle of Franconia. Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Princes of Wirtemberg and Baden. Alliance offensive and defensive formed between the French Republic and Spain. New Treaties between the French Republic and Prussia. Secret Articles of those Treaties. Seizure of Nuremberg by the King of Prussia. Further Projects of that Prince defeated by the Retreat of Jourdan's Army. Causes of that Retreat. Moreau advances into Bavaria. Attack on Jourdan's Army. Rapid Retreat of this Army to the Banks of the Lower Rhine. Critical Situation of General Moreau. Advances to Munich, levies Contributions on the Elector of Bavaria, and concludes an Armistice with him. Project of Moreau to recall the Archduke from the Pursuit of Jourdan. Failure of that Project. Retreat of Moreau from Bavaria. Victory gained by him over the Austrian Army. Surrounded by imminent Dangers. Cuts his Way through the Passes of the Black Forest. Reposses the Rhine at
Brisac

C O N T E N T S.

Brisac and Huningue. Reflections on the Benefits resulting to the French from the Invasion of Germany. Conjectural Benefits resulting to the Austrians. Evacuation of Nuremberg by the King of Prussia. Reflections on the Conduct of this Monarch. Defeat of the Austrians before Roveredo, and March of the French Army to Trent. Defeat of Wurmser at Bassano. Wurmser takes Refuge in Mantua, — — — 219

C H A P. XI.

Troubles in the South of France. Babenf and his Accomplices ordered to be tried by the high National Court. Drouet escapes from Prison. Attack of the Jacobins on the Camp of Grenelle. Trial of the Insurgents by a Military Commission. Causes of the Disorders in various Departments of the Republic. General Amnesty proposed. Discussion on the Law of 3d Brumaire. Amendment of that Law. State of Geneva. State of the Church and the Clergy in France. State of the Church in Holland. State of Literature in France. Report of the Directory respecting the Islands of the Mauritius. State of St. Domingo. History of the Revolt in Grenada. Reduction of St. Lucia, of St. Vincents. The Maroon war in Jamaica, 230

C H A P. XII.

Laws prohibiting the Introduction of English Manufactures into Holland, France, and Spain. Adhesion of the Genoese to the French. Evacuation of Corsica. Peace concluded with Naples and Parma. Negotiations with the Pope. Formation of the Cispadane Republic. Attack of the French on Newfoundland. Capture of the Dutch Fleet at the Cape of Good Hope. Defeat of the Imperialists at Newwied. Battle of Arcole. Defeat of General Alvinzi. State of Finances. Regulations respecting the List of Emigrants. Refusal of the Directory to admit the American Ambassador. Recall of the French Ambassador from the United States. Negotiation of the English Government with the Directory for Peace. Failure of the Negotiation. Affairs of Holland. Failure of the projected Descent of the French on Ireland. The Pope forms an Alliance with the Emperor of Germany, and makes warlike Preparations. Formation of the confederated Cities South of the Po into one Republic. Constitution of Geneva. Siege of Kehl. Gallantry of the French General Desaix. Surrender of Kehl. Reflections on the Campaign. General State of Europe. Death of the Empress of Russia. Concluding Observations, — — — 260

P R I N C I P A L O C C U R R E N C E S, (3)

P U B L I C P A P E R S.

respecting a Negotiation with the French Republic, moved in the Commons, by M. Grey, Feb 15, 1796, — — — (82)
concerning the Public Expenditure, moved in the House of Commons, of May, 1796, by Mr. Grey, — — — (ibid.)
concerning the Public Expenditure, moved in the House of Lords. on May, 1796, by the Marquis of Lansdown, — — — (84)
a 3 Rejo-

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Resolutions moved in the House of Commons, on the 10th of May, 1796, by Mr. Fox, for an Address to his Majesty, on the Conduct of Administration, in the Commencement and Progress of the War,</i>	(85)
<i>His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, May 19, 1796,</i>	(89)
<i>His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, October 6, 1796,</i>	(90)
<i>Address of the House of Commons to the King, moved by Lord Morpeth,</i>	(92)
<i>Address of the House of Lords, moved by Earl Bathurst,</i>	(93)
<i>Amendment to the above Address, moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, and negatived without a Division,</i>	(95)
<i>Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam against the Address of the House of Lords to the Throne, on his Majesty's Speech, announcing the opening of a Negotiation for Peace with the French Republic,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Proceedings in the House of Commons, Dec. 14, 1796, respecting a Vote of Censure on Administration, for issuing certain Sums of Money without the Consent of Parliament,</i>	(99)
<i>His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Dec. 17, 1796,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Proceedings in the House of Commons, Dec. 29, 1796, on the Subject of the preceding Message,</i>	(100)
<i>His Majesty's Message to the House of Peers, presented Dec. 26, 1796,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Proceedings of the House of Peers on his Majesty's Message,</i>	(101)
<i>Proceedings in the House of Commons, Dec. 30, 1796, on a similar Message delivered on the same Day with the preceding,</i>	(103)
<i>Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 21, 1796,</i>	(104)
<i>Speech of the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, on presenting the Bills of Supply to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for the Royal Assent,</i>	(106)
<i>Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, April 15, 1796,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Oct. 13, 1796,</i>	(108)
<i>Manifesto against Great Britain, by the National Assembly representing the Batavian Nation, May 2, 1796,</i>	(110)
<i>Manifesto of the Court of Spain against Great Britain, Oct. 5, 1796,</i>	(115)
<i>Answer of the British Government to the Spanish Declaration of War,</i>	(117)
<i>Note transmitted to M. Barthelemy, Ambassador from the French Republic to the Helvetic Body, by Mr. Wickham, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, March 8, 1796,</i>	(123)
<i>Note transmitted to Mr. Wickham by M. Barthelemy, March 26, 1796,</i>	(124)
<i>Note, published by the Court of London, as a Comment on the above Correspondence,</i>	(125)
<i>Official Correspondence, published by the British Government, relative to the Negotiation for Peace between the French Republic and Great Britain,</i>	(126)
<i>Manifesto of the British Government against France,</i>	(149)
<i>Declaration of the Whig Club, met to associate for the Repeal of the Treason and Sedition Bills,</i>	(153)
<i>Address of the City of London to his Majesty on the safe Delivery of the Princess of Wales, and the Birth of a Princess,</i>	(158)
<i>Address of the City of London to her Majesty on the same Occasion,</i>	(159)
	Copy

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Copy of a Circular Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Lieutenants of Counties on the Sea Coast, dated Whitehall, November 5, 1796,</i>	(159)
<i>A Proclamation of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland against illegal and treasonable Associations,</i>	(160)
<i>A Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, declaring certain Parts of the County of Down in a State of Disturbance,</i>	(161)
<i>Treaty of Peace, concluded between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia, May 15, 1796,</i>	(162)
<i>Treaty of Peace concluded between the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies, Oct. 10, 1796,</i>	(165)
<i>Treaty of Alliance offensive and defensive between the French Republic and the King of Spain, Aug. 19, 1796,</i>	(167)
<i>Treaty between the King of Prussia and the French Republic, respecting the Neutrality of the North of Germany, Aug. 5, 1796,</i>	(170)
<i>Answer of the President of the United States of America, to the Resolution passed by the House of Representatives, on the 24th of March 1796, which had for its Object to procure a Copy of the Instructions granted to Mr. Jay relative to the Treaty with Great Britain,</i>	(171)
<i>Resolutions passed by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 7th of April, 1796,</i>	(173)
<i>Address of George Washington, President, to the Citizens of the United States, on his intended Resignation,</i>	(174)
<i>Note presented to the American Secretary of State, by Citizen Adet, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, Oct. 17, 1796,</i>	(186)
<i>Extract from the Register of Resolutions of the Executive Directory of the 14th Messidor, 5th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible,</i>	(188)
<i>Answer of the Executive Government of America to Citizen Adet's Note, including the Decree of the Directory respecting Neutral Vessels,</i>	(189)
<i>A Proclamation by George Washington, President of the United States of America,</i>	(191)
<i>Speech of George Washington, President of the United States of America, to both Houses of Congress, December 7, 1796,</i>	(193)
<i>Address of the Senate, presented by their President, John Adams, to the President of the United States, in Answer to the above Speech, December 12, 1796,</i>	(197)
<i>The President's Reply,</i>	(199)

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

<i>Character of Cosmo de' Medici,</i>	[3]
<i>Review of the Character of Lorenzo de' Medici,</i>	[5]
<i>Memoirs of the Abate Metastasio,</i>	[8]
<i>Life and Character of Anthony Raphael Mengs,</i>	[21]
<i>the Marquis Azo the Second,</i>	[32]
<i>of the earlier Years of Mr. Gibbon,</i>	[39]

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

<i>the Inhabitants of Paramaribo,</i>	[59]
<i>of the Persians, &c. of the Northern Indians,</i>	[63]
<i>count of the Nimiquas,</i>	[73]
<i>the Hoxzonas,</i>	[80]

C O N T E N T S.

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

<i>Critical Remarks on the Historical Characters of Shakspeare,</i>	[85]
<i>Peculiar Excellencies in Handel's Music,</i>	[91]
<i>Qualities necessary for Students in Painting,</i>	[94]

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

<i>Interesting Remarks by Dr. Herschel,</i>	[100]
<i>Gold in Ireland,</i>	[101]
	[105]
	[107]
<i>Of the Cultivation of the Olive Tree,</i>	[109]

A N T I Q U I T I E S.

<i>Conjecture on</i>	<i>it terraced Works,</i>	[114]
<i>Expence of the</i>	<i>in England, at different Periods,</i>	[117]
<i>Short Account</i>	<i>near London,</i>	[122]
<i>Sketch of the</i>	<i>early Times,</i>	[128]

M I S C E L L A N E O U S P A P E R S.

<i>Concluding Essay on the Science of Orcharding,</i>	[131]
<i>Account of the Drainage of a Marsh near Marazion,</i>	[138]
<i>Method of preparing Opium from Poppies grown in England,</i>	[144]
<i>On the Means of making Bread from Rice alone,</i>	[146]

P O E T R Y.

	[148]
	on Imitative Art and
	istry which abounds in
	[149]
	who frequent it, [152]
	[154]
	Demon Memory, [156]
	to its Proprietor,
	[158]
	[60]
	the mistaken and
	drawn by _____ in his Ode on a
	[162]
	Attachment with respect to Home," [164]
	[167]
	idicule, _____ [168]
	[169]
	[170]
	[172]
<i>Elegy occasioned by the Loss of the Author's Daughter,</i>	[172]
DOMESTIC LITERATURE of the Year 1796,	[174]
FOREIGN LITERATURE of the Year 1796,	[271]

THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING,
AND TASTE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Commonwealth and the Usurpation of CROMWELL.

IT has frequently been remarked, that, in periods of public commotion and of civil anarchy, the noblest energies of the human mind are often called forth to action; and if we have to witness much calamity, vice, and horror, the prospect is somewhat cheered by examples of virtue uncontaminated by interest, and of genius unfettered by timidity. Yet the short space of time which elapsed from the deposition of the first Charles to the accession of his son, presents us with not many names of eminence in literature, which were unnoticed in the preceding period. There was certainly a large mass of learning deposited at this time in various hands; but that learning was obscured by pedantry; and the science, as well as the morals of the age, was perverted by fanaticism. It was an age of projects, but those projects partook of all the wildness of anarchy; and history and politics were debased, as they too commonly are, by a devotion to party.

The

The rapid transition of the human mind from torpid ignorance to restless speculation, from stupidity to error, was, perhaps, never more strongly instanced than in those ages which immediately succeeded the reformation. A blind devotion to the papal decrees, an aversion to inquiry, an indifference to knowledge and to taste, characterized successive ages and generations, of which scarcely a monument remains, except upon the tables of chronology. An accidental discovery, the invention of printing, seems to have awakened the European world from its mental lethargy; and no sooner was religious liberty restored, and the scriptures rescued from the strong and sterile grasp of the papal hierarchy, than a scene of confusion ensued, — every man heard them in his own tongue; or, more properly, he forced them to speak a language congenial to the caprices of his own imagination.

The ardour for theological speculation was somewhat repressed, as we have already seen, by the arbitrary interference of government during the reigns of Elizabeth and her immediate successor. But these impediments were no sooner removed by the downfall of Charles, and the severe, though not wholly unmerited, punishment of Laud, than the utmost latitude was given to the excursions of the imagination; and there was scarcely a doctrine or text of scripture which could be perverted, that did not serve as the foundation on which some class of enthusiasts erected a new form of religion. The disciples of Calvin were divided into various parties; many of them embraced with avidity the tenets of the anabaptists, and a still larger party of the old puritans discovered that even the presbyterian church was not sufficiently democratical; that the church of Corinth had a complete independent jurisdiction within itself; and they determined, in consequence, that every particular and distinct congregation of christians must have a full power to regulate all its own concerns without the aid of either bishops or synods, and independent of all connexion with other churches. This party, from their particular
tenets,

tenets, were termed Independents; and with this party it was, that the artful and ambitious Cromwell thought proper to connect himself. Where there exists no regular principle of association, where there is no connected government or subordination in any society, that society, whether civil or religious, will more readily be reduced under the yoke of slavery. The presbyterian party under Cromwell, therefore, lost all its weight and importance in the state; some of its members were subjected to the severity of persecution; the independents, of all the greater sects, were alone admitted to the favour of the protector, while some of the weaker and least numerous of the other sects enjoyed perfect toleration, if not protection, from the court.

It is difficult to stop the progress of innovation, and it is most difficult in religious speculation. The independents themselves divided, after some time, into a number of subordinate sects; and some of them, by interpreting the obscure parts of scripture in a literal sense, embraced and propagated the wildest doctrines, and the most absurd delusions. The Ranters received their name from the violence of their extemporaneous harangues, and from their ridiculous and unnatural gesticulation. The Antinomians, not content with rejecting entirely the Jewish dispensation, and cancelling even the moral precepts of the law, extended the doctrine of justification by the death of Christ to an unwarrantable extreme, and asserted that justification precedes the birth of the individual, and that it is impossible that by any part of his conduct he can become obnoxious to future punishment. The Fifth-monarchy-men, exulting in the overthrow of temporal sovereignty, applied the prophecies which relate to the advent of Christ in their literal sense; they asserted that this was the season indicated by the prophets, in which Christ was to reign with his elect upon earth; some of them even assumed the prophetic character, proclaimed themselves the precursors of the Lord, and pronounced positively the speedy downfall of all other principalities and powers.

Among

Among the numerous pretenders to the gift of prophecy, few were more successful than the celebrated Lodowick Muggleton, who, from the humble station of a journeyman taylor, was suddenly exalted into the founder of a sect. His associate was a person of the name of Reeves, who was perfectly on a level with him both as to station and erudition. They exhibited themselves as the two last witnesses of God; they assumed an absolute power of dispensing damnation or salvation to mankind; and preached that the end of the world was at hand. From the nature of their tenets, however, their popularity was but of short duration. The disappointment of a prediction is generally fatal to the reputation of the prophet:—their credit, therefore, survived them but a few years; and we believe the sect is now nearly, if not utterly, extinct.

Most of these visionaries had their advocates. But few of the productions which contain their literary history, have descended to posterity; and these are only deposited in the libraries of ecclesiastical antiquarians. They indeed trusted more in general for the propagation of their doctrines to the force of their extempore eloquence, than to the excellence of their compositions. Enthusiasm is an active principle, and but seldom submits to the patient drudgery of literary labour.

While a strict regard to truth obliges us to ascribe the origin of the quaker profession to a spirit of enthusiasm in its first preachers, yet we must acknowledge that religious enthusiasm has never appeared in a more amiable form, nor was ever blended with purer and more refined principles of morality. George Fox, the famous founder of this respectable sect, was born at Drayton in Leicestershire, and exercised the humble occupation of a shoe-maker for a considerable time in the town of Nottingham. He is represented to have been of a pensive and retired temper; and as sober manners in that class of life are commonly connected with a devotional spirit, his leisure hours were spent in the assiduous

assiduous study of the scriptures. He at length publicly proclaimed himself to be an inspired preacher; and the simplicity of his manners, the purity of his life, the general utility and excellence of his precepts, and his adroitness in defending his tenets upon the principles of scripture, soon attracted a number of disciples. He declaimed with vehemence and with energy against the vices of the age.—He condemned war, and proved it incontestably to be altogether inconsistent with the christian profession. Oaths, upon every occasion, he regarded as a species of blasphemy.—He strenuously recommended simplicity in dress, and frugality in all domestic arrangements. The persecutions which this good man, this truly apostolical preacher, endured in his endeavours to reform a corrupt yet bigoted age, are a stigma on the times in which he lived, and a disgrace to professing christians. The usurper Cromwell himself felt the force of his rebukes; and his military despotism tottered before the preacher of peace*. His soldiers themselves were unable to resist that reasoning which proved from the gospel the unlawfulness of their profession; and the satellites of tyranny became the apostles of peace, and the martyrs of religion. Not only many of the converts of Fox, therefore, were severely punished, but he himself was subjected to a rigorous imprisonment by the orders of the government; and the rest of the quaker preachers were enjoined silence under severe penalties:—but what human authority can silence or counteract the force of truth?

Among the military converts of Fox, one of the most extraordinary was James Naylor, who had been bred a

* The following story is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some quakers at Haslington in Northumberland coming to the minister on the sabbath-day, and speaking to him, the people fell upon the quakers, and almost killed one or two of them, who going out fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who knew not what they did; and afterwards speaking to the people, so convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a-quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the quakers.

farmer,

farmer, but who, during the civil wars, had enlisted as a soldier in the parliamentary army. Naylor soon became a preacher among the new sect; and his zeal was not unaccompanied by talents. But the modesty and simplicity which characterized the quakers in general, were, in the violence of enthusiasm, or in the career of vanity, forgotten by Naylor. Not content with assuming the prophetic character, it is said he arrogated to himself titles which approached to blasphemy, and disgraced religion by the extravagancies which he committed. His followers participated in his zeal and his insanity; and (if we may credit contemporary writers), as he passed through Bristol in his way to London from the west, the multitude who accompanied him, proclaimed him as the promised Messiah; and, in imitation of our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem, sung, as they marched before him, the sacred hymn — "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth — Hosannah in the highest, &c." So gross a mockery of religion was not to be endured by fanaticism itself. The pretended prophet was apprehended by the magistrates, and sent to London to be examined by the parliament. The parliament, in this instance, departed from their functions as legislators, and assumed the complex character of judges, jury, and accusers. The sentence was as severe as it was probably unjust; and the irregularity of the proceedings leads us to suspect the truth of the evidence on which he was said to be convicted. Either his sufferings restored him to his right senses, or (what we are disposed to believe) his errors had been grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. In his confinement he composed several tracts in a strain of piety, bordering indeed on enthusiasm, but in a spirit of humility little consistent with the charges of blasphemy alleged against him. The writings of the quakers in general were, however, at this period but little noticed without the narrow boundaries of their own sect. In the succeeding reign the tenets of the society were acutely defended by the learning and talents of a Barclay; and their constitution was organized and digested by the judgment of a Penn.

The

The Socinian doctrines, which had been published in Poland in the latter end of the preceding century, had at this period made but little progress in Great Britain; yet the doctrine of the Trinity was vigorously impugned by John Biddle, a student of Magdalen hall, Oxford, and master of the free school of Crypt, in the city of Gloucester, who suffered a long and rigorous imprisonment from the Calvinistic party in the long parliament, and was at length tried for his life on the infamous ordinance of blasphemy, which was passed by that body, and was rescued from the fatal effects of this prosecution only by the interference of Cromwell. It does not appear that Biddle was conversant with the writings of the Polish brethren; and his objections to the received doctrine of the Trinity were chiefly confined to the divinity of the Holy Ghost. He was committed to prison along with other dissenters after the restoration, where he soon contracted a disease, of which he died.

The more powerful and numerous sects, those which at different periods of this fluctuating government enjoyed the favour and protection of the legislature and the court, it may well be imagined, included among their partizans several men of great and eminent talents. Among the presbyterians there are none whose names have descended to posterity with a reputation equal to that of Matthew Poole, and Edmund Calamy. Mr. Poole was, however, only known, at the period of which we are now treating, as the author of some useful tracts, and as a man of considerable erudition. His great work, the *Synopsis Criticorum Bibliorum*, was not undertaken till the succeeding reign, after his ejection from the church of St. Michael-le-Quern, of which he was rector upwards of twelve years. Edmund Calamy was, as well as Matthew Poole, educated at Cambridge; and, in the year 1739, was chosen by the parishioners, minister of St. Mary, Aldermanbury. Very early in life he evinced strongly his antipathy to the Arminian party; and this circumstance, it is alleged, prevented his obtaining a fellowship in the university,

sity, though his literary acquirements and his standing both entitled him to it, and though his character was unblemished. Mr. Calamy commenced his ecclesiastical career as a conformist to the church of England, and is said rather to have objected to the forms under which episcopacy was established in this country, than to episcopacy itself. Though he occasionally preached before the house of commons during the interregnum, yet he took no part in the violent proceedings of the republican party, and opposed the beheading of the king with constancy and courage. During the usurpation of Cromwell he was passive; yet when called upon to declare his sentiments, he was far from approving that proceeding. There is indeed a remarkable story of our author related by Harry Neville, one of the council of state, which is deserving the notice of all posterity, since it conveys to the reflecting reader the real secret of every tyrannical government, and the means by which the liberties of mankind are wrested from them. When Cromwell first aspired to the supreme dignity, desirous of the support of the presbyterian clergy, he sent for some of the most eminent of the city divines, informing them that, as a matter of conscience, he would submit his arguments and his scruples to their determination. Among those who attended, was Mr. Calamy; and he opposed the project of Cromwell's single government with equal boldness and force, and endeavoured to prove it not only unlawful but impracticable, asserting that it was evidently against the sense of the nation, and that *nine* out of *ten* would openly oppose it. "Well," replied Cromwell, "if that is all, suppose I should disarm the nine, and put the sword into the tenth man's hand, will not that, think you, effect the business?"

Mr. Calamy was one of the non-conformist divines who were principally concerned in writing the famous book known by the name of *Smeſtymnus*, which, in the year 1641, gave, as he himself expresses it, "the first mortal blow to episcopacy." It is entitled, "An Answer to a Book entitled, *An humble Remonstrance*; in which

which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed, &c. written by Smectymnuus," a word composed of the initial letters of its authors' names, viz. Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, all of them men of note and reputation among the non-conformists. Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, who was mentioned in one of our preceding volumes, was the author of the Humble Remonstrance; and a controversy of some length was carried on between him and the Smectymneans. But the worthy and pious prelate was scarcely equal to a contest with such acute and able antagonists, whatever advantage he might have in point of evidence and fact. Though Mr. Calamy was at first rewarded for his loyalty by being appointed chaplain in ordinary to Charles the Second, he soon experienced the ingratitude which was so peculiarly the characteristic of that execrable prince, and was ejected from his living, and even committed to prison, on some trifling accusation. The learned and pious Baxter was also at this period in some repute among the presbyterians; but as his literary labours were chiefly confined to the succeeding period, we must reserve his character for our next volume.

It is not easy to decide in what class to include the justly celebrated bishop Wilkins; so unsettled were his principles, and so varied his ambition. He was regularly educated and ordained to the church of England; yet, on the breaking out of the civil war, he united with the anti-episcopal party, and soon after married the sister of the protector Cromwell. Upon the restoration he again became reconciled to the church, renewed his oath of allegiance; and though he at first was deprived of some of his preferments, the loss was, not long after, compensated by his being appointed preacher to the honourable Society of Gray's Inn, rector of St. Lawrence Jury, dean of Rippon, and at length bishop of Chester. In justice to the memory of the bishop, it must be added, that he did not (like some other converts) consider it his duty to persecute

1796. b

secute the party he had deserted. He continued the firm friend of the dissenters through the whole of his life, manfully resisted every effort for their persecution, and laboured to include them in a scheme of comprehension. He was indeed, strictly speaking, what is termed a low churchman; and the differences between the low church and the presbytery might, perhaps, be adjusted without much difficulty, were it not for the anti-christian intolerance of the bigots on both sides.

Bishop Wilkins is better known as a philosopher than a divine; yet his work on the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion would entitle him to a considerable rank among theologians, had he written nothing else. His sermons are less remarkable for beauty of composition, than for logical precision and acuteness of argument. His Ecclesiastes, or Discourse on the Art of Preaching, was well calculated to reform the vitiated taste which prevailed in the pulpit in his time, and to prepare for the rational exercise of their functions the candidates for the ministry. His Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language is pronounced by a great modern writer to be one of the most extraordinary combinations of human learning and human ingenuity that ever was produced; and his philosophical works in general shew at once the correctness of the mathematician, and the energy of the man of genius.

Dr. Henry More and Dr. Benjamin Whichcot were also among those moderate men who considered themselves as not prohibited from the useful exercise of their functions by a change in the government of the church. The former of these divines is still to be regarded as one of the most eminent champions of the free agency of man. He was born of a family who were rigid Calvinists; yet he informs us, in the preface to his philosophical works, "that he could never, in his earliest youth, be prevailed on to swallow that hard doctrine concerning fate, or Calvinistic predestination," even though he was threatened

threatened with the discipline of the rod for presuming to philosophize in such matters; and before he finished the usual course of study at Eton school, he had finally discarded it, "being firmly persuaded, young as he was, that such tenets were utterly inconsistent with the justice and goodness of God." Towards the conclusion of his life, Dr. More mingled with his religious and moral speculation, some of the visionary tenets of the latter Platonists. But if he erred, it was on the side of virtue, in presuming that human nature was capable of a more exalted degree of purity than appears to be warranted by experience; and, in carrying the principles of mortification and self-denial to a degree of ascetic austerity. With the profession of the strictest purity and virtue his life corresponded. After the restoration, he could not be prevailed on to accept of any preferment. Through the interest of his friends he was appointed to a bishoprick; and, by some pretence, they allured him as far as Whitehall, in order to undergo the common ceremony of kissing his majesty's hand on his promotion; but the modest and pious teacher no sooner discovered the design than he parted from them, and could not be prevailed on, by any arguments or entreaties, to proceed. Dr. Whichcot was the author of several volumes of sermons, remarkable for condensation of thought and sentiment, and which received the highest commendation from the noble and learned author of the *Characteristicks*.

Dr. Robert Sanderfon, Dr. John Gregory, and Dr. Jeremy Taylor, were among those eminent characters, who, for their attachment to monarchy and the church, experienced all the rigours of persecution from the pretended advocates of civil and religious liberty. The most remarkable works of Dr. Sanderfon were his treatise "De" and his "Cases of Conscience," both written in suggestion of his patron and friend Charles I. before his death. Dr. Gregory published notions on scripture, with some tracts on mathematical philosophical subjects; and the merit of Jeremy Taylor, as a moral and practical writer, is well known

known to every man who has a relish for piety, or a heart capable of impression from that pathetic eloquence which is formed on the model of the first teachers of our religion.

The controversy which the bold and paradoxical speculations of Hobbes had excited, was carried on during this period with great vigour. Among the ablest of Mr. Hobbes's opponents was archbishop Bramhall, who was slightly mentioned in this connexion in our last volume: On the subject of free agency, he is thought by most readers to have had the advantage over his acute antagonist; and the late learned and truly candid editor of the *Biographia Britannica* recommends his writings to the perusal of the modern disputants concerning liberty and necessity. In detecting the anti-christian and anti-social errors of Mr. Hobbes, archbishop Bramhall was still more successful in another tract, entitled, "The Catching of Leviathan." The archbishop composed also a number of tracts in defence of the church of England, and against popery. Mr. Granger characterizes him as one of the most able, learned, and active prelates of the age; and he certainly had great merit in restoring order and discipline to the church of Ireland after the restoration.

Dr. Henry More, whom we have already mentioned, was also a successful opponent of Hobbes upon some topics, as well as Dr. Wallis, of whom we shall have occasion to speak under a different department of science. But the writer who was most eminent in the science of metaphysics, is the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth. "The true Intellectual System of the Universe" has been justly denominated "the greatest and most valuable magazine of learning and argument that ever appeared against atheism,—a storehouse of ancient literature;" and there is no doubt that many have been indebted to it for an appearance of learning, which they would not have otherwise been able to maintain. In the preface to this great work, the author informs us, that, when he engaged in

in it, "he intended only a discourse concerning liberty and necessity, or, to speak out more plainly, against the fatal necessity of all actions and events, which, upon whatever ground maintained, will serve the design of atheism, and undermine all guilt and blame, all punishments and rewards." The author afterwards considered that fatalism was maintained upon three different principles; the first, "supposing the material necessity of all things without a God;" the second, "immoral theism, or religion without any natural justice or morality;" and the third, "a depraved species of theism, which acknowledges a supreme being," and also, "natural justice and morality founded in him;" but which, denying the freedom of human action, confounds our notions of retributive justice: whereas, he observes, these three things are the foundations or essentials of true religion — 1st, That there is a God, the supreme ruler and disposer of all things; — 2dly, That this God being essentially good and just, there is something which is immutably good and just in itself, independent of the arbitrary will of man; — and, 3dly, That we are so far the masters of our own actions as to be accountable for them. Such was the great plan and outline of the Intellectual System; but the author only completed the first part, which establishes the being of a God upon infallible proofs, and overthrows the doctrine of the material necessity of all things. Thus far the work may be considered as complete in itself; and the learned author represents it as intended not only to prevent the growth of atheism, but to confirm weak and sceptical theists. An abridgement of the Intellectual System, entitled "A Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism," &c. by Thomas Wise, B. D. was published in 1706.

General literature experienced at least as much enduring the protectorate of Cromwell, as it : majority of kings and statesmen. Mr. Hume : omwell as a barbarian; but he is no more : that title, than those are in general whose
b 3 protection

profession it is to massacre their fellow-creatures. Cromwell, it must be remembered, was educated to a liberal profession, and went through the regular exercises of a classical school, and the university of Cambridge, at a period too when learning was not in neglect. If therefore we compare this with the common routine of court education, there will appear but little reason for the epithet. He was certainly not a man of taste ; but we are assured from the best authority that he was a proficient in the Latin language, and far from ignorant in those branches of knowledge which were at that period held most in estimation. But whatever he might be himself as a scholar, he certainly may be considered as a patron of literature. His liberal encouragement of that great undertaking, the Polyglot Bible, is a fact well known ; and Mr. Hume himself acknowledges that Cromwell “was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, notwithstanding his being a bishop, received a pension from him. Marvel and Milton were in his service. Waller, who was his relation, was caressed by him. The poet always said, that the protector himself was not so wholly illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a year to the divinity professor at Oxford ; and an historian mentions this bounty as an instance of his love of literature. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.”

The learned Pococke and the indefatigable Brian Walton were noticed in our former volume, as among the most eminent of those who in this country have cultivated the oriental languages ; yet they were perhaps even excelled by Dr. John Lightfoot, vice-chancellor of Cambridge. He not only assisted in the edition of the Polyglot, but those critical expositions of scripture which he published himself, have afforded a fund of reference to the best commentators, and are even yet in high reputation. Among those who excelled in classical literature, Gataker must be mentioned with respect. To him the public are indebted for some valuable annotations on ancient authors,

thors, and particularly for a most valuable and correct edition of Antoninus's Meditations, with a very learned preliminary discourse on the philosophy of the stoics. The student of Roman literature would have cause to complain, should we, on this occasion, omit the name of Adam Littleton, the laborious compiler of the Latin dictionary. He was educated under the celebrated Dr. Busby at Westminster school, and was himself second master of that seminary for some years. Besides his dictionary, he published a considerable number of other works in Latin and English, including sixty-one sermons; and his erudition was by no means confined to classical literature, but he was also eminently versed in oriental and rabbinical learning.

To the names mentioned in our last as persons eminent in the study of antiquities, we have now to add those of Leland and of Fuller. The former of these has been styled the father of English antiquaries; but we think that title more applicable to some whom we have formerly mentioned. His "Itinerary" is, however, a most elaborate and most useful work; and, besides this, he published a number of tracts on the local antiquities of this country. Fuller is, perhaps, better known as an historian and biographer than as an antiquary; yet a considerable portion of his "Worthies" comes properly under the latter description, as well as his history of Waltham Abbey, and of the university of Cambridge. He was a man who abounded in wit, as every person must perceive who looks casually into his church history; and his memory was so retentive, that the facts which are related of him in this respect, almost exceed belief.

THE unsettled nature of the government at this period usually give rise to much political speculation; if the political productions of the times have posterity. The most voluminous and the most writer of the age on these subjects, is Harrington the character which Mr. Hume has given of unfair. "Harrington's Oceana," says he, "was
b 4 well

well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily subjects of debate and conversation; and even in our time, it is justly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea, however, of a perfect and immortal commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The style of this author wants ease and fluency; but the good matter, which his work contains, makes compensation. He died in 1677, aged sixty-six." Mr. Hume might have added that the work of Harrington was a treasury from which he himself has stolen much in his political essays. Mr. Hume, in another part of his history, seems fond of representing Harrington as an infidel; but we cannot perceive how this imputation accords with the authority which he seems to annex to the sacred history.

Though, however, the political writers of those times have, from various causes, fallen into disrepute, yet there was an immense mass of really valuable political knowledge afloat upon the public mind; and those who speculate upon political topics, cannot do better than consult the writers of this age. Even the resolves, declarations, and other public papers of committees and corporate bodies, abounded in historical fact, and in judicious reflections. Some of these the reader will find referred to by Mrs. Macaulay in her history. The parliament which was called by Cromwell in 1653, better known by the name of Barebone's Parliament, from the singular name of one of its members, was treated with ridicule by the royalist party after the restoration; and Mr. Hume has ignorantly adopted their sneers as well-founded accusations. His words are these:—"This parliament took into consideration the abolition of the clerical function, as favouring of popery; and the taking away of tithes, which they called a relic of Judaism. Learning also and the universities were deemed heathenish and unnecessary: the common law was denominated a badge of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profession. Some steps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery,

chancery, the highest court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Mosaical law was intended to be established as the sole system of English jurisprudence." But the fact is, that scarcely one word of this allegation is true. In regard to the accusation relative to the universities, it does not appear by the journals of parliament, that there was any motion of such a tendency made in the house; and in regard to the accusation relative to the destroying of the ecclesiastical establishment, the intention of parliament, according to the account given by a member of that assembly, went no farther than reformation. "A bill," says this writer, "was offered on the day of the parliament's resignation, for rendering the revenues of the clergy more certain and equal, by reducing benefices of two hundred a year and upwards, and advancing those of a smaller income; and also for the making provision for the widows and children of ministers. This equitable proposal," continues the same writer, "was refused a reading. The charge, therefore, against one part of the house, of an intent to destroy the ministry, was a groundless reproach, cast upon those who only endeavoured to take off oppressions and grievances."

With respect to a scheme for reforming the system of jurisprudence, it is most certain that a plan was in agitation to that effect, and a committee was appointed for the revision of the laws, but by no means to reduce them to the Mosaical standard. Mr. Hume's irreligious prejudices probably rendered him abhorrent to any reference whatever to the Hebrew institutes; but surely there can be no reason in the eyes of a christian, why these laws should not be consulted, as well as those of Solon, Confucius, or any ancient lawgiver, whenever it is in agitation to amend or improve the legal system of a christian country.

the course of the parliamentary debates, it was urged the court of chancery was the greatest grievance of tion; that, for dilatoriness, chargeableness, and a of bleeding the people in the purse-vein, even to utter perishing and undoing, that court might compare

pare, with, if not surpass, any court in the world. It was confidently affirmed by knowing gentlemen of worth, that there were depending in that court twenty-three thousand causes, some of which had been depending five, some ten, some twenty, and some thirty years, and more; that there had been spent therein many thousands of pounds, to the ruin, nay utter undoing, of many families; that hardly any ship which sailed in the sea of the law, but who first or last put into that port, and if they made any considerable stay there, they suffered so much loss that the remedy was as bad as the disease. *Par. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 198."

"When," writes a member of this parliament, "the vote was first carried for a new body or model of law, a committee was chosen to that end, who met often, and had the help of some gentlemen of worth, who had deserved well of their country, being true patriots, who liked the thing, as very useful and desirable; it being not a destroyer of the law, or putting it down (as some scandalously reported), but a reducing the wholesome, just, and good laws into a body, from them that are useless and out of date.

"The way the committee took in order to their work must needs be elaborate. It was by reducing the several laws to the proper heads to which they did belong, and so modelling or embodying of them, taking knowledge of the nature of them, and what the law of God said in the case, and how agreeable to right reason they were; likewise how proportionable the punishment was to the offence or crime; and wherein there seemed any thing either deficient or excessive, to offer a supply and remedy, in order to rectifying the whole. The committee began with criminals. Treason being the highest, they considered the kinds thereof, what was meet to be adjudged treason in a free commonwealth, and what was meet to be the punishment of grand and petty treason. Then they proceeded to murder, the kinds of it, and what was to be so adjudged, and the punishment thereof. The like they

they intended concerning theft; and after to have ascertained and secured property, as also the executive part of the law, so as a person should not need to part with one property to secure and keep another, as now it is; persons being forced to lose the property of their cow to keep the property of their horse, or one parcel of land to preserve and keep another. This body of law, when modelized, was to have been reported to the house, to be considered of and passed by them as they should see cause; a work of itself great, and of high esteem with many for the good fruit and benefit which would arise from it; by which means the huge volumes of the law would come to be reduced into the bigness of a pocket-book, as it is proportionably in New England; a thing of so great worth and benefit as England is not yet worthy of, nor likely in a short time to be so blessed as to enjoy. And that was the true end and endeavour of those members who laboured in that committee; although it was most falsely and wickedly reported, that their endeavours tended to destroy the whole laws, and pulling them up by the roots.'

"The house set apart Friday in every week to debate on the important business above mentioned."

We have made these quotations to remove an error which is generally prevalent at present among persons of little information, viz.—that the science of politics is a new science invented by the Rousseaus, the Brissots, the Condorcets, of a neighbouring nation, and never adverted to by our ancestors, even when they undertook the hazardous operation of effecting a change in their own form of government. Mr. Hume himself admits, that in these times, "every man had framed the model of a republic;" but, because these models were framed by religious men, he basely insinuates that they could not be rational.

Perhaps one of the soundest and best-informed politicians of the republican party was sir Henry Vane; but his life was too active to admit of his engaging deeply in speculative disquisitions; and the writings of his which remain

remain to posterity, are chiefly speeches or pamphlets composed upon particular occasions ; but even these contain matter from which there are few statesmen who may not derive information. The following short character of this great man, by Mrs. Macaulay, is written with a degree of spirit and energy which few historians can equal.

“ Among the foremost rank of these heroic characters stands sir Henry Vane, whose honesty was too pure to be corrupted by the rigour of persecution, or the emoluments of office, and the enjoyment of power ; whose judgment was too sound to be depraved by that high enthusiasm in religion into which a fine imagination is so apt to deviate, when, in contemplating divine subjects, it ranges beyond the bounds of human knowledge and experience ; whose resolution was so philosophical, as, in the sufferance of his martyrdom, to conquer the almost irresistible influence of natural timidity, and whose abilities were so eminent, as, when reduced to the state of a prisoner, to give terror to a powerful government.”

Mr. Hume has affected to speak with disrespect of the political writings of Milton ; and we suspect, in this instance, as in many others, he hastily condemns what he has never read. From our own knowledge we can affirm, that, in many passages of his controversial writings, the spirit and fancy of the author of *Paradise Lost* may be discovered ; and the whole of them are written with acuteness and energy. His *Discourse on the Liberty of the Press* is a very fine composition.—There is somewhat of the pedantry of the age in his style ; and his periods, like those of Clarendon, are frequently too long. His arguments, however, are solid and well arranged ; and there is the same richness and copiousness in his diction in prose, that is so eminently conspicuous in his poetical compositions. It is not true, moreover, as Mr. Hume insinuates, that Milton was but little regarded during the prevalence of his own party ; on the contrary, the circumstance related by Whitlocke, and to which he refers, is calculated to evince the particular respect in which he

he was held. The state paper which was to be translated into Latin, required particular accuracy; and though Milton, on account of his blindness, had retired from public business, it could be trusted in no other hands but his; and the negotiation with Sweden was actually delayed to afford him time to perform his task.

After the names of Vane and of Milton, it may appear an anti-climax to mention that of colonel John Lilburn; yet this eventful period scarcely offers to our observation a character more extraordinary, or a writer more voluminous. To run through his history, from the unjust and cruel sentence which was inflicted on him by the star-chamber, to his breach with the usurper Cromwell, would be to detail the history of the times at large; for there was scarcely an event of any importance in which he was not concerned. To enumerate the pamphlets which he published, would now be impossible; suffice it to say, that they were mostly written on the spur of the occasion; and though no writer was ever more in favour with the populace, they are now deservedly, we believe, consigned to oblivion. He disoblged all parties; and, after a life of persecution, embraced the quaker persuasion; in which he died, affording a proof that good principles can reduce to a peaceable disposition the most unquiet spirit, and that real piety can insure more of real happiness, than the full indulgence of the boldest projects of ambition. Mrs. Macaulay seems to consider Lilburn as a man who, in all his conduct, was actuated by honest motives.

Of the political writers on the opposite side, the first place is undoubtedly due to Dr. John Gauden, afterwards bishop of Exeter. His first appearance in public was on the side of the parliament. He took the solemn league and covenant, conformed to the ordinances for the disuse of the liturgy, and was appointed one of the assembly of divines:—but here he stopped;—for when the parliament and army, or rather the latter, proceeded to the trial of the king, he published “The Religious and Loyal Pro-
testation

testation of John Gauden, D. D." against that proceeding; and, after the king's death, he wrote a most daring piece, which he called "A Just Invective against those of the Army and their Abettors who murdered king Charles the First;" but to the credit of the doctor's *prudence* at least, this was not published till after the restoration. During the king's imprisonment, however, he committed to the press the celebrated pamphlet entitled "Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, or The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings;" which, however, did not appear till after the execution of the ill-fated Charles.

The only argument that Mr. Hume has advanced for his favourite opinion that it was written by the king, is, that the style more resembles the known productions of that monarch, than the highly figurative and inflated style of Gauden. Against this presumption we have the assertion of Dr. Gauden himself, and the claims to preferment which he founded on being the author of this piece. We have a certificate prefixed to the latter editions of Milton's *Εἰκονοκλαστής*, under the hand of lord Anglesey, in which that noble lord positively asserts, that, upon shewing to king Charles the Second and the duke of York a MS. of the work wherein were some alterations in the late king's hand, they solemnly assured him that "it was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter;" and this testimony was afterwards confirmed to bishop Burnet by the duke of York himself. Added to these positive testimonies, we have the negative proof that no evidence ever was found that could positively assert it to be the king's writing; and yet it is not easy to imagine that he could have been so employed without the privity of some person or other. And the silence of lord Clarendon, who certainly would not have omitted to insist on a circumstance so much to the credit of his master, is a strong presumption in Dr. Gauden's favour. With respect to the supposed analogy to the style of the king, every man who is accustomed to composition must know that it is not impossible for a writer of a luxuriant fancy to chasten and curb his imagination,

gination, and occasionally to adopt a style less ornamented than usual. Nothing indeed is more certain than that the most vigorous genius can seldom produce highly figurative composition without a considerable effort.

Though Dr. Gauden lived quietly and enjoyed his preferments under the commonwealth and the usurpation, yet he still occasionally employed his pen in favour of the rights of the church; and, in 1659, published *Ἱερὰ Δακρυα*, a work which bears no slight resemblance to the *Εἰκὼ Βασιλική*.

The reputation of the author of *Εἰκὼ Βασιλική* is at least equalled by that of the author of the no less celebrated pamphlet entitled "Killing no Murder;" the design of which was to prove, that to assassinate a public offender, who by his successful crimes had set himself above the reach of law and justice, was not sinful but meritorious; and the effect which it wrought upon the mind of Cromwell himself, was not less extraordinary than that which it had upon the public at large. Not only the usurper's apprehensions were excited, but even his remorse, by the strong picture which it exhibited of his crimes; and from the time of its publication he fell into a state of despondency, which ended only with his life. The public voice has long given the credit of this pamphlet to colonel Titus; but, according to lord Clarendon, colonel Sexby, one of the levelling party, who had formerly been an intimate of Cromwell, asserted that he was the author; and it is a remarkable fact, that Sexby soon after died in the Tower, as is supposed, by poison. If, indeed, we consider the abject and slavish principles which were held by the cavalier party at this period, we shall not receive how such fervid sentiments of liberty as this pamphlet contains, should proceed from any of the friends of Charles. The picture which the author has drawn of the torpor and venality in which the people of England were sunk at this period, is striking; and we best believe, — "Can any man," says this spirited writer, "conscience think upon what we have professed, when he

he sees what we wildly do and tamely suffer? What have we of nobility among us but the name, the luxury, and the vices of it? As for our ministers, what have they, or indeed desire they, of their calling but the tythes? How do these horrid prevaricators search for distinctions to piece contrary oaths? How do they rake scriptures for flatteries, and impudently apply them to his monstrous highness? What is the city but a great tame beast, who eats and carries, and cares not who rides it? What is the thing called a parliament but a mock, composed of a people who are only suffered to sit there because they are known to have no virtue, after the exclusion of all others who were suspected to have any? What are they but pimps of tyranny, who are only employed to draw in the people to prostitute their liberty? What will not the army fight for?—what will they not fight against? What are they but janissaries, slaves themselves, and making all others so? What are the people in general but knaves, fools, and principled for ease, vice, and slavery? This is our temper; this tyranny hath brought us to already, and if it continues, the little virtue which is yet left to stock the nation must extinguish, and then his highness has completed his work of reformation; and the truth is, till then his highness cannot be secure. He must not endure virtue, for that will not endure him.”

We insert this extract, because few of our readers, we believe, can have had an opportunity of perusing the pamphlet itself.

The age of which we are treating afforded a noble subject for history; and there never was an age of which the political transactions are better known. The history of lord Clarendon will be read by every person who wishes to acquire a profound knowledge of the character, politics, habits, and sentiments of these times; and, on the whole, it is not unfairly characterized by Mr. Hume.—“His style,” says that author, “is prolix and redundant, and suffocates us by the length of its periods: but it discovers imagination and sentiment, and pleases

us at the same time that we disapprove of it. He is more partial in appearance than in reality: for he seems perpetually anxious to apologise for the king; but his apologies are often well grounded. He is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: he was too honest a man to falsify the former; his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter. An air of probity and goodness runs through the whole work; as these qualities did in reality embellish the whole life of the author. He died in 1674, aged 66."

The memoirs of that plain and unaffected patriot, Edmund Ludlow, are not less interesting and entertaining than Lord Clarendon's History; and these, as well as Whitlocke's Memorials and Thurloe's State Papers, will enable the reader to correct those mistakes into which Clarendon may have fallen, either from the want of adequate information, or through partiality to his friends.

The commonwealth of England was not destitute of able lawyers; and to the names of those noticed in our preceding volume, we may add those of serjeant Maynard and secretary Thurloe, whose valuable collection of State Papers is mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

The most famous mathematician of the age was Wallis, Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. He had a long controversy on mathematical subjects with the celebrated Hobbes; but the genius of the latter was too much distracted with a variety of sciences to be able to maintain a contest with a man, who, like Wallis, had devoted himself almost entirely to one. Dr. Seth Ward, who was slightly mentioned in our last volume, flourished also at this period as a mathematical writer and teacher; and this and every other branch of philosophy was diligently cultivated whom we had formerly occasion to introduce ional character as a divine. Bishop Wilkins ndered as the father and founder of the royal at his house commenced those philosophical which terminated in the incorporation of that
c learned

learned body. But of this subject it is our intention to treat more at large in our succeeding volume.

The spirit and fanaticism of the times was so hostile to the fine arts, that we have little to say of the productions of the English nation at this period, either in painting, statuary, or architecture. The incomparable Inigo Jones died in 1657; and the merits of Wren were yet unknown in that line for which nature had destined him, though he was chosen professor of astronomy in Gresham college, in the same year in which his great predecessor Inigo Jones terminated his mortal career.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that an age so unfavourable to the fine arts in general should have produced some of the most eminent of our poets. To speak of Milton in terms adequate to his commendation, would require talents in some measure congenial to his own —

“ Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinator, atque os
“ Magna sonaturum —————.”

Whatever is great in conception, sublime in fancy, or exquisite in expression, is to be found in *Paradise Lost*. Yet we must reluctantly confess with Dr. Johnson, that the perusal of this incomparable poem is “rather a duty than a pleasure.” The fault is, however, more in the subject than the writer. It is essentially deficient, as that great critic observes, in “human interest;” and the sensible imagery under which the Supreme Being and the celestial existences are delineated, seldom fails to disgust the serious reader, while they afford a theme of ridicule to the sceptic or the libertine. It appears indeed a subject with which the human imagination ought not to have sported; and “the confusion of spirit and matter, which pervades the whole narration of the war of heaven, fills it with incongruity.” It may be remarked, that the few texts of scripture, on which that part of Milton’s plot is founded, are evidently most grossly mistaken by him, and have been much more satisfactorily explained by a learned author of the present age, in a most ingenious “*Dissertation*

sertation on the Passages in St. Peter and St. Jude concerning the Angel that sinned *."

Of Milton's lesser pieces, those which have most deservedly attracted attention, are the Masque of Comus, and the Allegro and Penseroso. The first of these is certainly deficient as a drama; but it abounds in beautiful sentiment, in luxuriant description, and the true spirit of poetry. The two latter are unquestionably the most perfect specimens of lyric poetry in the English language.

Whatever commendation is due to Waller, is the very opposite to that of Milton. He is neither entitled to the praise of sublime invention, nor of exuberant fancy; but he is to be admired for the purity of his taste, and the harmony of his versification. His subjects are generally trifling; but he has the happy art of rendering even trifles interesting. His poetry was popular, because his thoughts are familiar, and seldom beyond the range of common life. It is a kind of colloquial poetry, in which that ingenuity which is most pleasing in conversation is predominant.

It is related by Dr. Johnson, that Cowley's passion for poetry was originally excited by Spencer's Fairy Queen, which lay in the window of his mother's apartments. "Such are the accidents," adds our biographer, "which, sometimes remembered, sometimes forgotten, produce that particular designation of mind, and propensity to some certain science or employment, which is commonly called *genius*." The proposition, however, is extremely ill supported by the instance; for certainly no man ever was more mistaken in the natural bent of his genius than Cowley. He was a man of science and a man of letters; he was even a man of wit; but he was not a poet. There is no sublimity in his conception, nor beauty in his expression; the glow of fancy, the expanse of thought, the fervour of enthusiasm, are poorly compen-

fated for by antithesis and conceit; and his verses are as destitute of harmony as of spirit. His Pindarics are without elevation, and his amatory poems without passion. From this general censure we may except a few imitations of Anacreon, which are executed with spirit; but to translate is not to invent; and in this kind of composition there is more exercise for wit than for imagination; and pointed expression only is wanted, and not sublimity.

Sir John Denham was slightly noticed in our last volume; he was a poet during the life of his royal master Charles I. whom he faithfully served, and with whose family, at the expence of his fortune, he went into exile. “At the restoration, he obtained,” says Dr. Johnson, “what many missed, the reward of his loyalty.” Yet it is probable that he was more indebted for his promotion to his companionable qualities, and his agreeable manners, than for his attachment to monarchy. Denham is characterised by the great critic, whom we have just quoted, as “the author of a new species of composition, which may be termed *local poetry* ;” and it must be confessed, that Cooper’s Hill, though the first attempt of the kind, still maintains its rank among many excellent pieces of the same description; and the best proof of our author’s taste is, that he may be considered as one of the first who refined and improved the poetry of Great Britain. His language is not obsolete, nor his versification unharmonious even to modern ears.

To this list of poets we might add the incomparable Butler, the glory and disgrace of his time,—a man whose genius is not less astonishing than the neglect which he experienced from a selfish tyrant and a profligate court. As his great work did not, however, appear till a succeeding period, we shall not at present enter into any further consideration of his genius and character*.

* Macaulay’s History of England, — Hume’s History, — Biographia Britannica, — Anthony Wood, — Biographical Dictionary, — Johnson’s Lives of the Poets, — Clarendon, — Burnet, — Milton, &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1796.

1796.

A



BRITISH AND FOREIGN H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1796.

CHAPTER I.

Great Britain. Short Retrospect of political Transactions from the Commencement of the War. Humiliating Proposals of the French Republic to appease the Resentment of the British Cabinet. Offer on the Part of the Republic to relinquish her Colonies to Great Britain, as the Price of Neutrality. State of Affairs at the Conclusion of 1795. Meetings of the Corresponding Society. Outrages offered to the King in his Way to and from the House of Lords. Examination of Witnesses at the Bar of the House. Proclamation for apprehending the Offenders. Proclamation against Seditious Meetings. Lord Grenville's Motion in the Lords for a Bill for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government. Debate on that Motion. Bill read a second Time. Mr. Pitt's Motion in the House of Commons for a Bill to prevent Seditious Meetings and Assemblies. Warm Debate on that Bill. Mr. Fox's Motion for a Call of the House. Mr. Dundas's Declaration that the two Bills had been in Contemplation before the Outrage against the King. Debates in the Lords on the Commitment of Lord Grenville's Bill. Amendments proposed by the Duke of Leeds and Earl of Lauderdale. Lord Grenville's Bill passed in the House of Lords. Public Meetings in Opposition to the two Bills. Lord Grenville's Bill read a first Time in the House of Commons. Mr. Sheildan's Motion for an Inquiry concerning Seditious Meetings. Further Debates in the Commons on Lord Grenville's Bill. Debates on Mr. Pitt's Bill—in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords. Reflections on these Bills. Never yet acted upon by Ministry.

a duty which the passions and infirmities of our nature render difficult of accomplishment; a duty against which prejudice too commonly revolts, and which interest sometimes will even prompt men to betray. The difficulties which the annalist of his own times has to encounter, do not all, however, originate with himself, nor are they
A 2 always

always within the limits of his controul. If he writes as a man, it must not be forgotten that he also writes to men. If he has passions and failings, it must not be supposed that his readers are exempt from their share. That candour which they expect from him, they are not always prepared to concede in their turn; nor, while they are ready to detect his errors, are they always conscious of the prejudices which exist within their own bosoms. With these disadvantages, while it is the indispensable duty of the writer to adhere inflexibly to fact, by that criterion let him also be judged. Facts, if misrepresented, will not escape detection; and reflections or observations which do not flow naturally from the events as they are recorded, and which are not supported by their evidence, can never make a permanent impression.

We have ever protested against the pernicious doctrine, that the faithful historian is bound in duty to speak in terms of lenity of political vices, or of flagrant misconduct. General panegyric is not impartiality; and the writer who adopts the maxim that where blame is incurred it is not to be noticed, is not merely useless—he is vicious. If he wrongfully accuses, he is then deserving of censure. If his inferences are unsupported by his documents, if his allegations should prove to be founded only on the uncertain basis of conjecture, he is worthy of contempt. But if his information is corroborated by authentic testimony, if his predictions are confirmed by subsequent experience, he evinces then that he has not been inattentive to his duty; and however his remarks may outrage our prejudices, he is still deserving of some credit, and the

least that can be accorded is a patient hearing.

It is now nearly eighteen years since we first engaged in the service of the public. When we look back upon our past labours, we find them to comprise some of the most eventful periods of modern history; and with pride we can reflect, that we have never sanctioned with our approbation any measure that proved afterwards injurious to our country. We have seen the British nation and the British power depressed and enfeebled by the calamitous American war; we have seen the energies and industry of the people rise superior to this temporary embarrassment. We have seen them again plunged into a contest more fruitless, more inexcusable, more hopeless than the former. We have seen the expences of the ruinous American contest diminish almost to a cypher in comparison with the prodigality of modern times. We have seen new taxes levied in the course of *one year*, greatly exceeding the whole charge created by the first *six* years of the American war; we have seen impositions laid upon the people of this country, in a *single day*, nearly equal to the whole charge of lord Chatham's glorious war, which endured for *seven* years, and in which the British arms were triumphant in every quarter of the globe; nay, we have seen the charges incurred by an expenditure of only *four* years exceed the total charge of the whole national debt antecedent to 1782.

We call our countrymen and our readers to witness, that, at the risk of some unpopularity, we were the first to raise our voices against the present war. We proved, from unquestionable documents, that it might have been avoided with honour and with safety by the British ministry.

ministry. We deprecated its calamities, and we predicted them with an accuracy, which, had our sentiments not been before the public long antecedent to the events, might have drawn upon them the suspicion of forgery or delusion. We are now beyond the period of prophecy: we shall cease to warn, and only continue to record.

Yet to that crisis, which was the fatal origin of all our present calamities, it is necessary once more to recur, since by that it is that posterity must form their verdict on the conduct of the present rulers of this country. At that crisis the prosperity of Britain was unexampled; her commerce was extended over the whole face of the ocean; the trade of the universe was in her grasp. Her manufactures pervaded every country; and if there was a complaint, it was for a lack of hands to conduct them with sufficient dispatch. By following the suggestions of that excellent patriot, and incomparable financier, the late Dr. Price, the minister (though, of three plans presented, he adopted the worst) had, according to his own calculations, liquidated nearly twenty millions of the national debt. In this state of things, what fatal insanity, what inexplicable insatiation could engage a ministry to involve the nation again in the ruinous vortex of continental warfare? The motives are yet unexplained; and perhaps it is not for the credit of the authors of the measure, that they should be laid before the public.

What is the result with equal igno-

rance and effrontery pretended, to preserve us from domestic contests? It is the first time, we believe, that peace and prosperity were ever considered as favourable to rebellion, and war, taxes, and misery, as the sovereign antidotes for faction. The whole nation had risen as one man on the alarm of innovation, and had solemnly associated to protect the constitution, even with its abuses, rather than subject a particle of it to experiment or change. Was it to anticipate the hostile designs of the enemy? Even prejudice must confess that it was the interest of France, and particularly of the Girondists, who were then predominant, to preserve the friendship of Great Britain; and whoever peruses with attention the correspondence of M. Chauvelin with the British secretary of state, must perceive that the French republic threw itself at the feet and at the mercy of the British cabinet, but that the supplicating envoy was spurned away, with a degree of insolence and rashness which involuntarily reminds us of the fantastical glassman in the oriental tale. Was it to obtain an accession of colonial possessions? We have hinted it before, and we now assert it for a fact, that M. Chauvelin was authorised, and M. Maret expressly dispatched, to offer to the British cabinet *their choice* of the French possessions in the East or West Indies, as the price of neutrality*; and a certain secretary of state replied, "That we had already colonies enough, and that we did not want to be burthened with any more."

What

was first made when MM Talleyrand and Chauvelin were dis-
tate Louis, with a letter in his own hand-writing, to entreat that
would act the part of an umpire and mediator, and compose the
n subsided between the French nation and the heads of the Germanic
proposal been acceded to, certainly would yet have, in all proba-

What the object of the war then was, has never been ascertained; what its conduct has been, we have seen to our misfortune and our loss.

The year 1795 concluded with little consolatory abroad, and with a general and torpid despondency at home, as far as respected the public affairs. The meeting of parliament was fixed for an unusually early period, the latter end of October; and previous to its assembling, some meetings were held by the London Corresponding Society for the avowed purpose of petitioning the king and parliament in favour of peace and reform. As the meetings were held in the open fields, they were numerously attended, as was noticed in our last volume: and as the great majority of the people who composed these meetings were certainly not members of that association, and were drawn together by no stronger motive than curiosity, when that passion of the moment was gratified, they dispersed without any further consequences.

A dreadful and oppressive scarcity at this crisis pervaded the kingdom; several instances occurred of persons who perished through absolute want; and the poor were every where despairing and desperate. To the calamitous war, and to the misconduct of ministers, all the misery under which the nation suffered was (perhaps rashly) attributed. From these circumstances we must account for the daring and detestable insults and outrages which were offered to his majesty on his way to and from the house of lords on the 29th of October. An effort

was made by the adherents of ministry to connect these outrages with the meetings which had been previously held by the Corresponding Society; and, on the other hand, their advocates have retorted the accusation, and ascribed them to the emissaries of the minister. We must in justice declare that neither of these opinions seems warranted by the depositions at the bar of the house of lords, nor by the appearance of the multitude which was assembled on that occasion, the majority of whom consisted, as usual, of women and children; and these were, in general, the most active and clamorous.

His majesty proceeded from the palace to open the session of parliament, at the usual hour, between two and three o'clock; and the crowd in St. James's park, which is always considerable on these occasions, was certainly greater than usual, though we conceive it must have been over-rated, when it was estimated at 150,000 persons. A fine day, and a rumour which had been circulated, with what view it is impossible to ascertain, that a riot was likely to take place, contributed greatly to increase the multitude of the spectators.

As the royal carriage passed along the park, the predominant exclamations were, "Peace!—Peace!—Give us bread!—No Pitt!—No famine!—No war!"—A few voices were heard to exclaim, "Down with George!" or words to that effect. In the park, and in the streets adjacent to Westminster Hall, some stones and other things were thrown, nine of which, it is

bility, existed in France; the blood of Louis would never have streamed from the scaffold; and the people of England would not, in the short space of four years, have *doubled the whole amount of their taxes*. The proposal was afterwards renewed by MM Chauvelin and Maret, when our ministers began the ridiculous dispute about the *opening of the Scheldt!!!*

asserted,

asserted, struck the state coach; and one of them, which was suspected to have proceeded from a window in Margaret-street, near the abbey, perforated one of the windows by a small circular aperture; and from these circumstances it was supposed by some to have been a bullet discharged from an air-gun, or from some similar engine of destruction; but no bullet was found; and whatever it was, it neither touched the king, nor the noblemen who attended him.

As we have already intimated, this outrage was by some considered as a conspiracy on the part of the Corresponding Society; and on the other hand, the accusation was retorted on their adversaries by the adherents of that society, who have asserted (though, we must believe, without reason) that if there was a plot, it must have originated in a different quarter, and for very different purposes. They observe, that, according to the unguarded admission of Mr. secretary Dundas, the bills, which were immediately upon this event introduced into parliament for restricting the liberty of the press, and for preventing public meetings, had been in the contemplation of ministers ever since the failure of the prosecution of Hardy, &c. and that a fair opportunity was wanting to bring them forth. They remark, that in other countries similar outrages have been committed, not by the populace, but by persons hired for particular views; that the attack on the late king of Portugal, which proved the destruction of the popular party there, was now generally considered by historians as the stratagem of one of his ministers. They assert, that in the late outrage the royal carriage was accompanied by a particular set of persons who were the most clamorous, and

had frequent opportunities of personally assaulting the king, but who on the contrary seemed studious to keep off the rest of the mob. They remark, in fine, as a most extraordinary and unprecedented fact, that not one of those who threw the stones, or otherwise attacked the king, was brought to justice, though a reward of *one thousand* pounds was offered. These mutual recriminations we only state to shew the violence and the artifices of the party; for, from various circumstances, we are of opinion that no conspiracy whatever existed; and that the whole was a sudden ebullition of popular fury, exasperated by the misfortunes of the war, and by the evils of famine.

As his majesty returned from the house through the park, though the gates of the Horse Guards were shut to exclude the mob, yet even this precaution was not sufficient to prevent a renewal of the outrages; and another stone was thrown at the carriage as it passed opposite to Spring Garden terrace. After the king had alighted at St. James's, the populace attacked the state carriage; and in its way through Pall-Mall to the Mews, it was almost demolished.

It was a very singular circumstance that his majesty was permitted to return from the house of lords without any additional guard or escort. The hostile disposition evinced by the populace ought certainly to have induced the ministers to have taken some precaution, had they been actuated by a proper affection for their sovereign, who was exposed to insult only by their misconduct. No friend of monarchy, no man who admires and reveres the private virtues of his sovereign, could reflect without indignation, that the same ministers who did not dare to venture their own persons in the

city on a public festival without a large military escort, saw with negligent unconcern, and with unfeeling apathy, their protector and their king return from St. James's amidst a misguided and enraged populace, with no other protection or attendant than two footmen behind his private carriage.

In this unprotected state, as soon as the carriage had turned out of the paved passage that leads from the garden gate, the horse-pain under the garden wall was found filled with people, who obstructed the passage for a short time, and in a most daring manner insulted his majesty. Fortunately, however, some of the life-guardsmen, who were mounted as returning from duty to the Horse-Guards, being informed of the circumstances, rode back and relieved his majesty from this new danger and perplexity.

During the whole of the day, it was observed that the king appeared more deeply affected by the melancholy clamours that surrounded him, than by the coarse and unworthy indignities which were offered. On his return, when the

carriage was stopped, he shewed evident signs of agitation. His face was flushed, his eyes were momentarily turned from side to side, and his manner evinced the utmost perturbation.

Four witnesses of what passed in the course of the day, viz. Mr. Walford of Pall Mall, Mr. Stockdale of Piccadilly, one of his majesty's footmen, and Kennedy, belonging to the office of police in Bow-street, were severally examined at the bar of the house of lords on the evening of the 29th; and a copy of the minutes of the evidence was communicated to the house of commons the following day.

The evidence exhibited on this occasion went only to confirm the narrative which we have already given, and to criminate a man of the name of Kidd Wake, and three other persons, who were apprehended on the occasion, but who appeared to have been no further guilty than in hissing and hallooing, and making use of some indecent and seditious expressions*.

On the 31st of October, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward

* Mr. John Walford, of Pall Mall, called out on duty that day as a constable, deposed, that, on entering Parliament-street, he observed one man in particular among the crowd, very active; which he observed to Mr. Stockdale, his brother constable, at the time. This man was running by the side of the coach, and exclaiming, "No war! Down with George!" And on their entrance into Palace Yard, he observed something come with great velocity from the foot pavement as he thought; on which he observed to Mr. Stockdale, "Good God! the glass is broken! That must surely be a ball." His majesty then passed on to the house, and he observed the man with the crowd perfectly quiet. Immediately on his majesty's coming out of the house, the crowd set up a hooting and hissing. He did not observe that man any more particularly, till he arrived in the Park; when he perceived him frequently to stoop down, but whether he picked up any thing he could not say; but at that time there were many stones thrown from different quarters. Hearing the same man make the same exclamation again, he told him, if not quiet, he most assuredly should take him into custody.

He repeated the exclamation of "Down with George!" again; upon which he immediately seized him; and, under the protection of the horse guards, conducted him to the court yard of St. James's, where he left him.

The other persons examined said little more than went to confirm the evidence of Mr. Walford.

On the same evening some persons, taken into custody upon suspicion of having insulted his majesty, were examined at the office in Bow-street.

ward of one thousand pounds to any person or persons, other than those actually concerned in doing any act by which his majesty's royal person was immediately endangered, who should give information so that any of the authors or abettors in that outrage might be apprehended and brought to justice.

On the 4th day of November another proclamation was issued. It began by announcing, that, immediately before the opening of the present session of parliament, a

great number of persons were collected in the fields in the neighbourhood of the metropolis by advertisements and hand-bills, and that divers inflammatory discourses were delivered to the persons so collected, and divers proceedings were had, tending to create groundless jealousy and discontent, and to endanger the public peace; and that such proceedings were followed, on the day on which the session of parliament commenced, by acts of tumult and violence, and by

The first was Kidd Wake (the person taken by Mr. Walford), aged twenty-seven, and a journeyman printer.

Lemon Caseby, a constable, deposed, that he observed the prisoner, soon after the carriage had entered the Park, hiss, groan, and call out, "No war!" vehemently and repeatedly. The witness endeavoured to secure him, but fell down in the attempt; when he rose, he observed the prisoner again in the same act; he kept his eyes upon him as far as the Horse Guards, and there lost sight of him. After his majesty alighted at the house of lords, a Mr. Walford came up, and observed to the witness and other peace officers, that he should know the man who broke the glass of the coach, describing him to wear a green coat with a black collar.

On the return of his majesty into the Park, near St. James's, he observed the prisoner scuffling with Mr. Walford, to whose assistance he went, and they secured him; Mr. Walford not attending to identify his person, the description given by him to the witness, of the man who threw the stone in Parliament-street, could not be received in evidence.

The prisoner said he was in the service of Mr. Noble, a printer; was a married man; and by hissing and groaning at his majesty, he meant only to let the king see "he was dissatisfied at the war."

Three others were examined the same evening with Kidd Wake; but the evidence did not affect them materially; all four, however, were committed to prison that evening for further examination.

On the next morning Kidd Wake was brought before the sitting magistrates for re-examination, when Mr. Walford, above-mentioned, came forward, and deposed, that as soon as he joined the procession as a constable, he observed to Mr. Stockdale, his brother officer, how very particularly active the prisoner was in hissing, hooting, and calling out, "No war!" And as the procession was passing through St. Margaret-street, he saw something small go with great velocity against one of the coach windows, which made a small hole in the glass; and at this time the prisoner disappeared; but when the king arrived at the house of peers, he again observed the prisoner in the front of the crowd; when some other officers, remarking the prisoner's active conduct, proposed to take him into custody; but on consideration it was declined. When his majesty came out of the house, he lost sight of the prisoner till the procession had passed through the Horse Guards, when he observed the prisoner, and about thirty more, close to the carriage, grinning at the king, groaning, and calling out, "No war! Down George!" But whether the prisoner said *down George*, he could not positively say. As the procession was passing from the Horse Guards towards Carlton House gates, six or seven stones were flung at the carriage; and about the time the stones were flung, he observed the prisoner stoop two or three times; but whether he flung any of the stones he would not positively say. The witness remonstrated with the prisoner upon the impropriety of his conduct, who paid no attention to the remonstrance, till at length passing along the Mall, the witness, with the assistance of one of the horse guards, secured him. The prisoner, Kidd Wake, was re-committed for further examination. He at length was brought to trial, and found guilty of hooting, groaning, and hissing at the king; for which he was sentenced to be confined for several years in the penitentiary house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory.

Jaring

daring and criminal outrages, to the immediate danger of his majesty's person. And further, that uneasiness and anxiety had been raised in the minds of his majesty's faithful subjects by rumours and apprehensions that seditious and unlawful assemblies were intended to be held by evil-disposed persons; that it was therefore thought fit to enjoin and require all justices of the peace, sheriffs, and all well-disposed persons throughout the kingdom, to use their utmost diligence to discourage, prevent, and suppress all seditious and unlawful assemblies, and the distribution of all seditious papers and publications.

Thus the public mind was gradually prepared for a most important innovation on the British constitution; an innovation, which, had it been carried to the extent that ministers at first intended, would have laid the Bill of Rights and Magna Charta itself prostrate in the dust, and would have nearly established a military despotism in the place of those laws and customs which have long been dear to Englishmen; those laws and liberties for which our ancestors cheerfully shed their blood; to preserve which, the unfortunate house of Stuart was expelled from the throne of their ancestors; and to defend which, the sceptre of these kingdoms was placed in the hands of the elector of Hanover.

The reader will perceive that we allude to two bills which were at this crisis introduced into parliament by lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, and which were passed into laws, after vigorous debates, in the month of December 1795. The one was entitled, "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious

Practices and Attempts." And the other, "An Act for the more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies."

Notwithstanding the outrages which had taken place during his majesty's progress to the house, the session of parliament was regularly opened in the usual way, by a speech from the throne; but that ceremony was no sooner concluded, than the bar of the house of peers was abruptly ordered to be cleared, and their lordships went into a committee of privileges, in consequence of the circumstances which had attended his majesty's coming to the house.

Their lordships having first ordered his majesty's speech to be taken into consideration the following day, lord Grenville stated, that his majesty had been grossly insulted in his way to the house, his state coach damaged, and an assault attempted on his royal person.

The earl of Westmoreland (master of the horse) stated to the house the particulars of the insult and outrage, as far as they had fallen within his knowledge; and lord Onslow (a lord of the bed-chamber) confirmed the report made by the earl of Westmoreland.

The journals having been previously consulted for precedents, an address was proposed; and this was to be followed by a conference with the other house, to desire their concurrence in the measure. After a short conversation among several of the peers, the marquis of Lansdowne animadverted with severity and acrimony on the conduct of ministers, whom he discredited and reprobated upon this occasion. He believed, on his part, that it was no more than the counter-part of *their own plot*; the alarm bell to terrify

rify the people into weak compliances, that ministers might continue in power, a power which drew the constitution into their own hands, and which he could not consider as safely lodged while in their possession.

The remainder of the day was spent in the examination of witnesses, and in a conference with the house of commons. The earl of Mansfield, as chief manager for the lords, stated the nature of the evidence they had received; and the two houses soon afterwards closed the sitting, by adjournment till the next day.

On the 30th of October the minutes of the evidence of the witnesses examined in the house of lords was communicated to the house of commons. The reading of this evidence being closed, the commons unanimously agreed to the address, and a message was sent to acquaint the lords therewith. His majesty's answer to the address was reported on the 2d of November.

On the 4th of November, copies of the proclamation issued by his majesty relative to the outrages committed against his person on the 29th of October, and of the proclamation afterwards published relative to seditious meetings, were submitted to the house of peers by lord Mansfield, and were ordered to lie on the table.

On the same day lord Grenville gave notice, that upon the 6th he would bring forward a bill for better securing the safety of his majesty's person and government, when the proclamation would come to be discussed, and moved that their lordships be summoned to attend upon that day.

Lord Grenville, on the 6th of November, in pursuance of his notice given on the 4th, moved the

order of the day, which was, that his majesty's proclamations should be read. His lordship conceived those proclamations to be the ground-work of the bill which he proposed that day to submit to the consideration of the house. The late violent attack upon the person of his majesty demanded some necessary measures for the prevention of similar abuses; and that attack he suspected to have been made in consequence of the licentious assemblies and proceedings which had of late been suffered without any notice or restriction. The treasonable and seditious speeches and writings which had latterly been so assiduously disseminated at public meetings, together with the number of libels otherwise circulated, were so general and notorious, as most particularly to call for the interference of parliament. He, as a servant of his majesty and a member of that house, looked upon it as his duty to remonstrate against them, and endeavour to check their flagitious tendency. He observed, that, whatever variation there might be in the bill he had to propose from the precedents of former times, he assured their lordships that they would be found only to vary so far as the peculiar forms of existing circumstances required. The precedents to which he referred were those in the reign of Elizabeth, and at the commencement of the reign of Charles the Second, acts passed in *approved times*, and applied to circumstances by no means dissimilar to those of the present day. He doubted not but their lordships would agree with him in the necessity there was of applying a speedy remedy to these dangerous practices, which had proceeded so far as to endanger the monarchy, or even the life and safety

safety of our present sovereign. On these grounds he presented a bill entitled, "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts;" which being read a first time, he moved that it should be printed, and the lords be summoned for the second reading on the Tuesday following.

The earl of Lauderdale said, that, when he saw the proclamation which had just been read, his mind was filled with an equal degree of surprize and anxiety, considering it to be a most extraordinary and unaccountable measure; that he had returned home, after the debate of a preceding evening *, perfectly satisfied, from what had passed there, that every idea of disquiet or alarm had been lulled by the declaration they had heard from the highest authority, and which tended to convince the nation, that one of the great objects of the war was completely fulfilled, and that the dread and alarm which had any where existed was quieted by the salutary effects of the proclamation of 1792, and the subsequent measures which ministers had adopted. But his astonishment was greatly excited by the perusal of the proclamation of Wednesday last, and his surprize was augmented at finding a bill introduced from the same quarter, and grounded upon that proclamation. This measure appeared to him to be a direct contradiction to the high authority he had just alluded to, and proved that now it would be absurd to suppose government had succeeded in obtaining one of the greatest objects of the war; for they now came

forward with a measure ten times stronger and more dangerous to the liberties of the country, than they had hitherto dared to do, even at the moment of their greatest and most avowed alarm.

His lordship contended, that, by the bill then introduced, a variety of new crimes and new treasons would be added to the criminal code of this country; and it would effect a total alteration of the laws respecting treason, and a most dangerous innovation upon the constitution. He thought it extraordinary, that so strong a measure should be proposed before there was the least evidence to prove that there was the slightest connexion between the meetings at Islington, &c. and the outrage on his majesty, or that the treason and sedition complained of did actually exist. Thus a bill was to be brought in without the least foundation, which, if passed into a law, would annihilate every liberty and privilege which Englishmen then enjoyed. No public meeting, for any public purpose, could be held, however legal such meeting might be, under such a law. The old constitution of France had nothing more despotic or more inconsistent with the liberties of the people, than this bill went to create. The fact appeared to him to be, that, ministers having involved the country in a ruinous and destructive war, they had then recourse to extraordinary and unheard of measures, as the only means to carry on their mad and dangerous system; a war entered into against the sense of the people, and carried on at an expence so enormous, that it was with much difficulty the poor could bear the

* Alluding to the debate on the address to his majesty on the 30th of October; for which, see the following chapter.

pressure of those grievances which it had already occasioned.

The bill, he contended, was not brought in to check a specific or immediate danger, but as a permanent alteration of the criminal law of this country; for it was to continue during the life of the king, and even afterwards. What rendered the bill still more objectionable was, that the ministers who were to be entrusted with this extraordinary acquisition of executive power, were the very men who had in the most glaring manner strained the application of the penal laws to an unprecedented height. He pointed out several cases wherein persons had been treated with extreme tyranny under prosecutions for supposed sedition and treason; and concluded a very able and animated speech, by pronouncing the bill then before their lordships to be "one of the severest, and most dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people, that had ever been introduced."

Lord Grenville, in contradiction to the earl of Lauderdale, observed that ministers had not said that all discontent and design against the government of this country was done away; that all seditious practices were at an end. This was not the spirit or the meaning of his noble friend on the woolsack. The spirit of what he had said was this, that by the firmness of parliament in opposing principles which had been supported by the arms of France, and which had been industriously propagated in this country, their lordships were yet able to debate in that house, and still possessed of the power of arguing on the advantages of the British constitution; neither was it true that ministers had at any time asserted that there was a general spirit of

disloyalty or disaffection in this country; so far from this, he had the glory of saying, there was almost an universal spirit of loyalty in the nation.

He denied the noble earl's assertion, that ministers had brought on this war. The votes of their lordships had already declared, that ministers had not involved the country in this war. With respect to the provisions of the bill, when they came to be argued, he should prove his assertions on the necessity of the measure. He should prove to the satisfaction of their lordships, that it did not, in the smallest degree, interfere with the right of the people to meet in legal and peaceable assemblies. None could be made to suffer by it, except those who knew their conduct and intentions were wicked.

The duke of Bedford said that he would embrace a future opportunity to express the sentiments of disapprobation which he entertained against the bill. He was convinced, that, while it was in their power to assemble, the people of this country would meet, and display their sense of this injurious attack aimed at their dearest rights and liberties, in a manner so marked and decisive, as would induce their lordships to abandon the design of carrying forward the bill.

The earl of Radnor observed that he might possibly be thought an odd man: but so far from being afraid to constitute new treasons, he rather wished to do so than not. If it were thought that certain offences, not in the purview of the act 25 Edward the Third, ought to be considered and punished as high treason, why not make them high treason at once, and enact that they were so? By so doing, men would be taught to take warning, to understand

derstand what crimes they were committing, and what punishment they were incurring, and to feel the necessity of conducting themselves accordingly.

The question was at length put and carried, that the bill be printed, &c.

The duke of Portland, on the 10th of November, presented a petition to the house from the city of Bath, signed by a great number of persons of that city, stating their abhorrence of the outrages and insults committed against his majesty's person and the dignity of parliament, upon the first day of the session, and praying that their lordships would take such steps as might bring the offenders to speedy punishment, and prevent the commission of similar crimes in future; which was read at the table.

Lord Grenville then moved the order of the day, the second reading of the bill to protect his majesty's person and the constitution of the country from similar attacks to those which had been so recently made upon both. He had already stated the grounds upon which this bill was brought in; the fact set forth in the preamble was undeniable; a body of proof upon that head was already before their lordships; in addition to that evidence, they had his majesty's proclamation, grounded upon inquiry and examination. That such a meeting had been held in the fields but three days before the meeting of parliament, no man could hesitate to believe; no man likewise could doubt for a single moment, that the daring outrage committed on the person of the sovereign, and in it a most unprecedented insult on the dignity and freedom of parliament, followed from the seditious speeches,

and libellous and treasonable papers circulated at that meeting.

The bill, he said, might be divided into two parts; the first for the safety and protection of his majesty's person, the other for the punishment of treasonable crimes against the state. On the first, he presumed, there would be no difference of opinion; and on the second, he asserted that there were no punishments created for crimes that were not already acknowledged to be so by the existing laws, excepting that it was intended, by the present bill, to include treasonable publications and discourses as equally criminal and dangerous with the acts stated to be treason by the laws then in force. To devise or compass the king's death, was already treason; and the whole of that part of the bill was grounded upon the solemn opinions of the best lawyers in this country. There could not be a doubt but such compassing or conspiring against the king's person and government, as was specified in the bill, amounted to that degree of guilt which called for the most severe punishment: whether it amounted to levying civil war against the king, or encouraging foreign enemies, or by writing, publishing, or even speaking, the effect of the crime was the same, and the punishment ought to be so likewise. The provisions of the bill had been made upon the same principles as the acts of queen Elizabeth and Charles the Second, and were in fact as similar as the circumstances of the present times would admit; and it having been found that difficulties sometimes arose in the construction of the acts now in force, it was intended, by the variations from them in this bill, to ascertain precisely the meaning which was

to

to be given to the whole of the treason laws. When the bill came into the committee, he meant to move the omitting of the words *malicious and advised speaking*; and that being done, there would remain nothing in the bill which was not already acknowledged by the existing laws to be treason. With regard to the clause respecting sedition, it did not, he said, interfere with the present laws, nor prohibit any acts or meetings which were then legal, but in some cases provided a more *adequate punishment* for the degree of crime, than the existing laws admitted of; it having in many instances been found, that though the crime was sufficiently proved, the law did not point out any adequate punishment. Having taken this general view of the bill, he moved the second reading of it.

The duke of Bedford stated, that, as far as the bill related to the glaring and flagitious outrage committed against the sovereign, every man in and out of the house must reprobate such crimes, and earnestly wish to see them punished in an adequate and exemplary manner; at the same time he must add, that he saw nothing in the bill that tended in the least to secure or protect his majesty's person in a better or more effectual manner than it was now protected by the existing laws. The second part of the bill was founded upon the proclamation against the meetings which had been lately held. He appealed to their lordships, whether it would not be inconsistent with their dignity to proceed to so solemn an act as the introduction of this extraordinary and dangerous bill, without having before them any proof of any sort, that the proceedings of those meetings had rendered so strong a measure indispensable. When the same

ministry proposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, a select committee was appointed, who reported to the house a mass of evidence which gave to their proceedings at least the appearance of deliberation: whereas, in the present case, they seemed to disregard all idea of deliberation, inquiry, or evidence. It was not enough that lord Grenville should declare, that *he* was satisfied on this point; *parliament* ought to know the necessity of the measure before they adopted it. He wished the noble secretary of state would explain how the law, as far as it regarded the king's life, was in any respect defective, or wherein this bill was likely to amend it.

His grace then made some pointed observations upon the *good times* from which lord Grenville had taken his precedents in support of the bill. He never thought that the noble lord had so far forgotten what he and the nation owed to those who brought about the revolution, as to speak of the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles the Second as models for example, or furnishing precedents for government to act upon in the present day. The noble lord ought to reflect on the events which followed those precedents; and they would surely furnish him with nothing that he could wish to anticipate from this measure. In queen Elizabeth's time those laws were chiefly directed against bulls issued by the pope, and when the country was in a very distracted state, both from foreign and domestic foes; and in Charles the Second's reign, these measures were adopted when he was just restored after a twenty years' absence, and were deemed absolutely necessary for his protection.

The earl of Lauderdale rose, and said that he did not believe the assertion

sertion to be true, that the outrage upon the king, which they all lamented, was to be ascribed to the meeting in the fields near Islington; nor did he think there was the smallest connection between the London Corresponding Society, and the mob who committed the outrage in Westminster on the first day of the session. That society had no more to do with it than his majesty's cabinet. The cabinet, indeed were evidently more deeply involved. The cabinet had commenced the war; and, by their mad continuance of it, had reduced the lower order of people to the most abject and intolerable distress. Was it therefore to be wondered at, in such circumstances, if some thirty or fifty infatuated individuals, in a mixed assembly of 100,000, should break out and vent their indignation in any manner that the irritation of the moment suggested?

The noble lord then went into an historical review of the events that had occurred in different reigns, and the effects of sanguinary laws against treason, as conducive more to the destruction of monarchical governments, than to the protection of them, and the preservation of public tranquillity. He adverted to the right of granting money in the other house of parliament, and asked, if the noble lord chose to follow the precedent of Charles the Second, and desire the commons to grant three years' pay to the army, whether he could expect to succeed in the attempt? He contended strongly for taking precedents from better times, and then recurred to the statute of Edward the Third, which was accounted the best definition of the treason laws, and was very different from the present bill, which contained words never before employed upon similar occasions;

for instance, the word *constitution*. Who could define the constitution in an act of parliament? Law and government could be defined; but he had good authority, from a famous pamphlet well known to ministers, to say that the word *constitution* could not. From the wording of this clause, he must insist that it created new crimes by new phrases. The word *people* came under the same uncertainty as *constitution*, and was in no other act of parliament. His lordship then said, that, however displeasing it might be to some of their lordships to hear it, he was justified by great and known authorities in saying, that times and circumstances might be such as not only to justify, but to make resistance become a duty. He was much against parliament giving great latitude to the judges by new powers.

Lord Lauderdale concluded his speech with making some observations upon the situation of public affairs, and the deranged state of the finances.

Lord Mansfield expressed a very different opinion of the bill. It had been said, that the statute of Edward the Third was sufficient; but he considered that statute as furnishing too many evasions, and as liable to too much uncertainty, to be a suitable remedy for such an attack as had been made upon his majesty. The statute of queen Elizabeth had been justified by her situation; but he would remark, that the regulations it contained were copied into that of queen Anne. A denial of her right was declared to be high treason; and upon this act a person had been convicted and executed.

In the reign of Charles the Second, he said, much of the leaven of republicanism remained. There were also Fifth-monarchy men, who, indeed,

indeed, differed from the republicans of the present day, who wished for no king, as they adhered to the idea of a king of a certain description. He justified the words, "*and constitution*," which had been inserted in the clause, after the words, "*established government*," in the second part of the bill. He considered the words, as, in every view, proper and parliamentary. Respecting sedition, he could not agree with insinuations that seven years' transportation was too severe a punishment for the second offence; and though told that it would give dissatisfaction without doors, he would not allow this circumstance to influence his mind, in spite of the unpopularity his conduct might occasion. He concluded with some compliments to the known humanity and fortitude of his majesty.

After some explanation between lord Grenville and lord Lauderdale, the duke of Norfolk rose, and contended that the doctrine of resistance was a principle of the constitution, to which the family of Brunswick owed their elevation, and which in every situation he would remember, though he would not fix the precise occasion on which it ought to be employed. He was of opinion, that, from the evidence they had received at the bar on the first day of the session, some measure might have been proposed to prevent his majesty from being molested in his passage to and from parliament, which he thought not sufficiently provided for by the statute of Edward the Third; yet, he said, that in its present form, and embracing such a variety of objects, he would certainly vote against the bill.

The earl of Abingdon opposed the bill; and unaccountably introduced some observations on his own case, and on the late Mr. Estwick.

The duke of Leeds said, that his respect for the sacred person of his majesty would induce him to consent to go into a committee with the bill, in hopes that it might be so qualified, as to afford a sure protection to the king without violating the rights of the people. He would wish to leave out the word "*government*" altogether. It was more general, and capable of a wider latitude of construction, even than the word "*constitution*."

The marquis Townshend saw nothing in the bill to prevent counties from deliberating on public measures, and expressing their free opinion on every subject.

The duke of Bedford concluded the debate by saying, that no satisfactory answers had been given to the arguments against this bill; but special care had been taken to misapprehend what had fallen from him and others. This bill, in his opinion, did not give any additional security to his majesty, while it affected the most valuable rights of Englishmen; and therefore he again declared that he should think it his duty to give the bill the most decided opposition in every legal way that it could be opposed, and that in every stage both in the house and out of it; for if that bill passed into a law, there was such an infringement in the constitution as no man could contemplate without horror.

The question was then put, and the house divided: contents 56, proxies 23—non contents 7, proxy 1*.

The bill was then ordered to be committed the next day.

* The minority were, the duke of Bedford, the earl of Lauderdale, the earl of Abingdon, lord viscount Chedworth, the earl of Derby, the earl of Beiborough, lord viscount St. John. — Proxy, earl of Guildford.

In the house of commons, on the same day, November 10, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, for taking into consideration his majesty's proclamations of October 31, and November 4, 1795.

Mr. Pitt painted in glowing colours the strong impressions which the criminal and outrageous insult committed upon his majesty in person, on the first day of the session, had made upon the minds of all his subjects, and remarked, that those outrages proceeded from circumstances upon which he meant to ground the proceedings of that night. If, under this first impression, every man should think himself called upon by the affection he owed to the person of the sovereign, to apply a remedy to those very alarming symptoms (which he presumed would be the case) another impression would arise out of it, equally forcible, namely, that they would do this business but by halves, if they directed their attention solely to that separate attack upon the person of his majesty, and not to those formidable circumstances which were connected with it in point of principle, and which produced it in point of fact. If the house meant such enormities should be totally averted, they should adopt some means to prevent those seditious assemblies, which served as vehicles to faction and disloyalty, which fanned and kept alive the flame of disaffection, and filled the minds of the people with discontent.

His motion was not, therefore, to alter or enforce the laws for the king's safety, because the other house had then before them a bill to that effect; but to prevent those meetings to which all the mischiefs he

had mentioned might be attributed.

The meetings to which he alluded were of two descriptions; the first, under a pretext of petitioning parliament for rights of which they affected to be deprived, agitated questions, and promulgated opinions, hostile to the existing government, and tending to bring it into disrepute with the people. The other description, though less numerous, not less public nor less dangerous, was concerted evidently for the purpose of disseminating unjust grounds of jealousy and discontent, and of encouraging the people to acts of even treason itself. Both these required some strong law to prevent them; for if the arm of the executive government was not strengthened by such a law, they would be continued, if not to the utter ruin, at least to the disgrace of the country.

No man would deny the right of the people to express their opinions on political men and measures, and to discuss and assert their right of petitioning all the branches of the legislature; but it was the duty of the house to prevent these privileges from being made a pretext for subverting the established government of the country. He confessed, however, that it was necessary to proceed with caution in this business, lest, on the one hand, they should encroach on the rights of the people, or, on the other, suffer the abuse of those rights to become the instrument of their total extinction. This matter ought to be attended to in the detail; but the house would see, that at present, the real question was, "did not the pressure of the moment call for some remedy?"

According to the best opinions he could collect, the great point wanted

wanted then was a more clear and defined power in the magistrate, to disperse and put an end to all meetings likely to be productive of consequences such as were already mentioned: he by no means meant this power of dispersion to extend to meetings obviously lawful, and held for legal purposes; but that in every case of a numerous meeting of whatever nature, or under whatever colour, notice should be given, so as to enable the magistrate to keep a watchful eye over their proceedings—to recognize the power of the magistrate to be present at such meetings, and to enforce penalties on those who should obstruct him in doing so; and, on whatever pretext the meeting might be held, if it appeared to be of a kind that was likely to promote sedition against government, to invest the magistrate with power to apprehend the persons on the spot—to make any obstruction to the magistrate felony—and to make a provision, that if arresting should not be found sufficient to disperse the meeting, they should be dispersed in the same manner, and under the same penalties, as those contained in the Riot Act. This summary power in the magistrate, while it would still leave to the people the fair right to petition, on the one hand, would, on the other, prevent the abuse of it. This, he said, was the outline of the bill he meant to propose.

Under the other description of meetings, through which the minds of the people were poisoned, fell those of public lecturers, who made the dissemination of sedition the source of a livelihood. To them he thought it would be proper to apply regulations, somewhat like those that passed, about fourteen years before, in an Act which was called Mansfield's Act, and by

which all houses wherein improper meetings were held on a Sunday, were to be treated as *disorderly houses*. And, to avoid evasion, the clause should apply to every house wherein any people meet, "exceeding, by a certain number to be stated in the Act, the real family of the house." "So convinced am I," said he, "that there can be but one feeling, and one opinion, that some measure of this kind is necessary; [here a cry of "hear!" on the opposite side] and so little am I shaken in that conviction by the adverse vociferation of "*hear! hear!*" that I am sure I should but shew a distrust of the cause if I said any more. I will therefore only move,

"That leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies."

When the speaker had read the motion, Mr. Fox rose, and said that he felt as much horror at the attempt which had been made against his majesty as any man in this kingdom; but he did not think he should express well his feelings, if he declared that his indignation at what happened even on that day, was more than equal to what he felt from what he had heard that night. The chancellor of the exchequer ought to shew the necessity of the bill he proposed; if he meant to ground the necessity upon the assumption that what happened on the first day of the session was in consequence of what passed at the meetings to which he had alluded, he believed he would fail in the attempt. It was said there was a seditious meeting held somewhere in the neighbourhood of the metropolis a few days before the meeting of parliament; that at such meeting very alarming proceedings had taken place, striking at the very

existence of parliament itself. If such meetings were held, and such speeches were made, the speakers were amenable to the law, and, when proven guilty, were liable to adequate punishment. But this bill was to proceed upon the flimsy pretext that all the violence and outrage that had been offered to his majesty was the result of this meeting; of which there was not the colour of a proof.

It had been asked, whether the house should not endeavour to prevent the repetition of such an insult? Undoubtedly it should. But then it should be upon evidence; and here the right of persons meeting any where, to consult on public measures, was to be affected in consequence of what happened to his majesty on the first day of the session, although there was no evidence to prove that the outrage arose from any proceedings that were had at any public meeting previous to that day. Whatever some persons might think to the contrary, the proclamation was not evidence: many had thought proclamations to be the acts of ministers for certain purposes of their own, for the increase of power.

The right honourable gentleman who proposed the bill, spoke with ease on the rights of the subject, as if he intended to bring the public to submit to the most rigid despotism. In that detail, Mr. Fox said, he should never take a share, for he would never attend the detail of a measure which in its essence was detestable. He contended, that public meetings for the discussion of public subjects were not only lawful, but the very essence of the constitution, and of the liberties which Englishmen enjoyed. The mover of the bill had said that these meetings were not to be prevented,

they were only to be regulated. "Attend," said Mr. Fox, "to his regulation. I thought I knew the rights of man, and the rights of Englishmen. [Here was a great cry of hear! hear!] What," said he, "is it a slip, do you suppose, and that *the rights of man* is a sentence without a meaning? Have men no natural rights? If so, Englishmen's rights can have no existence. The rights of man, I say, are clear: man has natural rights; and he who denies it, is ignorant of the basis of a free government; he is ignorant of the first principles of ours, for these rights are naturally connected with the best parts of the history of our country."

The people, he said, had always a right to discuss their grievances, and to petition, for redress, not only the houses of parliament, but even the king himself; but now, it seems, they are not to do so, unless notice be given to a magistrate, that he may become a witness of their proceedings. This attendant magistrate, this jealous witness, was empowered to arrest any person whom he in his wisdom thought had uttered any thing seditious. Not only so; he had power to dissolve the meeting at his own will. "Say, at once," said Mr. Fox, "that a free constitution is no longer suitable to us; conduct yourselves at once as the senators of Denmark did: lay down your freedom, and acknowledge and accept of despotism; but do not mock the understandings and the feelings of mankind, by telling the world that you are free. Can a meeting, under such restrictions as the bill requires, be called a meeting of free people? Is it possible that the feelings of the people of this country should be thus insulted? Is it possible to make the people of this country believe,

that this plan is any thing but a total annihilation of their liberty?"

Mr. Fox then adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Pitt respecting "Mansfield's Act," and observed, that from this the hon. gentleman thought himself authorized to bring in a bill to prevent the discussion of questions on any day; and this was to be applicable to all places where money was to be taken, merely on an allegation that such question *might* produce mischief. But this was not to be all—it was applicable, it seems, to places where no money was to be taken, because in truth persons might be admitted by means of tickets; and they must not amount to a number beyond a certain one which the minister should be pleased to insert in his bill, unless duly licensed by a magistrate. He would ask again—Was this, or was it not, to prevent all political discussion whatever?

"Behold," said he, "the state of a free Englishman! Before he can discuss any topic which involves his liberty or his rights, he is to send to a magistrate, who is to attend the discussion—that magistrate cannot prevent the meeting; but he can prevent the speaking, because he can allege that what is said has a tendency to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this realm. He hoped the people would be alarmed at the danger their liberties were then in, and assemble, while they might, to discuss the best means of preserving them from the encroachments of the proposed bill, and state their abhorrence of the prin-

ceeding. Those who take this step, he should attribute to their country.

At a moment, that the which the authors of have in view, be to resolution in this coun-

try: if this were their real motive, how could they think to avoid such an evil by proceeding upon a plan which has no respect for the liberties of the people, no esteem for the experience to be derived from a perusal of our history? Good God, Sir!" exclaimed Mr. Fox, "I have seen and have heard of revolutions in different states: but they were not owing to the freedom of popular opinions, nor to the facility of popular meetings; they were owing to the very reverse of these; therefore we ought to put ourselves in a state as different from them as possible. But, unfortunately, the present ministers are leading us into a situation as nearly similar as they can to those in which these revolutions happened; particularly to that which at this hour is most interesting to us, the reign of Charles the First."

Mr. Fox next adverted to the French revolution, and desired Englishmen to observe, what brought about the revolution there; and they would find that it was not to be attributed to the facility of public meetings, but on the contrary to their *lettres de cachet*, and other means which were employed to prevent the public from manifesting their opinions on the affairs of government. We should, therefore, to avoid distress similar to theirs, avoid the cause that occasioned it. If the complaints of the people be unfounded, there can be nothing to fear; for the more vehemently and loudly they express them, if they be groundless, the less effect will they ultimately produce; but if a stop be put to this vent for the ill-humour of the body politic, there can be no alternative between abject submission and violent resistance. He concluded by observing, that, if this bill was brought in,

he should think it his duty to move for a call of the house.

Mr. Stanley observed, that if this bill passed into a law, we were upon the eve of a revolution. He expressed his astonishment at the blindness of ministers in adopting such a measure; men were not so blind, he said, if laws were properly administered, and their happiness even partially secured, as to fly in the face of evil, and risk all the danger and insecurity consequent upon public disorder. The celebrated Montesquieu had asserted that the surest proof of a country's verging on destruction was an enormous increase of penal laws; on that ground alone, if there were not numerous others more powerful, he should oppose the bill. The existing laws were, he thought, every way sufficient to arm the magistrate with proper power for the suppression of illegal meetings. Mr. Stanley considered the present bill as a libel on the loyalty of Englishmen, and concluded with declaring his affection for that constitution which he had been taught from his earliest infancy to admire, and which he now feared was about to be subverted; a measure which would make him abhor the authors of it for the remainder of his life.

Sir William Pulteney said, gentlemen would do well to enquire whether the present measure was likely to produce such an infringement upon the privileges of the people as had been alleged, before they gave it a bad colour with the public.

Sir William agreed that the

measure would militate against liberty, if it prevented free discussion: but he thought that the bill did not go to suppress the liberty of the press, which was a mode of discussing all popular and political topics, fully adequate to all the purposes of the community, and which he should be sorry to see surrendered. That alone was sufficient to maintain the blessings of the constitution; and that could not exist in a republican form of government, in an absolute government, or in any form of government which he knew, except a limited monarchy, such as we happily enjoyed. In such inflammatory assemblies as those in question, where sedition was copiously dealt out to the multitude, there ought to be something to save the public mind from imbibing the insidious poison. The great danger of such meetings was, that they only heard one side of a question; and their ignorance and want of information led them on to action, without considering what ought to be said on the other side.

The regulations of policy and law, he said, ought to be suited to circumstances and times; at one time a people might be rash, as in the present instance; at another, sluggish; it was then the business of legislators to apply their remedy to the occasion. He attempted to set Mr. Fox right in his assertion that such a measure was never resorted to in any free country. Even in America no meeting of the people could be held without the presence of the magistrate*. It was

* We suspected this assertion to be erroneous, when it first reached our ears. We have since made enquiry; and are informed, from good authority, that, in America, whoever pleases may call a meeting—as many as please may meet, when, where, and as often as they choose—to discuss whatever subjects they think proper—and that no magistrate has the smallest authority to interfere—unless the tacit implied authority which is vested in every magistrate in every country—to interpose in case of acts of violence, and outrageous breaches of the public peace.

proper

proper that such a power should be given to the magistrate, to set such assemblies to rights; if treasonable proceedings were the avowed intention of any bodies of men, treason ought not to be tamely suffered in this or any country. If the magistrate exceeded his powers, he might be punished; there was no fear that liberty would be surrendered in a country where the juries were judges whether a publication was a libel or not. He gave his support to the bill, because he thought it would remedy an evil, without infringing the rights and liberties of the people.

Mr. N. B. Halhed expressed his unwillingness to press forward to claim the notice of the house. But when a town was besieged, he said, the most peaceful inhabitant must come forward to handle the musket or line the battery; he had long contented himself in the silent enjoyment of the inestimable privileges of a free-born Englishman. He disagreed with the majority of the house with respect to the war; but there he stood. He approved of the first proclamation, offering a great reward for the apprehension of those who so notoriously insulted the king in his way to parliament. If any flagitious miscreant had been seen to throw a stone at the king's carriage, the investigation ought to have been followed up with the utmost degree of exactness; but he appealed to the breast of every gentleman in that house, whether, with this clue to a perfect knowledge of the case, it would not have been more proper to have pursued that investigation upon the grounds

upon oath, than
shortly round into
with of research, and
action to a quite dif-

He owned, that
third proclamation,

the object of their present discussion, he was surprised and alarmed. Because a riotous and starving mob insulted his majesty, and appeared to aim at his life on a certain day,—a mob evidently exasperated by personal sufferings, calling to the common father of his people for peace and bread,—are their outrages to be attributed to a peaceable assembly of persons, whose behaviour was in every respect tranquil and exemplary,—who, the day before, had been convened to deliberate on the means of legally restoring their political rights? There was not the slightest symptom, or the most distant hint insinuated, that those mean and despicable persons who insulted his majesty on the first day of the sessions, had been seen at the peaceable meeting held near Copenhagen house. He had no hesitation in declaring that the alarm, so industriously spread in the latter end of 1792, against the different societies united for the purpose of procuring a parliamentary reform, was very consistent and natural to an administration who were about to adopt the very measures they had reprobated in their predecessors. The calling out of the militia at a most unusual season, of apprehending sundry persons, and seizing a voluminous mass of papers, under the pretence that the constitution was in danger, was admirably well calculated to annihilate the most distant hopes of these societies in future, and commence a *reign of terror* which no succeeding opposition would have been able to shake. After a long lapse of time, the persons imprisoned were brought to trial: but, thank God, the integrity of a jury empanelled in the metropolis, in the very vortex of ministerial influence, suddenly dispersed the tremendous cloud, and left nothing for ministers but the

miserable shift of the possibility of an existing conspiracy without *conspirators*! Finding themselves foiled in this attempt to annihilate the societies for procuring a parliamentary reform, ministers thought proper to change the mode of proceeding, and by one blow to quash not only these existing societies, but even the possibility of their ever existing in future. Mr. Halhed concluded a speech of considerable length with observing, that every sentence of the proclamation was a mere assumption of fact, without any proof whatever.

Mr. Maurice Robinson said that he had heard that night from an honourable baronet, a sophistical explanation of the nature of the bill, more dangerous, because more insidious, than the open avowal of the chancellor of the exchequer. By this bill the interests of the sovereign were opposed to those of the people; whereas it had generally been held, that the sovereign was the third branch of the legislature, and was bound to defend the democratical interests as well as his own. He was not astonished at the want of evidence to support the bold assertions of ministers. The Romans, he observed, felt no surprise when Caligula made his horse a consul, because his antecedent conduct would have justified any extreme of despotism, however absurd: but he did not pretend that his horse was a Roman senator. Mr. Robinson contended that the interference of a magistrate, at a public meeting of peaceable subjects, would be an arbitrary measure. He also alluded to a member of that house, who had proposed a bill to diminish the benefits arising from a trial by jury in the city of London. He concluded with observing, that he could consider the bill in no other view than as an execra-

ble compound of oppression and folly.

Mr. Alderman Lushington came forward to obviate an assertion which had been made respecting his attempting to lessen the benefits arising from the trial by jury, and said, that when the matter was more fully discussed, it would appear whether or not such an imputation was fairly charged upon him. He then adverted to the bill proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and said, that, when he considered the daring insult which had been offered to his majesty, and the various seditious and tumultuous meetings which had been held near the metropolis, he thought the strong measures of the honourable gentleman necessary for the preservation of the constitution. If a negative was put to this bill, he would venture to say, that not only every man in that house, but millions without the house, would lament the day when it was rejected.

The alderman took notice of the expression of Mr. Fox relative to the rights of man, and observed, that he had no doubt but the honourable gentleman was aware of the rights of social compact; he was persuaded, he could not mean to allude to the rights of nature in opposition to civilization and subordination. He concluded with observing, that, if magistrates interposed the authority given them by the bill in an undue and unconstitutional manner, there would be many sound who were able and willing to bring them to justice, and assert the liberty of the people.

Mr. Curwen declared his abhorrence of the attempt which had been made that night to deprive the subject of his best and dearest privilege. No man deprecated more than he did the idea of an attack upon the sovereign, but if any thing,

in his judgment, could endanger the person of his majesty, it would be the proposed bill. It was true that the honourable gentleman who brought it into that house, had sufficient cause to suppress the voice of the people, because he had suffered from it. What was it that put a stop to the Spanish armaments? Not the majority of that house, but the voice of the people. What was it that put a stop to the Russian war? The voice of the people. To preserve this voice inviolate, he would risk his life and property; and it was indifferent to him, if the bill should pass, whether the constitution was destroyed by despotism, or an insurrection of the people. He said this bill was fabricated only for the convenience of ministers, who wished to put a stop to complaints against them to the throne: after his majesty in his speech had spoken of the general moderation and good behaviour of the people, both houses of parliament were called upon to pass a bill which no minister before presumed to bring forward. He was assured that the country had only to be apprised of its danger, and the bill would never pass.

Mr. Wilberforce approved of the general principle of the bill. For the three last years, he said, attempts had been made to poison the minds of the people with those false principles of liberty which had produced such extensive mischief in a neighbouring country; it was not only French politics which were attempted to be introduced here, but French philosophy also; in the numerous publications in which those doctrines were introduced, there was a marked contempt for every thing sacred, an avowed opposition to the religion as well as to the constitution of Great Britain. Lectures were given, and harangues

delivered, of the most seditious and inflammatory nature. That all this had not been without effect, was too manifest from the daring insult offered to his majesty. He thought administration deserved the thanks of the nation for taking measures to prevent the like outrages in future. He did not regard the bill proposed by his right hon. friend as militating against the right of discussing political questions, and expressing to parliament the national will; he rather thought that right would acquire new life and vigour, when those assemblies, at which public discussions took place, should be brought under proper regulations. He confessed, however, that it was *not willingly* that he resorted to this bill; all that was left to him was a choice of difficulties.

Respecting that part of the proposed measure which related to seditious clubs and debating societies, he thought there could hardly be two opinions. After some observations upon what had fallen from Mr. Fox relative to clubs and societies, Mr. Wilberforce said he had always considered it as the grand preservative of the British constitution, that there was a popular assembly, the house of commons, in which all popular grievances might be properly and freely discussed, to which the people might be encouraged without fear to bring their complaints, where they would be sure to find able advocates for removing their grievances.

It was with more concern than surprize, Mr. Sheridan said, that he had heard the approbation of the last speaker to the motion of that evening; but he thought that the right honourable gentleman who introduced the motion, had been struck dumb with shame from the strong and irresistible arguments urged by Mr. Fox against the nature

ture and dangerous tendency of the bill in question : and he hoped they would have produced the abandonment of his project.

The honourable gentleman who spoke last, agreed to the measure, because he was desirous of handing down the liberties we enjoy unimpaired to posterity. He had unfortunately to remark, that the bill in question was one of the first to destroy those liberties. Mr. Sheridan remarked the evident contradictions of ministers and their adherents respecting the loyalty of the people. Mr. Jenkinson had asserted at the opening of the session, that one blessed consequence of the war was, that it had eradicated French principles : it now appeared that this assertion was erroneous, and that, after a year of famine, and another approaching, these principles were more and more extended. He reminded Mr. Alderman Lushington, who had declaimed against reformers, and protested against locking up his intellects in a strong box in deference to his great grandfather, that he had once been an advocate for parliamentary reform ; and as he thought that at Copenhagen-house the attendance of a magistrate was essential, so Mr. Sheridan thought that the attendance of the honourable gentleman in future with the friends of the people, which was a name he had probably an aversion to now, would be of very great advantage, as they should not only have the attendance of a very zealous reformer, but a magistrate in the same person, only they might wish to dispense with his bevy of constables.

Another gentleman (sir William Pulteney) had treated the subject with levity, by observing, that in America it was usual for a magistrate to attend every public assembly, by way of letting the people

know both sides of the question, and setting them to-rights. Hence it was clear, that in England his worship was not to be appointed to attend all public meetings so much to take up the orators, as *to take up their arguments*. He hinted at the depressed state of those inhabitants (Westminster for instance), whose discussions upon public grievances were liable to be put an end to by magistrates who were pensioners, and mere dependants of the minister. With regard to the assault upon his majesty, he believed in his soul and conscience that *all the tumults had been raised by that immense army of spies* which had been disbanded. He concluded by declaring that he hoped the house would not suffer such a libel as this bill to pass ; for if it were to pass, he should think it unworthy to make use of that exclusive privilege which is allowed to the members of that house, to be the prattling representative of a dumb and enslaved people.

Mr. Martin said he believed in his conscience that the right honourable gentleman had taken advantage of what had happened, to rouse a spirit in the country to support the intolerable measures of his government. Every town in England was almost full of soldiers ; he had a little time before passed through Oxford, where he hoped to enjoy a little repose from the active scenes of life ; but he had heard there more drums, trumpets, and fifes, than college bells. He remembered the day when no member of that house would dare to have proposed such a measure as this of the chancellor of the exchequer.

The bill was strenuously defended by the secretary at war (Mr. Windham). He had heard much of the liberties of this country being gone : but the assertions were supported by

by very little reasoning. The honourable gentlemen on the other side of the house had long been too much in unison with the public meetings referred to in the proposed bill: therefore it was not surprizing that they should both think the same upon the present occasion. It was not, however, from such opinions that the house was to form its ideas. No man could doubt that a number of men in this country were engaged in designs to subvert the constitution. Certain gentlemen exulted at that circumstance. If the law at present did not reach those societies, it was fit that a law should be made for them, because their principles went directly to destroy the constitution. Whether certain doctrines had made a progress in the country, and whether they were attended with danger, or were likely to be so, was the issue between them, and on which he called for judgment. He then adverted to the French revolution, and said that the present rulers in France had endeavoured to exterminate all traces of ancient institutions, and had attempted to make the world adopt new principles. Was there a country in Europe safe from the poison of these principles? It was evident there was a set of men in this country, who openly professed an attachment to the French republic, who wished them success, and only waited for an opportunity to co-operate with them and join them. To say that the war against France was not *just*, was an outrage against the common sense of every man!!! He added that the progress of laws and crimes must go hand in hand. When new offences occur, new laws must be enacted to meet them. The only question was, whether this remedy was to be applied, or whether those societies and their meetings were to be permitted to

go on preaching sedition and treason as much as they pleased? They had circulated hand-bills and papers of a nature too scandalous to be stated. They mentioned directly the assassination of the sovereign; and this was followed in a few days by an actual attack upon him. No government that ever existed permitted such meetings; and as an *argumentum ad hominem*, the glorious system of new French liberty did not admit them.

Mr. Grey observed that the decline and abjuration of violent democratic principles had on a former occasion been much dwelt on, as the happy effect of the war; yet at that moment, the prevalence of those very principles was made the ground of the bill proposed by ministers. It was argued in favour of the motion, that the spirit of turbulence and discontent was increasing in this country, and the bill intended to be brought in by ministers was thought a necessary measure to secure the constitution from invasion. He allowed that discontents did prevail in the nation; but if those discontents were properly traced, they would be found to have originated from the corruption and folly of ministers, in plunging the country into an unjust war, which produced calamities they were unable to alleviate or redress. He next went into an examination of the proposed bill, and declared that he could not see any connection between the meeting at Copenhagen-house, and the outrage which had been committed on his majesty's person; so far from it, he said, he would rather incur the imputation of acting with those men to whom ministers alluded, than suffer the motion made that night to pass without his most marked disapprobation; considering it, as he did, as an attempt to rob the

peop

people of their dearest rights, and enslave the nation. As some of the members on the ministerial side of the house had alluded to the persons who were acquitted in the trials for high treason, Mr. Grey took that opportunity of asserting that he exulted in their acquittal; and considered that British liberty was in that instance, by the constitutional exertions of a jury, rescued from the most flagitious and daring attack ever made upon it. He believed ministers were deeply affected that they had not succeeded on that occasion; but it appeared from the present motion, that they intended to secure their success on a future day. "Are not the laws, as they now stand," exclaimed Mr. Grey, "sufficient to prevent or suppress seditious meetings? What tumult occurred in consequence of the meeting at Copenhagen-house? The people assembled and dispersed in the most peaceable manner; and the speeches delivered there, of which such artful use has been made, did not excite the least commotion." After some animadversions upon the harangue of Mr. Windham, Mr. Grey concluded by observing that he would embrace every opportunity of opposing this detestable measure.

Mr. Buxton said, four or five hundred people had assembled in his neighbourhood, who, he was confident, had not an idea to amend but to overturn the constitution. To effect this, was clearly the object of most of those popular meetings. He would therefore give his support to the bill, but hoped it would be repealed when the necessity of the times would no longer justify it.

Mr. Montague spoke a few words; and Mr. Bouverie said he would vote for bringing in the bill, but should oppose it in its future progress.

The house then divided on the chancellor of the exchequer's motion,

Ayes	-	214
Noes	-	42

Majority 172 for bringing in the bill.

Mr. Fox then urged the necessity of a call of the house, previous to the ultimate decision on a bill of so much importance. He concluded with moving a call.

Mr. secretary Dundas had no objection to the call of the house upon this occasion, because he was willing to own, that, unless it was obvious that the bill had the concurrence of the majority of the people of England, it ought not to be passed into a law. That it would be found to have such concurrence, he had no doubt, *having been besieged in his office, for months past, with applications for such a bill;* and it was by the advice of a number of gentlemen, that ministers had at length brought it forward.

The unguarded admission of the secretary of state did not escape the penetration of Mr. Sheridan, who said, he could now charge ministers with the most glaring inconsistency in this business; since, in the first instance, they declared the outrage committed on the person of the king to be the ground-work of the measure, and immediately afterwards admitted that they had such a bill in contemplation before the outrage took place. Mr. Sheridan, and the other members of opposition who argued against the two bills, clearly inferred from the above concession of Mr. Dundas, that this measure was in contemplation of ministers ever since the acquittal of Hardy and others for high treason.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after making a reply to the charge of

of inconsistency intimated by Mr. Sheridan, gave notice that the bill would be produced in a day or two; that it would be read a first and second time, and go through the committee before the call.

Mr. Grey urged the right the people of England had to expect that a bill of such dreadful import should at least be discussed in a full house; and assured Mr. Pitt, that he should oppose it in every legal way, both in that house and without.

Mr. Maurice Robinson joined Mr. Grey in saying that he hoped time would be given at least to utter the last bitter groans of expiring liberty.

After some observations from Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, the house agreed to the motion for a call, which was fixed for that day fortnight.

On the 11th of November, the bill for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts was read to the peers, in a committee of the whole house.

The preamble being postponed, their lordships proceeded to fill up the blanks, and amend the clauses of the bill, when the words, "malicious or ill-advised speaking," were omitted on the motion of lord Grenville.

The duke of Leeds moved to insert certain words of the statute of the 25th Edward Third, which related to the charging of an overt act of treason in the indictment, and declaring it necessary for that act to be proved in evidence by two witnesses of the same condition with the person indicted, previous to conviction.

This amendment gave rise to a

long and learned discussion, in which lord Thurlow, the lord chancellor, the earl of Lauderdale, and lord chief justice Kenyon, took part. The law of treasons was the principal subject of argument, which chiefly turned on the question, how far it was requisite to express in the bill, that an overt act should be charged in the indictment for high treason, and of the criminal extent of words. It was agreed, that mere loose words did not constitute an overt act of treason; but that words, coupled with an action corroborative of the design or menace to kill the king, expressed in such words, was an overt act of treason, and capable of being so charged in an indictment for compassing the death of the king.

The earl of Lauderdale signified a wish to introduce a clause in the bill, exempting from the penalties of this part of the proposed bill, the attempts to depose his majesty from the kingdom of Corsica, or any dominions gained since the war; but, after some conversation with lord Grenville and others, he withdrew his amendment.

At length the duke of Leeds withdrew his amendment; and the lord chancellor moved that the words, "or other overt act," should be inserted after the words, "any printing, writing:" which was agreed to.

Upon the second clause, the duke of Leeds moved, that, in the expression, "established government and constitution of this realm," there should be omitted the words "government and," meaning afterwards, his grace said, to move to insert the words, "consisting of king, lords, and commons." This amendment, he conceived, would prevent the misconstruction which might

might arise from the vague and indefinite meaning of the word "*government*."

Lord Grenville and the lord chancellor contended that the amendment of his grace would rather tend to create than to remove that confusion which it was intended to prevent.

Lord Thurlow, on the contrary, asserted that it was difficult to define, with logical accuracy, the terms *government* and *constitution*. While he reprobated every attempt to vilify or degrade the person of his majesty, he considered the penal enactment of this clause as too severe in many cases to which it might be applied. Was it a matter of such criminality, as that to which he had alluded, to say that it was an abuse that twenty acres of land below Old Sarum Hill should send two representatives to parliament? Yet, this might be represented as tending to create a dislike of the established constitution, since under it such a case existed. He was decidedly of opinion, that the present laws of the country were fully adequate to the punishment and restraint of the crimes which this clause of the bill was meant to embrace. New acts, and severe penalties, he thought little calculated to attain the object proposed. He was convinced in his own mind, and his opinion was confirmed by the authority of the statute-book, that severe penal laws could never conduce to the safety of a prince, or the preservation of any constitution. His lordship expressed his disapprobation of the whole of this clause, as well as of the succeeding one, which placed the power of prosecution in the discretion of the ministers.

The lord chancellor expressed his surprize at the opinion which the

learned lord had expressed. The magnitude of the crimes against which this clause was directed must be obvious to every lord who read or heard of the publications which the press teemed with, and which were distributed daily through the streets. In their consequences and utmost extent, they aimed at the subversion of every part of the constitution. They taught the people that royalty was an usurpation of their rights, and an aristocracy a nuisance to which they should not submit. They laboured to persuade them that they had no political existence; that they ought to assert their own importance; and menaced the same evils which this country once experienced; and of which a neighbouring nation afforded a distinct example. Were such enormities, which aimed at the vitals of the constitution, too rigorously punished by the penalties of this bill?

Lord Mansfield supported the opinion of the lord chancellor; and lord Lauderdale, in reply, asserted that nothing he had heard had effaced the impression made on his mind by the excellent observations of the learned lord (Thurlow). Instead of meeting the arguments of his learned friend, the lord chancellor had painted, in glowing colours, the atrocious tendency of the publications in circulation, and had descanted upon the evils which such principles had produced in France, as if the learned lord had been ignorant or insensible of the criminality of the conduct of such men, and indifferent to the effects it might produce. The learned lord had argued upon the authority of the statute-book; and none of his positions had been contradicted. Lord Lauderdale said, it was easy to conceive that there might be men
at

at the head of affairs in this country, who would be disposed to punish, with an unrelenting severity, the person who attacked one branch of the constitution, while they would cherish the libeller of the other. Some one might represent the monarchy as independent of the parliament. Such an offender might find his safety from the punishment of this bill in the similarity of his sentiments to those of the ministers, and might securely strike at the foundation of two parts of the constitution, while he proved his zeal and attachment to the throne. A period might exist, when, as in the present days, the principles which placed his majesty on the throne would be detested as the symptoms of disaffection, while the advocates of prerogative might find their abettors in the bosom of the cabinet.

The bishop of Rochester spoke in favour of the clause, and of every part of the bill; and lord Grenville attempted to refute the opinion of lord Thurlow.

Lord Lauderdale, in defence of the opinion lord Thurlow had given of the bill, adverted to what had formerly fallen from a noble duke now high in office (the duke of Portland), namely, that much of the calamities and distresses under which the country suffered, was owing to the misconduct of the persons now in office.

The lord chancellor, after an apology for his own weakness in attempting to refute the opinion of the noble lord who had preceded him on the woolsack, said, that instead of disapproving of the clause in which it is provided that no person shall be prosecuted unless it be by order of the king or his council, he admired it; because it removed the odium from attaching to any

particular individual, and made his majesty's secretary of state, and the various persons who composed his council, responsible for the indictment of every person. So far, then, from its being an engine in the hands of government to accelerate any summary process, it became a check upon the government, and retarded the prosecution.

Lord Carnarvon hoped that this bill would not do away the authority of the house of commons, to impeach any minister who should maliciously incite or stir up the people to the hatred or dislike of his majesty or the constitution. He understood that the house of commons maintained this authority; but with what right, he was not able to determine; and therefore it was necessary the bill should be clear and explicit; he wished that to be explained; for there was as much mischief to be apprehended from ministers as from other persons.

After some further conversation, the following amendment was agreed to,

"And if any person or persons shall, after being so convicted, offend a second time, and be thereupon convicted, such person or persons may, on such second conviction, be adjudged, at the discretion of the court before whom they may be so convicted, either to be banished this realm, or to be transported to such place as shall be appointed by his majesty for the transportation of offenders, for such term as the court may appoint, not exceeding seven years."

The duke of Bedford said he could not let this clause pass without giving it his most decided opposition. He looked upon it as a daring attack and flagitious outrage on the liberty of the subject, and felt

felt as a man that might incur the penalty in making this declaration. His grace adverted to some words which had fallen from the bishop of Rochester relative to publications on the subject of parliamentary reform. The learned prelate, in reply, observed that common speculative and philosophical disquisitions might be still written and published, though he always thought they did more harm than good; for the bill was merely directed against those idle and seditious public meetings for the discussion of the laws, where the people were not competent to decide upon them. In fact, he did not know *what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws* but to obey them.

The earl of Lauderdale and the duke of Bedford expressed their abhorrence of the assertion of the noble prelate; and the former observed, that if he had been in Turkey, and heard such a declaration from the mouth of a *mufli*, he should have attributed it to his *ignorance*; but to hear it from a British prelate, filled him with astonishment and indignation.

The house divided on the clause,

Contents — 45

Not contents 3

After a short conversation, the house was resumed; and notice given that the report of the committee would be received the next day.

On the 12th of November, upon reading the report of the committee upon the treason and sedition bill, the duke of Leeds renewed his motion of amendment for correcting the words, "the established government and constitution of this realm," which were so equivocal and indefinite, that no certainty could be obtained as to the true meaning. At the request, however, of the lord chancellor, his grace a-

greed to defer his motion till the third reading.

On the following day, upon the third reading of this bill, the earl of Lauderdale observed, that if the bill about to be passed was adequate to suppress sedition in a country where a disposition to overturn the laws was said to have appeared, it would surely be sufficient where a very opposite spirit prevailed. He could not think it possible that stronger penalties were necessary to suppress sedition in a Scotchman than in an Englishman. He therefore proposed that the following clause should be added to the bill:

"Provided also, and be it enacted, that this act shall extend to that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and that no prosecution shall be there instituted by indictment at common law, or otherwise, for any offence within the provisions of this act, otherwise than under this act."

Lord Mansfield, and others of the court lords, opposed this amendment of the earl of Lauderdale; and it was at length negatived without a division.

The duke of Bedford then rose to make his final declaration against the bill. He said he felt so great a depression of spirits, and found himself so overwhelmed with anxiety of mind, when he contemplated the bill then before the house, that he was compelled by those sensations to oppose it through all its stages, and would endeavour, by one other effort, to impress their lordships with the sentiments he entertained on the subject. His grace contended that this measure was not merely an extension of the criminal law, but a stab to the constitution, and an attempt to strike at the foundation of the liberties of Englishmen. He said it was common for some noble lords to go

go to France for their examples; nor would he there decline to meet them. He allowed the French revolution to be both calamitous and sanguinary; but it was not produced by the harangues of field preachers, or the discussions of political clubs: it was effected by the profligate manners of a licentious court, which sanctioned by its example, and extended by its influence, a contempt of morals and of decency; a corrupt and unprincipled succession of ministers, who involved the nation in unjust and unnecessary wars—who squandered the resources, and irretrievably ruined the finances of a flourishing nation—who stretched the severity of the law beyond the sufferance of human nature. It was by these causes, that the old government of France forfeited the attachment and lost the support of the people.

In this country, he said, the personal virtues of the monarch constituted a marked difference: the amiable character of the king might banish the licentious immorality of a French court; but in the constitution of the cabinet, and the measures of corrupt and wicked ministers (for corrupt he was warranted to call them, in consequence of their profuse and lavish grants of public money) would be found the conduct that contributed to the fall of the French monarchy: a war undertaken, and obstinately prosecuted, without a regard to the interest or the wishes of the people of this country; new places created, and rewards bestowed upon the partizans of their corrupt system.

Before he concluded, the duke observed, that if the laws in existence were adequate to the punishment of sedition, and the sup-

pression of illegal meetings, ministers were culpable for not employing the means furnished by the constitution for its protection, and could not plead necessity for the introduction and enactment of a law which would inevitably overthrow the dearest privileges of the people of England.

Lord Grenville contended for the necessity of the bill in question, and repeated nearly the same arguments which he had used upon introducing the bill into the house. He urged, that it did not create or constitute any new treasons; it only altered the punishment applied to both under the existing laws. Respecting the old government of France, to which the duke of Bedford had alluded, he agreed with him. The manners of the court were dissolute, and its conduct imprudent, and the beginning of the revolution was regarded in a favourable point of view by the people of this country, as it afforded a prospect of encreasing the felicity of a great nation. But what brought on all the plunders, assassinations, blood, and horror, which desolated France, was the system of principles maintained by clubs and public meetings. Political assemblies, it was well known, had been held in England, which openly professed to imitate the clubs in France. These clubs and societies proceeded on the rights of man, as they were called; rights, which, as they explained them, were incompatible with the existence of law, order, religion, or morality.

The earl of Lauderdale, in a speech of considerable ability, contended, that, though ministers pretended that the safety of the king's person had induced them to offer the bill to their lordships, yet on the day he received the outrageous

insult in going to the house, those same ministers suffered him to return without additional guards, or any precaution whatever to prevent a repetition of the insult. The real motive of ministers in bringing forward this measure, was to increase their own power, and conceal, if possible, the shame and confusion which they had brought upon themselves by the madness with which they had prosecuted the war. They knew, that, unless they could prevent the people from meeting and uttering their complaints, their own disgrace would follow; and therefore, under the pretext of providing for the safety of the sovereign, they were endeavouring to provide for their own. The earl of Lauderdale concurred in most of the arguments made use of by the duke of Bedford, and added some just animadversions upon the unconstitutional expression which had a few days before fallen from the bishop of Rochester, namely, that "the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them." With respect to what had been urged by lord Grenville in defence of the bill, he observed, that as to the free discussion of parliamentary proceedings, there never was a common turnpike bill brought into parliament, without being discussed in some meeting, more or less numerous, according to its importance. If the privilege of political discussion be allowed on trivial and partial concerns, surely it ought to be permitted on subjects of importance and general interest. He observed, that ministers had once exerted themselves, through the medium of the courts, to try how far the law of treason would go. Their motive, however, was disappointed by their ignorance; and

because they could not bring their wishes to meet the law, they now came forward to make the law meet their wishes. He concluded with declaring, that he hoped that the spirit of the people would shew itself through every part of the nation, because he was persuaded that, nothing else would save the nation from ruin.

The earl of Abingdon opposed the bill in a desultory and eccentric manner: he alluded to what had been said of the earl of Clarendon by the earl of Mansfield and lord Grenville on a former night, and said that lord Clarendon was a very superstitious person, and believed in ghosts; and as a proof to his assertion, he took a book from his pocket, and quoted several passages.

Upon the question being put, that the bill do pass, the house divided. Contents, 66; non-contents, 7.

A protest against the passing of this bill was entered and signed Bedford, Derby, and Lauderdale.

While the bills were thus warmly discussed in both houses of parliament, the opposition without doors was the most steady and systematic that perhaps was ever manifested to any public measure; and, if we consider the immense force of influence which was wielded at this period by the minister, and which was strenuously employed in support of this favourite system, we ought rather to wonder at the spirit and magnanimity which was displayed by the people, than to be surprised at the efforts which the partizans of administration were enabled to make in their favour.

On the 11th of November, the Whig Club of England met at the Crown and Anchor tavern, his grace the duke of Bedford in the chair.

chair. They resolved, "that they would give every aid to the civil magistrate, in detecting and bringing to punishment the persons concerned in the daring attack made upon his majesty in his passage to parliament on the first day of the session: that, lamenting as they did this nefarious act, they saw with the utmost concern that it had been used as a *pretext* for introducing into parliament a bill striking at the liberty of the press, and the freedom of public discussion; in substance and effect, destroying the right of the subject to petition the branches of the legislature for redress of grievances, and utterly subversive of the genuine principles of the constitution, and for proposing another measure calculated to produce similar effects, by means still more exceptionable.—That it was highly expedient, that meetings of the people in their respective districts should be immediately called to consider this important subject, and for the purpose of petitioning parliament against the said bill, or any other measure which might tend to infringe the just rights of the people of Great Britain."

This meeting was uncommonly strong. All the members of both houses of parliament belonging to the club were present, to the number of near fifty lords and members of the house of commons.

The members of the Corresponding Society (which had afforded the unfortunate excuse for these proceedings), and others of the populace, assembled on the 12th of November in a field near Copenhagen house. The insinuations of the minister, as implicating the society in the attack on his majesty, were indignantly repelled, and satisfactorily refuted. An address, remonstrance, and petition to his majesty,

was proposed, stating in strong terms the neglect with which their former petitions had been treated, and imploring his majesty to exert his royal authority to maintain and preserve inviolate the rights and liberties of his subjects, then about to be invaded by the two bills impending in parliament. A petition to the lords spiritual and temporal, nearly to the same purport, was also read, and lastly, one to the commons of Great Britain, stating it to be the petition of nearly four hundred thousand Britons, inhabitants of London and its environs, assembled together in the open air, to express their free sentiments, according to the tenure of the bill of rights, on the subject of the threatened invasion of their constitutional liberties. These petitions being unanimously agreed to, the meeting concluded and dispersed with the most perfect order and decorum.

In the mean time, the association against republicans and levelers, well known by the appellation of Mr. Reeves's Society, met at the Crown and Anchor, and agreed to an address to his majesty, highly approving of the measures that had then been taken, and of the two bills impending in parliament. The example of the Whig Club was immediately followed by the livery of London, the electors of Westminster, the freeholders of Middlesex; and by several counties, and by almost every considerable town in the kingdom: wherever a meeting was publicly called, the decision was almost unanimous. On the contrary, counter-petitions were in several places clandestinely handed about, and signed by the immediate dependants of ministers, by the officers of the customs and excise, the military, and even by school-

boys; for it is a notorious fact, that these pseudo-petitions were introduced into many academies, and the signatures of children not eleven years of age solicited, and in some instances compelled. The utmost exertions of ministers could, however, only procure 64 petitions (including those from military bodies), which, with the utmost latitude of construction, could be interpreted into an approbation of their bills; while the petitions decidedly in opposition to them amounted to the number of NINE-
TY-FOUR: the number of signatures to the latter were also 131,284, while those affixed to the former, including soldiers, excisemen, and school-boys, did not exceed 29,922.

The minister was, however, not checked in his headlong career by the voice of the people: and a confiding majority in both houses of parliament went cheerfully through their labour of lapidating that fabric cemented by the blood of their ancestors. A message from the lords informed the house of commons on the 16th of November, that their lordships had passed an act for the safety and preservation of his majesty from treasonable acts, and desired the concurrence of the commons in the same. The chancellor of the exchequer, after other business, moved, that "this act be read a first time."

This motion was carried by 170 against 26.

Upon the motion for a second reading of the bill, the house again divided. Ayes 151, Noes 25.

Lord Eardley remarked, upon this occasion, on the impropriety of a public meeting having been held by some of the opposition on Sunday, on the subject of the bills then pending in parliament, and observed, that, in this as well as in

other respects, he was sorry to see too great a resemblance to French principles.

Mr. Sheridan observed that he was by no means a person who was apt to fail in respect for the faith or profession of his country. The case was urgent; the object of the meeting was to prepare a hand-bill in order to discourage riot.

Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Sheridan, opposed the bill, on the ground of wishing to bring on first the motion for a committee to inquire into the circumstances of the late attack on his majesty. Several ministerial members urged the indecency of opposing in the first stage a bill for the further security of his majesty's person, whose life had been lately so much in danger,—a bill, which was also recommended to them by the house of lords. In reply to these observations, Mr. Sheridan remarked, that, if such a necessity did exist as justified the bill in question, then proof of that necessity was attainable, and ought to be given; for his part, he had heard of no satisfactory proof for recurring to so violent a measure. Proofs were absolutely necessary; and ministers were bound to furnish them, as the *onus probandi* clearly lay with them. Before the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, ministers had condescended to act with some little decency—with some deliberation—and had accordingly moved for the appointment of a committee of inquiry, upon the report of which committee they afterwards proceeded. If the report were necessary then, it was more indispensable at present: for upon what possible principle, said Mr. Sheridan, could ministers call upon that house, to assent to the strong measures which were then offered for con-

consideration, unless they established an absolute necessity for such measures, and confirmed it by evidence? He would not stoop to the proclamation as a proof, for he considered that proclamation as the declaration of the minister. There was then no authority for consenting to this bill. He was inclined to think, that the *present alarm had been created solely by ministers*, for the accomplishment of their corrupt purposes of libelling the country, as they had formerly done. He remembered, in the late trials for treason, that he had the most clear and distinct proof, that the *whole of the atrocious acts laid to the charge of the prisoners, originated with the informers, reporters, and spies*, employed on that occasion. Having had some doubts as to the existence of the pretended conspiracies, he was resolved to see fair play; and he only discharged his duty as a member of parliament, and one of the guardians of the public welfare, in attending some of those trials. About the same time, intelligence was received of a third plot, whimsically denominated the *pop-gun* plot, which had been investigated by government, and in some degree confirmed by their proceedings. This plot was published with every dreadful particular, and with exaggerated comments, in all the ministerial papers. At length, this plot turned out to be something about a contrivance to assassinate the king at one of the theatres, with a *strange instrument which was never found*, and by men who were afterwards released. Mr. Sheridan next alluded to an assertion made some days before by Mr. Canning, that the doctrine of king-killing had been preached at Copenhagen-house. "Now," said Mr. Sheridan, "if such doctrines had been

preached, prosecutions must have been commenced, or else there must have been great neglect in the magistrates and the executive government, and consequently we are authorised to disbelieve it." He then took notice of the immense meeting which had taken place a few days before in the city of Westminster, for the purpose of petitioning against the two bills then before parliament; if this meeting, he observed, had been held before the meeting of parliament, he should not have been surprised if it had been used as an argument for the necessity of this bill. He concluded by moving,

"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence and extent of the danger of seditious meetings, as referred to in his majesty's proclamation, and laid before the house by his majesty's minister, on the fourth of November."

Mr. Powys contended, that the house had no need of specific evidence of the treasonable designs of the meetings; the notoriety alone was enough to justify the legislature of the country in resorting to strong and decided regulations, to prevent the dangerous consequences of such inflammatory assemblies as those of the Corresponding Society usually were. He alluded to a publication which had been handed about at one of the late meetings held in the fields near London, to which the name of Citizen Lee was annexed as printer, and urged this circumstance as a proof of the connexion between the doctrines preached at them, and the outrage committed upon the person of his majesty on the first day of the session. He said, there was nothing brought to disprove the designs of the societies; the case was this; their guilt

was of such a description, that it did not go so far as to subject the offenders to capital punishment, as in cases of treason. Since, then, there was no existing law to punish their seditious practices, it became necessary to the preservation of the country, and the safety of the government, that a new law should be made to stop them. He contended, that the leaders of those meetings aimed at more than a parliamentary reform; they wished to overturn the government of the country: as a sign of this, they held out the French system as a model of imitation to England. Their proceedings in Scotland, and their debates at Chalk Farm, sufficiently justified this charge.

Mr. Jekyl, on the contrary, urged the case of the notorious Titus Oates, when the ministers of Charles the second, *for their own purposes*, had encouraged, or had framed, similar machinations to those of the present administration. That the *supposed plots were really the production of ministers themselves*, was confirmed by the supineness of the attorney-general, by whom no prosecution was instituted, nor seemed to be designed. Such were the pretences on which the house were required to pass the two bills, one of which assassinated the best privileges of the constitution; the other "gagged the mouths of British subjects." He concluded with urging the necessity of prosecuting an inquiry into the extent of the danger of seditious meetings.

Mr. Curwen, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, urged also the necessity of going into an enquiry, and contended that the laws of this country were amply sufficient for the purpose of suppressing criminal attempts on the constitution; and if they were not properly executed,

it arose from the secret views of ministers themselves. The country was then worn down by calamity and distress, and experienced the bitter fruits of that confidence which had been so liberally and so unwisely reposed in the chancellor of the exchequer. They insisted upon having evidence before them on the present occasion; they would not trust the minister's representations: his conduct displayed a uniform system of delusion and imposture. They observed, that, at the opening of the session, ministers extolled the peaceable and loyal temper of the people, the overthrow of French principles, which the war had effected, and afterwards came to propose laws for the suppression of turbulence and sedition, the necessity of which laws they defended upon events which happened prior to that period. Mr. Fox observed, that, at the beginning of the session, he had congratulated himself, when he heard his majesty talk of the spirit of order and submission to the laws, which, with a very few exceptions, had discovered itself among his faithful subjects. Coupling this declaration with the conduct of ministers, in allowing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus to drop, he had flattered himself that ministers had renounced the opinion, that the evil to be dreaded from certain principles would be diminished by vigorous judicial proceedings, and the prosecution of the war with France. He did not, for his own part, think that the evil was in any degree diminished. Mr. Fox then made some observations upon the different descriptions of spies employed by the minister: first, there were persons who might by chance be privy to some intelligence, which they might deem it essential for the interests or safety of

of the state to communicate; and these he denominated useful or meritorious spies. But there were others who went certain lengths in order to acquire information, and made certain sacrifices, in order more completely to get into the secrets of others: these he reckoned at least doubtful. But there were a third sort, who, in order to serve their own vile purposes, insinuated themselves into the confidence of those whom they wished to betray, not only affected a similarity of sentiment, but even *spurred and goaded them on* — prompted them to adopt more violent language, and more reprehensible propositions, than they would otherwise have employed. Of such characters, there were no words in the English language which could sufficiently mark his detestation. Several spies of this description had appeared at the Old Bailey. These spies had been found the most turious in their sentiments, and the most intemperate in their language. They had often been the exaggerated and falsifying reporters of those proceedings of which they themselves had been the prime movers and contrivers. He then alluded to the trial of Mr. Walker of Manchester, the proceedings at which were of such a nature, that they made his blood run cold whenever he read or thought of them. Mr. Walker indeed, was not put in peril of his life; for it required the oaths of two witnesses to bring him to condign punishment; and, fortunately for human nature, a second Dunn was not to be found. Yet, on the oath of this very man, a gentleman of the name of Paul had for some time been kept in prison. Though Mr. Walker was liberated upon the conviction of the perjury of his ac-

cuser, yet he received no reparation from ministers, for having been put in hazard of his character, his liberty, and his fortune. It was surely the duty of government to make amends to the innocent individual, subjected to the disgrace and hardships of confinement, from the negligence of ministers, or the depravity of their agents. Mr. Fox said, he meant no personal reflection, but he had no hesitation in saying, that, since the commencement of the reign of his present majesty, the freedom of the subject had been considerably diminished. He then proceeded to refute the pretext for not going into an inquiry, from the supposed urgency of danger. He concluded with alluding to a speech he had that day made to a meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster, consisting of thirty thousand people, where he had been heard with unanimity and approbation; so great was the change that had taken place in their sentiments since the commencement of the war.

The attorney general and the chancellor of the exchequer urged, that the motion made then for an inquiry was totally unnecessary, and calculated to create delay. The former was persuaded that the very existence of the country was at stake, and depended upon the adoption of the measures then before parliament. He then went into a vindication of himself in the prosecution of Hardy and others for high treason — particularly for not indicting them for misdemeanors and seditious practices — and declared it as his firm opinion, that he could bring no other charge against the persons accused than he had brought!!! more especially as parliament had stated its proceedings, and had declared that a conspiracy had

had actually existed. He vindicated both the house of commons, the jury, and himself, with respect to the acquittal of the prisoners. It was admitted by the grand jury, that there was ground for an accusation for the crime of high treason; it was therefore his duty to follow up the indictment, and submit the whole of the matter to the jury for their decision. He next proceeded to the bill then before the house for preventing seditious assemblies. He said, the question was, whether the situation of this country was such, that a lesser evil should be adopted to prevent a greater. He allowed the bill would extend the power of magistrates; but argued, that the seditious meetings lately held, and the inflammatory speeches made at them, called aloud for the measures about to be adopted to prevent them in future. He had seen two hand-bills, one entitled, "The Rights of Kings," and the other, "Summary of the Duties of Citizenship," both written for the use of the members of the Corresponding Society. The attorney general then gave it as his opinion, that it was impossible for the laws of the country, as they then stood, effectually to restrain the publication of such libels, and prevent such seditious meetings. He agreed that the proposed laws would in some degree restrain other bodies of men, but contended that *quis populi supremus lex est*.

Sir Francis Basset spoke in favour of the bill, and pointed out the necessity of passing it into a law.

The house at length divided. For the motion, 22; against it, 167.

It is difficult, extremely difficult, to assign one tolerable reason for the minister's conduct in refusing this motion for inquiry. The attack on his majesty had been made

under circumstances which in some persons had excited suspicion. An immense reward offered for the discovery of the offender, had proved ineffectual; and the minister, in the course of the debate, had been publicly compared with the ministers of Charles II. who were known and acknowledged to have fabricated plots and conspiracies to promote their own sinister designs. A man of spirit, in such circumstances, would have called for inquiry instead of resisting it, as if he was afraid of truth, as if he shrunk from investigation. On the other hand, by having the facts in evidence before the house, the arguments of opposition must have been confined within much more limited boundaries. They must have acknowledged the evil; and they could only have deliberated on the simple question, whether the proposed remedy was such as ought to be adopted consistently with the principles of the constitution. How mortifying must it have been to a minister to hear his character impeached by the blackest insinuations, which, in the records of parliament, must descend to posterity, while a little investigation would, we doubt not, have placed it in a fair point of view, and might eventually even have led to the detection of the atrocious offender?

Upon the second reading of the bill for the better preventing seditious assemblies on the 17th of November, the solicitor general (sir John Mitford) arose to explain and to point out the necessity of the bill passing into a law. The sacred freedom of speech, the privilege of which was justly reckoned so distinguished a blessing of the British constitution, had, he said, been shamefully and dangerously abused.

abused. The object of the bill was to prevent the perversion of an important right, and to supersede the necessity of stronger restrictions upon it than the bill was meant to impose. The second part of the bill was intended to remedy the abuse of debating in public meetings, to prevent private interest from prompting discussions of public grievances, and to put a stop to that traffic by which an uncandid and unfair examination of abuses, a turbulent spirit of discontent had been raised and encouraged, to serve the peculiar purposes of individuals. His opinion was, that the provisions in the bill "were not so extensive in their operation as they ought to have been;" and this was the only defect he could see in it. The framers of the bill, however, had been guided by the best of motives. He argued strongly in favour of the bill, on account of the liberty it allowed to call any number of the people together to petition for the removal of grievances, or any other legal purpose, only with the precaution of giving previous notice to a magistrate. The attendance of a justice of the peace, he contended, would rather aid and support the discussion of any moderate question than impede it; because, without such attendance, it would be easier for any enemy to the business before the people to excite the rabble to disturb the meeting and breed a riot, than when such precaution was taken. How then could the bill be represented as subversive of the best privileges of the people of England, or as stabbing the principles of the constitution? Mr. solicitor enlarged on the great impropriety "of public functionaries being paid by the people," which, he said, had produced

all the anarchy in France, and was a principle which the *British constitution* had long abandoned. He laid it down as a maxim, that all revolutions were effected by *minorities*; and that the active persevering spirit of a few would always triumph over the peaceable disposition of the many. After enlarging on the delinquency of Mr. Yorke, and all his usual topics, he concluded a speech of considerable length by asserting, that the existing laws were undeniably defective, as they did not reach the societies from which the evil originated; he therefore supported the second reading.

Mr. Erskine, in the beginning of his speech, referred particularly to what had just been advanced by the solicitor general, who had asserted that the present bill was strictly consonant to the principles of the constitution. An act of this description, said Mr. Erskine, was never thought of in the reign of Charles the Second, after the horrors and confusion of the former reign; such an act was never attempted in the reign of king William, when the government was newly established, during a disputed succession, or in the two rebellions that raged in the subsequent reigns; it was an act which even the present ministry never thought of passing, when they suspended that grand palladium of English liberty, the *Habeas Corpus* act; nor when they had the reports of committees, stating the existence of treasonable plots, upon their table. The *learned* solicitor, he said, defended the necessity of passing the present bill without any fresh reasons or new plots; instead of adducing new evidence, he had trodden again the *dull* track that he had trodden so frequently before, and had travelled back again to the meeting

meeting that had been held near Sneffeld, in which Mr. Yorke, it had been asserted, made a speech highly seditious. In contradiction to the assertion of the solicitor general, that the right of the subject to petition the king was not taken away by the proposed bill, Mr. Erskine said he would maintain positively and distinctly, that the bill, if it could be reduced to practice, would absolutely destroy the right of the subject to petition. It was a maxim in law, when any thing was prohibited by law, the means by which such thing might be done were also prohibited. According to the enactments of the bill, no subject was to be discussed which the magistrates did not approve of; thus those magistrates "who were appointed by, and removable at, the will of the crown (such as sheriffs, &c.) were to be judges of the nature of the petitions of the people." The magistrates, who represented his majesty, he contended, would therefore never permit the people to meet for the purpose of petitioning against a measure of high prerogative, or in any case where the king might be supposed not to consult the happiness of the people. He would say again and again, that "it was the right of the people to resist that government which exercised tyranny." It had been said that bold language had been held at public meetings; it was certainly bold to say that the people had a right to resist, and that they ought to rise; but there were some occasions which rendered the boldest language warrantable.

With the sanction of the sentiments of the venerable earl of Chatham, he would maintain that the people of England should defend their rights, if necessary, by the last

extremity to which free men could resort. "For my own part," said Mr. Erskine, "I shall never cease to struggle in support of liberty. In no situation will I desert the cause. I was born a free man," continued he, and solemnly appealing to his Creator, "I will never die a slave!"

In the whole of the late proceedings and events, he observed, one of the most fatal circumstances had been, that the higher orders of the people separated themselves too much from the lower orders. This had been one of the causes of the revolution in France. Under their arbitrary monarchs, there were literally but two classes of the people; a pampered, profligate, proud nobility, and a low, miserable, and abject rabble; no intermediate class, no knowledge, no virtue.

France had an unreformed church, an unreformed state, a profligate despotism, and the most profound superstition. He urged the necessity of preserving the British constitution pure, in order to prevent a revolution. He defied the whole profession of the law to prove that the bill then before the house was consonant to the principles of the constitution. The constitution was abrogated and annulled by it. Our ancestors were content to wait till some *overt* act appeared, which was the subject of punishment. But, under this bill, the determination of a magistrate was to interfere between the people and the assertion of their rights, and the complaint of their grievances. Depend upon it, said Mr. Erskine, the people of England *will* not and *ought* not to submit.

Mr. Erskine then read a paragraph from an address to the jury at the Old Bailey upon the late trials for high

high treason, which shewed that no conspiracy had existed, and that the opinion of the judge had not been as represented. The chief justice says—

“ All men may, nay, all men must, if they possess the faculty of thinking, reason upon every thing which sufficiently interests them to become objects of their attention; and, among the objects of the attention of free men, the principles of government, the constitution of particular governments, and, above all, the constitution of the government under which they live, will naturally engage their attention and provoke speculation. The power of communication of thoughts and opinions is the gift of God; and the freedom of it is the source of all science, the first fruits and the ultimate happiness of society; and therefore it seems to follow, that human laws ought not to interpose, nay, cannot interpose, to prevent the communication of sentiments and opinions in voluntary assemblies of men.”

Mr. Erskine next commented upon the preamble and several clauses of the bill, and contended that it was in the power of any one man, by going to a meeting and speaking a few seditious words, whether apposite to the subject or not, to afford a warrantable reason for a justice to dissolve the meeting; any spy (and magistrates had their spies) with half a crown in his pocket, might go, and, by uttering seditious expressions, afford his paymaster the power of putting an end to all discussion, and to the meeting. He said the law of the land was fully adequate to all the purposes of good government without the introduction of the present measure. In any public meeting,

when a breach of the peace was committed, a magistrate, by the existing law, was entitled to interfere; and, in his support, was authorized to raise the *posse comitatus*, if necessary; and also, by the Riot Act, he had the power of dispersing tumultuous assemblies.

He then alluded to some sentiments which were formerly uttered by Mr. Burke when speaking of the American war, which he thought peculiarly applicable to the present time. That great man represented Englishmen as contending for an imaginary power; “ We begin,” said he, “ to acquire the spirit of domination, and to lose the relish of honest equality. The principles of our forefathers become suspected to us, because we see them animating the present opposition of our children. The faults which grow out of the luxuriance of freedom appear much more shocking to us, than those vices which are generated from the rankness of servitude.”

It appears from hence, said Mr. Erskine, that the word *equality* is not a word of new coinage, and introduced into the dictionary only three years ago; but a word of long and ancient usage, and stamped with such an authority as that of Mr. Burke. It was his opinion, that the higher ranks did wrong in thus seceding from the lower. If the latter had swerved from their duty, it would be better for the former to rally them round the principles of the constitution, and lead them back to their duty, than thus to make, as it were, a separate cause against them. Let those higher ranks recollect what must be the certain consequence of a contest between them and the lower ranks. He contended, that, if the proposed measures

measures were adopted, it would indicate to France, that this country was in a convulsed state; and as we had expected better terms from them on account of their being in a convulsed state, so they, on the same ground, would be induced to expect better terms from us, if they supposed England to be in a state of confusion.

"Good God!" said Mr. Erskine, "because a king, whose morals make him dear to every man in the nation, was going down to his parliament during a war which had snatched the bread from the mouths of the poor,—because, in the crowd that surrounded him, there was one man, miscreant enough to offer an outrage to that king, for which act he might be punished by the statute of Edward the Third,—are the whole people of England, on that account, for the crime of one man, to be deprived of their most valuable rights and privileges?"

The learned advocate then went into a legal argument, to prove that the offences re-capitulated in the present bill might be punished by the existing laws, and that those laws were amply sufficient. The 13th of Charles the Second was admitted to be the precedent of the bill. Under that act 100,000 persons might meet, and sign any petition to the king or the parliament voluntarily; but the act prevented persons from hawking about petitions to persons to sign, who might not know that any grievances existed. It also provided that not more than ten persons should present any petition to the king. It authorised magistrates to interfere when an overt act of tumult took place, or to require security if danger to the peace was apprehended; but it never prohibited a meeting to be

held. It did not forbid voluntary communication, but prohibited tumultuous petitioning; whereas the bill then before the house prohibited petitioning upon grievances which actually existed. He then alluded to a reform in parliament, and observed that the language of Mr. Pitt once had been, "that we had lost America by the corruption of an unreformed parliament; and that we should never have a *wise and honourable administration*, nor be freed from the evils of *unnecessary war*, nor the *fatal effects of the funding system*, till a radical reform was obtained." But the same right honourable gentleman was then attempting to brand with the imputation of *sedition* all who employed the *same language which he himself had once held*, or who expressed their discontent at the fatal measures which in that speech he had himself predicted.

Mr. Anstruther rose, and replied to several arguments made use of by Mr. Erskine, and ran over nearly the same ground of reasoning as the solicitor general had done. Lord Mornington defended the same side of the question, in a declamation of considerable length, which, as usual, consisted of tedious readings from a variety of pamphlets and political publications.

Mr. Sheridan said, that, when he had made his motion for a committee of inquiry, he had foretold, that if the right honourable gentleman opposite would not suffer him to obtain that committee of enquiry, gentlemen would start up with lines and scraps of pamphlets, with paragraphs and hand-bills, in battle array, against him; and he expected that they would bring up the rear with prints and cuts still more alarming and formidable. He

ob-

observed that the arguments made use of by lord Mornington to prove the connection between the proceedings of the London Corresponding Society, and the outrage that had been offered to the person of the sovereign, neither dazzled his sight nor satisfied his understanding. In fact, he did not believe there was any more connection between the two, than he could admit there was any connection between the noble lord's speech and the question in debate. His lordship had affirmed, that a pamphlet published by a certain Citizen Lee was foul treason. "If it was foul treason," said Mr. Sheridan, "why did not the attorney general prosecute Citizen Lee?" As to the doctrine of king-killing, he knew the majority of the people held it in universal detestation; but if a fool, a madman, or a traitor, as ignorant as the ministers, believed such sentiments were popular, was it to be deemed a sufficient proof of their existence?

Mr. secretary Dundas defended those who had argued in favour of the bill, and urged the necessity of its being passed into a law. With regard to popular meetings, he observed that Mr. Fox had stood forward more frequently than any other political character in appeals to the people. He had displayed the most extraordinary willingness to resort to them; so that it frequently happened, that he was without the door of the house, attacking ministers with invective and asperity one half the day, where they had no means of defending themselves*, and, during the other

half, combating them with the utmost inveteracy within those walls. At one time, in order to excite the indignation of the people against ministers for their prosecution of the American war, the right honourable gentleman had displayed his oratorical talents on a stage erected for that purpose in Westminster Hall; with as little effect, however, as to the avowed purport of his design at that time, as there was ground to apprehend would be the case with respect to his exertions on a late occasion. Yet it had happened that he was induced to connect himself with the political conduct of those whom he had reprobated for so many years with every possible bitterness and severity. Immediately after he had withdrawn himself from the administration of the earl of Shelburne, he again appealed to his favourite popular meetings.

Mr. Fox replied to these pointless invectives, that the honourable secretary had forgotten the conduct which his own particular friend Mr. Pitt had adopted, and those eloquent speeches he had at that time delivered, in which, harangues to the people were described as "the best and most useful duty which representatives in parliament could discharge to their constituents." In answer to the charge that he had in a personal manner attacked those who had no opportunity of appearing in their own defence, he had to say, that it was the duty of every man, and particularly of every member of parliament, when the conduct of the executive government was called in question, to re-

* Why had they not the same means of defence, that Mr. Fox had of attack? We have seen them at popular meetings, when they made them the means of ascending to power.

present the characters and conduct of ministers in their true colours. With regard to the bill, he observed that its general principle was a blow at the outworks of the constitution, neither more nor less than a daring attempt to subvert its very foundation, the freedom of discussion.

After a long and desultory debate, the house divided. For the second reading, 213; against it, 43.

On the 19th of November, the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for the better securing of his majesty's person, &c. being read, and the question being put, "that this bill be now read a second time,"—

Mr. Fox observed on this occasion, that he should defer arguing against the principle of the bill, till the question should be put "that the speaker do leave the chair;" which he understood was likely to take place on the Monday following; he took this course on account of the unavoidable absence of several of his friends.

Mr. William Smith said he was unavoidably absent on the discussion of measures nearly connected with the bill then before the house; but he thought it necessary to observe upon the occasion which then offered itself, that he felt himself compelled by every sentiment of duty to oppose the bill. He opposed it on this ground, that it was one of those measures that would be ineffectual with regard to the objects they professed to attain. With respect to sentiments of attachment to the person of his majesty, he agreed, he believed, with every member of that house. He thought the law, as it stood then, fully sufficient for all the purposes for which these bills were held forth; he should

therefore oppose them in all their stages.

The house divided. For the question, 64; against it, 22.

A desultory debate took place on the 23d of November, on several petitions being presented against the bills. Mr. Sturt, on presenting the petition of the Corresponding Society, justified that body against "the aspersions" of lord Mornington; and, to counteract the effects of the readings with which that noble lord had entertained the house, Mr. Sturt produced a pamphlet written by Mr. Reeves, chief justice of Newfoundland, and president of the Crown and Anchor association, in which it was asserted, "that the government of England was a *monarchy*; that the *monarch* was the ancient *stock*, from which have sprung those goodly *branches* of the legislature, the *lords* and *commons*; that these, however, were still *only branches*, and that *they might be lopped off, and the tree be a tree still, shorn indeed of its honours, but not, like them, cast into the fire.*" By a subsequent decision of the house, this pamphlet was voted to be a libel on the constitution; and the attorney general was ordered to prosecute the ostensible author.

On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the commitment of the bill for the security of his majesty's person was postponed to the 25th of November, which was afterwards altered to the 30th. The debate which succeeded on this motion was short but intemperate. The bill was severely attacked by Mr. Grey, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Fox; and it was defended by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, and the secretary at war; the latter of whom, in replying to Mr. Fox, made use of the remarkable expression, "that he would

would find that ministers were determined to exert a vigour more than law :” an expression which, however, seemed to meet with the disapprobation of all parties.

On the 25th of November, Mr. Curwen rose, agreeably to the notice he had given on a former day, to propose to the house the delay of one week before they proceeded further with the two bills. He urged many reasons against the bill for preventing seditious meetings passing into a law ; it would, in its effects, alter the whole constitution ; popular opinion had restrained and counteracted the power and influence of corruption ; if that was taken away, the struggle would be ineffectual. The existence of the house of commons depended upon the united interest of the whole body of the nation. That increased corrupt influence of the crown, together with the torrent of honours which had of late inundated that house, and deprived the democratic part of the constitution of such a weight of property, called upon them, if they valued the constitution, to cherish every prop and support which could assist them to maintain their just and necessary influence. He next alluded to an expression which had on a former day fallen from the secretary at war, about employing *a vigour beyond the law*. “ What,” said Mr. Curwen, “ did the honourable secretary mean ? Is he so little acquainted with the stuff of which an English heart is composed, that he can suppose those who have been the ornament of their country, who have shed their blood in its defence, would forget the love of liberty they sucked in from their mothers’ breasts, and become the instruments of enslaving their fellow subjects ?” Mr. Grant defended the bill

in a speech of considerable length : to whom Mr. Fox replied with his usual energy.

The motion of Mr. Curwen to adjourn for a week was then negatived by 269 against 70.

The question then being put on the motion for the house resolving itself into a committee on the bill for preventing seditious meetings, the house again divided. Ayes, 273 ; noes, 73.

The house having then resolved itself into a committee, the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to resume the discussion on the 27th.

Accordingly, on the 27th, the house went into a committee on the bill. The chancellor of the exchequer said, that, as usual, immediately after the bill had gone through the committee, it would be printed, and that the further consideration would come forward on the Tuesday following, and the third reading, he supposed, would be on the Thursday.

Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Whitbread, general Tarleton, general Macleod, and the rest of the minority, Mr. Sheridan excepted, immediately rose and left the house.

Mr. Sheridan observed in the committee, that he did not attend for the purpose of proposing any alteration in the present bill, being persuaded that no alteration, except that of negating every clause of it, would be of service to the public at large.

On the third clause, which enacted, that if fifty persons or more meet, and, after an order to disperse, twelve shall remain one hour, it was proposed by the *solicitor general*, to make it death without benefit of clergy. An amendment was moved, that such continuance should only be

be punished as a misdemeanor. Mr. Wilberforce (much to his honour) strongly urged a more lenient punishment. He implored the house not to adopt a clause, of which, if carried into execution, he was persuaded all would repent. Mr. Stanley, Mr. Banks, and sir W. Dolben, humanely argued on the same opinion; but sir Peter Burrell, and the solicitor general, contended for the sanguinary clause. The committee divided. Ayes, 80; noes, 13.

The committee then proceeded to fill up the blanks in the other clauses; and when the most material clause in the whole bill came under consideration, namely, that which was to empower the magistrates to declare the assembly unlawful, upon any matter being propounded that should appear to be unlawful, or tending to sedition, &c. the magistrate was ordered in the first instance to seize and commit the offender. The solicitor general proposed that the bill should continue in force for three years. Mr. Stanley proposed one year, which being objected to, he agreed to two years; which was refused; on which the committee divided.

Ayes (for the term of three years), - 46.

Noes (for the term of three years), - 2.

The bill then passed the committee, and the report was received immediately: the bill was ordered to be printed, and taken into consideration on the Tuesday following.

The house resolved itself into a committee on the 30th of November, to consider of the bill for the greater security of his majesty's person, &c. and the question being put, "That the speaker do now leave the chair,"—

Mr. Erskine observed, that what-

ever security it was possible to give to the person of the monarch, it was wise and politic to confer; but the bill then under consideration, while it diminished the security of the subject, gave no additional security to the person of the sovereign. On the contrary, he scrupled not to assert, that it tended to bring both the safety of his person, and the authority of his government, into new and alarming perils. He took it for granted, that none would be disposed to dispute the truth of the political axiom, that that government is the best, which confers the greatest security with the fewest restraints; and that it was unwise to multiply penalties without the most cogent reasons for the multiplication. There was also another axiom, which, he presumed, would command an universal assent, that it was always improper to repeal an antient law, till it be found, by experience and practice, to be inadequate to the purposes for which it was instituted. To prove the insufficiency of a law, it was not enough to say that a new conjuncture had arisen, which required new legal restrictions, without, in the first place, proving that the existing laws were inadequate to meet the emergency of this conjuncture, and that the law proposed to be instituted was calculated to remedy the deficiency of the present statutes, and to answer the purpose for which it was enacted. He next observed, that the statute of Edward the Third embraced two objects of civil jurisprudence, the safety of the king's person, and the stability of the government. In the words of chief justice Hale, that statute was made as a remedial law to remove former oppression, and to secure the administration of pure
and

and impartial justice. By that statute, to compass or imagine the death of the king was stated to be high treason. He said, he could not think how any law could be made to plant a hedge by which the person of the sovereign could be more securely defended than by the words of that statute. The second part of the same statute declared levying war against the king, or granting comfort and protection to his enemies, to be high treason. But why did not our ancestors make "the compassing to levy war" high treason? The reason was, that, in the benevolence of the principles by which they were actuated, they never overstepped the necessity of the occasion. They knew that it was in the power of any malignant ruffian to attack the person of the king, and to endanger his safety; and therefore, in their statute, they made the very imagination of his death to be high treason. They did not wait for the execution of the deed; they struck at the intention itself, as soon at least as it was discovered by any overt act. But they held out a conspiracy to levy war against the king as only a misdemeanor, because it was a thousand to one that the conspiracy was too contemptible for notice; that it would be discovered before it was ripe for execution: the crime of conspiracy was seated in the mind, and it was only from overt acts that

intention could be shewn. Mr. Erskine then stated to Sir John Friend, who was charged in his indictment with levying troops in France in support of the pretender, that, in ordinary cases, chief justice Holt intended, that, in ordinary cases, a conspiracy to levy war was not an overt act of

high treason; but as the immediate object of this conspiracy was to lay violent hands upon the person of the king, it came under the first clause of the statute of Edward the Third, and constituted an overt act of treason. Sir John Friend on the contrary argued, that, though the troops were raised at his instance, and the purpose for which they were raised was to levy war against the king, yet he rested his cause upon the intention not having been carried into effect, and inferred from thence that he was innocent of the charge of high treason. But Sir John Friend's objection could not bear him out; for chief justice Holt, like an honest man and a sound lawyer, only stated the facts as evidence of the design, and left the jury to decide, whether the overt acts which were established, were proofs of guilt in the person accused. This being the law, Mr. Erskine expressed his surprise to hear it asserted that the bill then before the house made no alteration in the law of treason. He contended that the legislature was about to cut down the text on which all the judicial constructions stood, and enact, "that any conspiracy to levy war against the government was to be deemed high treason;" and so far did the provisions of the proposed bill extend, that even a conspiracy to pull down all the bawdy houses in the kingdom would consign the conspirators to the punishment of traitors. He asked the framers of the bill, if they had not embodied all the false constructions of the statute of Edward the Third, on purpose to make them a standing law; and if an attempt to pull down a few turnpike gates might not subject a man to the penalties of high treason? He urged the injustice of imposing oppressive laws

upon the nation, because a solitary individual, in the malignity of his heart, or in the infatuation of enthusiasm, had committed a desperate outrage. The bill comprehended a variety of new treasons, and even constituted *writing* an overt act of treason. He adverted to the clause of the bill, in which it was enacted, that to "express, publish, utter, or declare, any word, sentence, or other thing or things, to incite or stir up the people, &c." was a misdemeanor. He could not perceive from whence the framers of the bill had borrowed this expression; he had in vain searched for it in the history of former tyrants.

The attorney general replied to Mr. Erskine; and Mr. Fox pointed out some strong objections to the bill: but the series of arguments used by these members on this occasion being very similar to those employed in the former stages of the bill, it would be superfluous to repeat them.

The house then divided upon the commitment of the bill. Ayes, 203; noes, 40.

The house next resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Serjeant in the chair. Upon that part of the first clause of the bill, which enacts that it shall continue in force during the life of his majesty, and until the end of the first session of parliament after his decease, Sir William Young said, he thought the provisions of the bill so necessary, not only at this particular juncture, but as general regulations, that he should move to leave out the words "during the life of his majesty," in order to make the bill permanent.

General M'Leod said he would propose an amendment, that, instead of the words "during the natural life of our most gracious sovereign

lord the king, whom Almighty God preserve and bless with a long and prosperous reign," should be inserted "during the life of our most gracious minister Mr. Pitt, whom Almighty God preserve and bless with a long and prosperous administration!"

Mr. Barham condemned this levity, as unfuitable to the solemnity of the occasion. He argued for a limited time, on the ground that the country at large would be better satisfied.

Upon a division taking place, that the bill continue for the natural life of the king, and until the end of the next session of parliament after a demise of the crown, there appeared 129 votes for this period, and 6 in favour of its being renewed every three years.

On the 4th of December, the order of the day being read for the house to take into consideration the report of the amendments made in the committee on the same bill, all the gentlemen who had uniformly opposed it retired from the house in a body. The amendments were then gone through and agreed to by the house: after which the bill, with the amendments, was ordered to be engrossed, and read a third time on the Thursday following.

Accordingly, on the 10th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, for the third reading of the bill.

Mr. Harrison opposed the third reading, on two grounds: first, whether the act of Edward the Third was sufficiently strong to prevent the necessity of any new law for the safety of his majesty's person? Secondly, whether the laws existing were sufficient to provide against and punish any language or publications that went to the subversion of the government? He argued, that

that the present should rather be a declaratory act, stating, that doubts had arisen concerning the construction of the high treason statute of Edward the Third, than a new permanent act. He declared, that he was fully persuaded in his own mind that the former laws were sufficient. He called the bill a satire on the crown, and a libel on the loyalty of the people of England.

Mr. secretary Dundas contended, that if any good could come from self-constituted meetings, it would be by placing them under the eye of the legislature. Indeed he had flattered himself, that "*after the trials of Hardy and others, the good sense of the nation would have checked their further progress.*" But the meetings in St. George's fields, and at Copenhagen-house, had dissipated these hopes.

Mr. Pitt, alderman Newnham, sir William Pulteney, and Mr. Jenkinson, spoke in favour of the third reading.

Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Western, Mr. Jekyll, and Mr. Fox, urged with additional energy some of their former arguments against the bill.

The bill was then read a third time, and passed.

On the third of December the bill for preventing seditious meetings was read a third time in the commons. Mr. Hardinge on this occasion made a speech of considerable length in support of the bill.

Mr. Sheridan contents its passing into arguments urged by on both sides of the nearly the same as already noticed in tes on the subject, ulge in an unnecessary repeat them here. day Mr. Pitt took

up the bill to the house of lords, when it was read a first time.

On December 9th, upon the second reading of the bill in the house of lords to prevent seditious meetings, lord Grenville rose, and reminded the house that he had on a former day introduced a bill for the better security of his majesty's person and government, which had met with their lordships' approbation. But that was only one of the measures which his majesty's ministers thought proper to bring forward to guard the constitution, and protect the *liberties* of the country. The other measure was the present bill, which had been received from the other house, and was then brought forward for their lordships' discussion. The present bill was to provide for what the other bill did not immediately regard, viz. to secure the lives, the property, and the happiness of the people of England, for which important object it would be found that the existing laws did not sufficiently provide. His lordship then went over the old ground, in depicting the tremendous evils which impended over this country from the corresponding society, and called upon the house to apply the remedy which this situation required.

The earl of Derby, the marquis of Lansdowne, and the earl of Moira, contended strongly against the bill. They urged the right the people of this country had to free discussion. They contended that the power which would, by the bill, be invested in magistrates, of seizing and carrying to punishment those who might be found in what were called unlawful assemblies, would be to punish the offence without the cognizance of a jury;

D a in

in other words, would expose the culprit to arbitrary punishment: that the bill went to destroy the bill of rights, and the principle of freedom: that though ministers might feel a horrid gratification in the contemplation of the effects which their measures might produce, they might triumph in their success, and it was the only triumph they had to boast; but nobody would envy them. That they had done their duty in opposing the bill, and whatever might be the consequence they would say —

Victrix causa diu placuit, sed victa Catoni.

Ministers alone were the deities, however, to whom the victory would be acceptable. That Being who had created man for freedom, could never be gratified in seeing the purposes of his wisdom and goodness counteracted; nor could he fail to regard those with complacency, who had honestly engaged in the cause of liberty and truth. Notice was taken by the earl of Moira of an expression which had fallen from lord Westmoreland, who had said, "Send the people to the loom and the anvil, and there let them earn bread, instead of wasting time at seditious meetings." Lord Moira could not believe, he said, that the Almighty made any part of mankind merely to work and eat like beasts: he had endowed man with reasoning faculties, and given him leave to use them.

Lord Thurlow urged several grave and weighty arguments, to prove that the consequences which had arisen from the propagation of jacobinical principles in France, afforded no justification for the legislature of this country to enact new laws, with a view to the prevention of similar effects here: he

thought the members of that house had nothing to do with what had passed in France. The bill was to be objected against, as establishing a bad precedent, under countenance of which a variety of *bad laws* might creep into the state, and defile the pages of the statute-book. While he thought the existing laws sufficient to suppress seditious assemblies, he could not help remarking the variety of misconceptions that had taken place respecting the bill, and in no particular more than in the idea that it trenchanted upon the right of the subject to discuss public grievances, to petition, complain, or remonstrate, or otherwise address the king, or either or both houses of parliament, respecting them. So far from that being the case, the bill set out with recognizing that principle in the plainest and broadest manner. His lordship pointed out the distinction between the extent to which the provisions of the bill went, and that of the provisions of the act of Charles the Second, and the act of George the First, commonly called the Riot Act. By the latter, the persons assembled for an unlawful purpose did not incur the penalty of death, unless they continued together riotously and tumultuously for one hour after the act had been read. By the present bill, if an assembly met for the mere discussion of public topics, continued together peaceably to the number of twelve or more for one hour after proclamation made, commanding them to disperse, they were guilty of felony without benefit of clergy; and the magistrate was ordered to put them to death, or at least he incurred no penalty, if, upon resistance, any of the persons so continuing together lost

their lives. This was in his mind an insuperable objection to the bill; and he therefore voted against it. He was answered by the lord chancellor in a speech of considerable length, but nearly upon the same ground of argument made use of by the ministerial side in the house of commons, when the same bill was introduced into that house.

Upon the question for the bill's going into a committee, there were contents, 109, non-contents, 21.

On the 11th of December the house of lords went into a committee upon the bill for preventing seditious assemblies. In the limitation clause, the duke of Norfolk moved that, instead of "three years," the words "one year" should be substituted.

This amendment was supported by lords Darnley, Scarborough, Radnor, and Romney; and opposed by lords Grenville, Spencer, and Mulgrave. On a division, there appeared for the amendment, contents, 8, non-contents, 45.

Upon the 14th of December the bill was read a third time in the house of lords and passed.

Thus we have given a very brief sketch of the interesting discussions which took place on these extraordinary bills; for to have entered at length into the arguments employed by the several speakers would have occupied nearly the whole portion of this work which is devoted to historical detail*. That a measure of this nature was in the contemplation of ministry long previous to the outrages on his majesty, is evident, not only from the unguarded declaration of Mr. Dundas, but from the general tenor of the debates, and still more

from the debates, which, in the preceding session, took place upon the state trials. Yet it would be uncandid to impute to ministers a settled plan to overthrow the constitution of England.—Their measures, on the contrary, have never appeared in any instance to have been formed upon any deep-laid design, upon any thing like an extended system; they are to be considered in general as temporary expedients, and, according to their own favourite idea, adapted in all cases to *existing circumstances*. While we frankly concede thus much in their favour, it is not easy to believe that the terror excited in ministry by a few insignificant mechanics in the metropolis, under the name of a Corresponding Society, could be so great as they affected to feel.—We cannot suppose them so weak and ignorant; we must do justice to their understandings, in supposing them actuated by different motives: and the simplest solution of their conduct in this instance appears to be this—They felt that they had rashly and incautiously involved the nation in a war which had disappointed all their projects, and baffled all their hopes; they must have felt that the storms of public indignation were silently gathering, as taxes and misery increased; and a measure of the nature of these bills, aided by the increase of the military force, they apprehended to be the most certain rampart which they could raise for their own protection.

In the event there is reason to believe they have been disappointed. The general outcry which was raised throughout the nation against this flagrant innova-

* See the proceedings at length, with an accurate account of all the public meetings, in the "History of Two Acts, &c." published in 1796. The prefatory "Remarks on the History of Parties, &c." prefixed to that work, is one of the best and most candid political treatises that ever appeared.

tion on the ancient laws and constitution of the realm, could not fail to convince them that the measure was impracticable; and they probably would have retracted, could they have done it with a becoming grace. The alterations which they admitted in the bills, the limitation in one of them as to the time of its continuing in force, and the moderate tone assumed by their supporters without doors, particularly by the associated merchants and bankers of London, leave little

room to doubt of this fact. A still stronger circumstance is their having never yet dared to trust a jury with a single decision upon these new acts, though cases have certainly occurred in which indictments might have been framed upon them. The acts remain, therefore, as was predicted (we think by lord Thurlow), a dead letter upon the statute-book; and will undoubtedly be brushed away as useless lumber, on any change of administration.

CHAP. II.

Abstract of his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of the Session. Debates on the Address—In the Commons—In the Lords. Committee on the high Price of Corn. Bill renewed for allowing a free Importation. Motions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the Corn Laws, &c. Debate on these Motions. Report of the Committee on the high Price of Grain. Bounty on Importation of Corn moved for by Mr. Pitt. Bill enabling Overseers to extend Relief to the Poor at their own Houses. Mr. Whitbread's Motion for raising the Wages of Labourers. Negatived by the Interference and Influence of Mr. Pitt. Engagement entered into by several Members of both Houses to reduce the Consumption of Wheat Flour in their Families. Motion of Sir John Sinclair for the Cultivation of waste Lands.

IN the preceding chapter, the meeting of parliament, on the 29th of October, was noticed, as well as the extraordinary circumstances which attended his majesty's progress to and from the house of lords. The speech from the throne opened by stating his majesty's satisfaction that the general situation of affairs, notwithstanding many events unfavourable to the common cause, was materially improved. The French had in Italy been driven back, and were checked on the side of Germany. Their successes, and the treaties of peace they had entered into, were far from compensating the evils they suffered from the continuance of war; and the unparalleled embarrassment and distress of their internal situation

appeared to have produced in them an impression, that their only relief must result from peace and a settled government. The crisis in which they now were, must probably produce consequences important to the interests of Europe. If this crisis terminated in any thing affording a reasonable expectation of security in any treaty, the appearance of a disposition to treat for peace on just and suitable terms would, his majesty added, be met on his part with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect. The acceleration of this desirable end required, however, that we should prove our ability to prosecute the war, till we could conclude it in a peace suited to the justice of our cause, and the situation of the enemy.

my. To this end the most vigorous naval preparations were making for securing our superiority, and carrying on our exertions in the West Indies. The hostilities committed by the United Provinces had, his majesty observed, obliged him to treat them as at war with this country. The northern fleet had received the most active assistance from the empress of Russia. Treaties of defensive alliance had been entered into with the two imperial courts, and the American treaty of commerce had been exchanged. The commons were informed, that, "further additions to the heavy burdens which had been unavoidably imposed on the people," would be necessary. But this pressure would be alleviated by the flourishing state of commerce and manufactures, and our expences being lessened by the present circumstances of the war. The address to both houses of parliament concluded with a short view of the measures necessary to be taken respecting the deficiency of grain.

From the business which, immediately after the delivery of his majesty's speech, took place in the house of lords, respecting the outages he had that day received, the debate on the address first took place in the commons. The address was moved by lord Dalkeith, and seconded by the honourable Mr. Stewart. These gentlemen concurred with the speech of his majesty respecting the improved situation of public affairs. The advantages gained by the enemy on the continent were, they conceived,

ly balanced by their quarters. And though, India, our prosperity; eminently conspicuous prospect there was and in the East Indies had been uniform and

important. The finances and the energy of France were stated by Mr. Stewart to be nearly exhausted; their expences so enormous, as not long to be supported; and their means of raising supplies to the disbursements, exactly in the ratio of seventy to one. The system of terror he considered as no longer existing under the present government of France. Our last campaign had not been indeed attended by *brilliant success*; but our exertions had been useful in forcing the enemy to adopt unjustifiable means for the support of an unjustifiable system, which necessarily tended to its own destruction, and to weaken them by the victories it enabled them to obtain! Their incapacity to injure was our best guarantee; and to this point we were reducing them! He next descanted, in most extraordinary terms, upon the unimpaired situation of our resources. No where were our people deprived of the comforts of life by the effects of war! Monied men were ready to lend the sums necessary for the exigencies of government. There were still many good objects of taxation for the present year; and the *existing taxes*, together with the national debt, were in a *state of liquidation*! While he lamented the defection of some of our allies from the general cause, some argument might be used in their justification; they had not made peace till France had abandoned her system of interference in foreign states. Close to the frontiers of an enemy on one hand, and with a suspicious friend on the other, their existence was endangered. This had been the situation of *Hanover*: the different situation of that country from this, required a different system of policy. Fortune, not the arms of France, had conquered Holland; and the

slow operation of the principles of the French in that country indicated their probable short possession of it.

The word *satisfaction*, which had occurred so early in the speech from the throne, excited the surprize of Mr. Sheridan. As the speech of the minister, he professed his intention to exercise his right, as a member of parliament, to examine it freely. To be *satisfied with every thing*, was esteemed a mark of piety and christian resignation; certainly, then, ministers were the *most pious* men in the world. They were satisfied with the improvement of our situation since last year. It was stated that a check had been received by the French in Italy; but it was forgotten that at that period the republicans had not penetrated into Italy. It was likewise said, though only on the authority of a French newspaper, that the army on the Rhine had been forced to retire. The army, however, had not last year crossed the Rhine, and now were only prevented from advancing to the Danube, and obliged to limit their progress on the German side of the Rhine. The war with Holland might perhaps be considered, by ministers, as an improvement of our situation! The secessions from the confederacy against France, and the progress from scarcity, with which we were formerly threatened, to an acknowledged famine, might increase the satisfaction of the minister. From a review of the speeches made by his majesty at the opening of the two last and of the present session, Mr. Sheridan inferred, that peace appeared more than ever at a distance. He ridiculed the idea of the assistance to be expected from the fleet of the empress, which came not to afford

any cordial co-operation, but to eat English meat, and to learn English discipline. If, as had been stated, general discontent would produce some change in the situation of French affairs, and lead to a better order of things, the people of England were, by their sufferings and calamity, in a high road to its attainment. Mr. Sheridan next censured the delay in the sailing of the West India armament, and the disasters encountered by the emigrants in their expeditions to Noirmontier and Poitou. British blood did not, indeed, flow in these expeditions; but British honour bled at every pore. A desperate effort was, he observed, to be made for saving the islands. In Martinique there was only one regiment of effective men, though the nominal force was six regiments. He doubted the policy of extending our West India possessions, as draining this country of what it could least spare,—men. Fifteen thousand troops had been landed in St. Domingo, of which one thousand five hundred had been sent to Grenada; and of these, in four months, fourteen officers and four hundred men had been lost. They were packed in hospitals, in the most deplorable situations; and, by unaccountable negligence in the different departments, were deprived of the aid both of medicines and surgeons. From inattention in providing transports, ninety instead of forty were put on board each ship. It was in vain, he said, to connect the possibility of negotiation with any new occurrences: this pretext shewed that the object of the contest was to restore the despotism of France. He called upon ministers to discover, like the king of Prussia, what government the French armies obeyed, and to negotiate

gotiate with that as he had done, as Spain had done, and as the elector of Hanover had done.

The declaration of Louis XVIII. was supposed to be penned in this country, with the concurrence and under the direction of ministers. He thought those who advised his majesty to spill the blood of this country for the restoration of despotism in France, were as great traitors to their country as the minister of Charles II. who advised him to enter into the pay of that country. Leagues with the despotic monarchs of France expelled the house of Stuart from this country: and indeed, could any league be more destructive to its interests than one with the house of Bourbon, which had ever been the inveterate enemy of Great Britain, of its liberty, and its commerce? He could not, he said, move any amendment to an address which he disapproved in *now*, but would second one which embraced three points, first, that the people should not be burthened with taxes to support the delusive views of ministers in the restoration of the monarchy of France, or till some form of government should be established which they may not imagine incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity—that a strict inquiry should be instituted into the conduct of ministers in the prosecution of the war—and that the most speedy termination should be put to it, by declaring a willingness to treat with France.

Mr. Jenkinson considered the extremely improper and recapitulated arguments for the continuance of the war, the conduct he said, to be determining its effects

upon the sentiments of the people in the interior, or by the pressure of an external force effecting a change in their temper and inclinations. The latter of these objects had succeeded; and the principles of the new constitution had fixed civil liberty upon much more reasonable foundations than it stood at the commencement of the war. Should it be reduced to practice, the objections to the fluctuating nature of their government would be removed. That we had succeeded in repelling the dangers which threatened us, was certain. The *successes* of the war had excited various royalist insurrections; and from these one of *three* alternatives was to have been expected,—either that the enemy would have been unable to oppose the allies,—that a counter revolution would have been effected,—or that a civil war would have burst forth. Unfortunately, however, the system of terror under Robespierre took place: but that this gained ground in consequence of the war, he strenuously denied. It tended to abridge that system, and the miseries it produced in France. The determination of the French to retain Holland, was, he thought, an insuperable obstacle to an immediate peace; and the remedy for her *enormous acquisitions* was to endeavour in another quarter to obtain something to change or to compensate. A few months might place us in a situation to treat with greater advantage. At the beginning of the war, he had equally wished and expected the restoration of the emigrants, and of the monarchy of France; and this he thought, if attainable, a fair subject of war, but believed it was not. In the course of his speech, Mr. Jenkinson entered into a defence of his former assertions respecting

specting "the march to Paris," which had been attacked by Mr. Sheridan, and did not think the overthrow of the French government so chimerical as had been inferred: the defeat of the scheme was in a great part attributable to the want of fidelity and exertion in the allies.

General Tarleton considered the speech of his majesty, and the arguments that had taken place upon it, as far from satisfactory. Little consolation arose, he thought, to us, from the prevention of the invasion of Italy. The troops lately employed against Spain would probably now be directed against Italy. He censured his imperial majesty for neglecting to fortify Luxemburg. As a military man, he indulged very faint hopes of the West-India expedition, and thought it as easy to subdue the united states of America as St. Domingo. He pointedly blamed the conduct of the expedition to Quiberon, and the ministers, if they had any part in the weakness and infamy of that transaction. The present scarcity was attributed by the general in a great degree to the loss which agricultural employments sustained from the millions of men who were now engaged in war, particularly in Brabant, on the borders of the Rhine, and in the fertile fields of Poland. Our late allies, the king of Spain and prince of Hesse Cassel, had left us to ruin France by ourselves. To effect this, we must ruin ourselves. "Away, then," said the general, "with sophistry! away with delusion! away with all the agents of a corrupt and profligate administration!" A justly incensed enemy would not probably give terms when we chose to demand them; perhaps might not even consent to the measures we propose: we must

adopt a new system, appoint new ministers, and adopt an energy suitable to our embarrassments.

Mr. Fox censured the speech, and the ministers by whom it was written. It was not, he said, enough that they should for three years persist in a war for miserable speculation, add one hundred millions of debt to the capital, load the people with four millions per annum of permanent taxes, and make them feel all the miseries of scarcity, but they must be insulted by the *falsehood* of being told "their situation was improved." How improved? It could not be shewn from the successes of the Austrian army. After the loan voted to the emperor, and the pretences upon which it was granted, the people were told that it was an improvement of their situation, that the French had been recently obliged to retreat from posts of which they were not in possession at the time of the guarantee. Was it an improvement, that they had extended their dominions beyond the Rhine, had got Mannheim, and over-run the greater part of the Palatinate? Was it because the French had not over-run Italy, that our situation was improved? Mr. Fox spoke in strong terms of the lofty disdain with which he had been treated the preceding sessions, on occasion of his predictions respecting the scarcity of grain. When another gentleman (Mr. Hussey), at a later period, and upon certain information, used the same forcible dissuasive against war, he was rebuked for a suggestion which was treated as unfounded in fact. Was the verification of those warnings an improvement? The sufferings of the poor he stated to be extreme. Oh! but France was reduced to unparalleled distress, and this was our com-

comfort! He would not quarrel about words; but he must notice the strange logic, "that the people of this country were to be told that this unparalleled distress of the French was owing to the war, whereas the distresses in England had nothing to do with it." The depreciation of paper currency in France had been, he said, the incessant story with which the parliament and the people had been deluded from the beginning of the war. Two years ago, the assignats were said to be at a discount of 80 per cent. and this appeared to be tantamount to extinction; but when experience and practice were regarded, when the example of America was referred to, an enlightened statesman would hesitate before he presumed to delude his country by building upon such an hypothesis. Accordingly, France had added another lesson to that of America. France, which was reduced to such a state of weakness as to be an easy prey,—France, who in June last, was said to be gasping in her last agonies,—France, since the date of this expiring agony, had made the most brilliant campaign that the history of mankind exhibited. Such agonies excited his fears: and surely no man of common sense, after such an issue to this kind of reasoning, would again calculate upon success from the depreciation of their paper. Another argument used was, that the French were so destitute of provisions, as to be obliged to unload the ships at Brest to supply Paris with bread. But what must be their feelings of a cause in which they had engaged, that could, under such a pressure of scarcity, rouse them to such exertions? From a minute investigation of the speech, Mr. Fox observed that it held out to the coun-

try even less hopes of peace than his majesty's speech the preceding year. At no period of the revolution might it not have been equally said, "that it would produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe." Mr. Fox noticed the annual attempts he had made to induce a negotiation, and desired to know whether our perverse continuance in the proud denial that it was a proper time to negotiate, had bettered our situation? On the contrary, he said, the practicability of peace upon safe and honourable terms had become more hopeless. He hoped the gentleman who admitted the restoration of the emigrants and of the house of Bourbon to be hopeless, and that ministers were convinced that it was prudent to calculate the value of an object, and not to pursue it, however desirable, beyond the rational hope of obtainment, spoke from authority. If the disasters of the war had produced this conviction in ministers, however he lamented the calamity which produced this restoration to reason, he should think our situation improved. The expedition to Quiberon was, he supposed, one cause of this conviction. Mr. Fox, with an uncommon glow of expression and energy of manner, reprobated this ill-fated expedition, and the savage barbarity of denying to the gallant and dying Sombreville the consolation of publishing his letter. Yet, in defiance of this lesson, he observed, another expedition was framed to l'Isle Dieu, which, if carried into effect in the same manner as the first, would have been equally disastrous. He pointedly noticed the inconsistency of ministers in summoning Belleisle to surrender in the name of Louis XVIII. Had Belleisle or Noirmontier yielded to this summons,

summons, we must have landed and taken possession of them in the name of Louis XVIII. and pledged ourselves to restore him to his rights, which would have reduced us to the alternative of abandoning the prince and his followers with infamy, or of prosecuting his cause with despair, as this was a hopeless cause. He ridiculed with much force the arguments supported by the different speakers in the debate in favour of the war. They were, he said, theories which might suit well for a literary or political disputant, and be amusing in a club-room or a pamphlet: but for a man to undertake the office of a statesman, and to bring such theories into practice, was an outrage, not only upon common sense, but upon moral duty. Mr. Fox commented upon the extreme folly of entering into a war against opinions. He contended, that, at every moment from the commencement of the war to the present time, ministers might have negotiated upon better terms with the French than they now could, and that our relative situation had been gradually growing worse. He pointed out several periods when, according to the language held out by ministers, it might have been prudent and consistent to treat. Yet, when a motion was made for this purpose on the 26th of January last, which it was not convenient directly to oppose, an amendment was moved, that they were ready to enter into a negotiation whenever a government was established capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace. Was negotiation offered when such a government appeared? It was proved that France did maintain such relations, since Prussia, Spain, many of the states of Germany, and even the elector of Ha-

nover, had made peace with her. Mr. Fox ridiculed the idea of waiting to treat till there was some experience of the new constitution of France, since experience had proved that neither the changes of men nor of constitutions affected the engagements they had formed with foreign countries. It was, he said, idle to talk of the theory of a constitution being a dependance for the observance of a treaty: if a rational treaty was made, and it was the interest of the parties to keep it, that was the only true and wise dependance for the continuance of peace. The offer of negotiation, he thought, ought to come from us, as having made declarations which stood in the way of negotiation. This was neither the time nor the place to settle the terms of peace. The terms in every negotiation must certainly depend upon the relative situation of the parties: but he could not admit of the eternal evasion, that one year we were too high to treat, another year we were too low; and thus war was prolonged without one calculation, whether the expence of continuing it for one year was not more than the difference of terms to be expected between a good and bad relative situation. We were now left with one ally, and that ally must be bribed to continue. Adverting to the apprehended scarcity, Mr. Fox said it was an insult upon common sense to urge that war and military expeditions did not in their nature aggravate scarcity. The quantity of increased consumption, without taking into account the quantities damaged and lost, was immense. Had government, pursuing the example of France, unloaded the transports that were sent to Quiberon, they would have done more towards alleviating the scarcity than all

all the corn which their agents imported. Again adverting to his majesty's speech, Mr. Fox observed, that when he had first mentioned negotiating with the French, it was said, What, would you negotiate with men about to stain their hands with the blood of their sovereign? Yet, if the present speech meant any thing, it meant that with these very men ministers would have no objection to treat, and even with Tallien, who had dipped his hands in royal blood. He ended by moving an amendment, which, after enumerating the circumstances of our disastrous campaign, and stating, from experience, that the French were able to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other nations, prayed his majesty that such terms of peace should be offered to the French republic as should be consistent with the honour of the crown, and with the security and interests of the people.

This amendment was considered by the chancellor of the exchequer as merely the mockery of returning to a state of security and peace. He vindicated the first proposition contained in his majesty's speech. The period comprised in this proposition contained, he said, the space between the opening of the last session of parliament and the present moment; and he expressed his satisfaction in the present state of security compared to that ten months ago. His grounds of satisfaction were, he said, that, *allowing for the victories and advantages obtained by the enemy, and for all the calamities which had befallen this country or our allies*, the house, from looking at the present principles of the war, must observe the grounds of his satisfaction, and the state of our improvement!! They could

not but perceive the enemy's reduced means of prosecuting the war. They were now in a situation to afford us fair prospects of their being soon perhaps more capable of giving reasonable security of engagements of peace. They felt a greater necessity for peace, and were more disposed to it. Their reduced means were demonstrable: at the commencement of the last session the value of assignats was from 20 to 25 per cent. they were now only one and a half per cent. they were at present only one sixteenth of their value ten months ago. The prodigality of their system forced into circulation between 6 and 7 milliards, which was equal to 280 millions sterling; this was three or four times more than the amount of all the money in France in its richest state, and which its commerce wanted for its circulating *medium*. The French had, he said, now assignats in circulation to the amount of 720 millions sterling, and the number was still increasing; they had therefore to face another campaign under these circumstances; and, were the other powers of Europe to put them to the hard necessity of trying the experiment, he believed that the prodigal resources of their system could not be supported without the restoration of the system of terror. Mr. Pitt allowed the advantages derived by the enemy from the equivocal conduct of Prussia, and the disbanding of the armies withdrawn from Spain. But it was to be observed, that, for every pound sterling formerly paid to each man in such an army, sixteen pounds sterling must be given at the beginning of the present year. After urging a variety of arguments to prove the ruinous situation of their resources, Mr. Pitt observed that these resources

sources might last a longer or a shorter time before they produced their final effect; but they had in them the seeds of decay, and the inevitable cause of a violent dissolution. The remedies proposed in France for this evil were not less ruinous; and the losses they sustained in commerce and manufactures were enormous. He admitted the successes of the French on the Rhine, the calamitous fate of the expedition to Quiberon, and that the enemy had been only kept on the defensive on the side of Italy; but still the internal situation of France was most wretched and deplorable. On the mischiefs of *paper currency* he again expatiated—if the assignats were taken out of circulation, the French could not command the labour of their own subjects either for civil or military operations. To many persons employed by the state, they had been obliged to allot a number of necessary articles in kind. They had also been compelled to add one seventh in money to the daily pay of the soldiers, who thus received ten times the amount of their pay in assignats. When he considered their total inability to carry on the war for another campaign, he could not doubt but the situation of things was materially improved!!!

There were, Mr. Pitt said, many circumstances in the present situation of France favourable to a disposition to treat for peace, though it was a question whether they were sufficient to make it advisable or practicable to treat. The present government of France was praised very highly by him, compared with the preceding forms; but he still questioned the ability of the French to carry it into execution. "That constitution," said Mr. Pitt, "in the form in which it has been decreed,

may have been examined, and may have been put in activity with such acquiescence of the nation, as to enable their representatives to speak on behalf of the people of France; and I have no difficulty in saying, if that event should have taken place, from that time all objections to the form of that government, and to the principles of that government, all objections to them, as obstacles to negotiation, will be at an end. I will also state, with the same frankness, that, should that be the termination, whether it will then lead to the issue of competent security, and a reasonable satisfaction to this country, must depend on the terms. If, under those circumstances, by any precipitate and premature desire for peace, from any disposition to under-rate our real strength, or any want of fortitude to bear what I admit to be real difficulties;—if we should overlook the ten thousand times more complicated distress of the enemy; and put an end to the advantages they give us for obtaining peace on just and suitable terms, that would in my opinion be the most fatal event that could possibly happen."

Mr. Pitt proceeded to mention his regret, that, in consequence of the desertion of the allies, the issue of the contest would be much less satisfactory than it would have been. Comparing the situation of the people of this country with that of France, he enlarged upon the variety of advantages they enjoyed. He accused the French of having failed in maintaining their neutrality in America, where some subjects of France had endeavoured to excite a conspiracy, and had interposed also with the republic of Geneva. Did it, he asked, follow, because the French did not attack the king of Prussia

Prussia when they were warmly engaged against their other enemies, that they would have paid the same attention to a general peace? they would then indulge those passions of resentment, ambition, or caprice, to which a military republic might be supposed to be liable. The two countries of Great Britain and *Hanover* could not pursue the same line of policy, from their different situation. He denied that he had made war upon private opinions for the purpose of extirpating them. The French contended that they alone had the only lawful government: if we had subdued the malignity of that opinion, we had vindicated ourselves and Europe from the greatest dangers. In the division of the house, there appeared for the address, 240, for the amendment, 59.

The address in the house of lords was moved on the 30th, by lord Mount Edgcumbe, who expatiated upon the *improvements* in our situation announced in his majesty's speech. The superiority of our navy was such, he observed, that even the accession of Holland would not enable the French to act against us. They had been so much checked on the Rhine, and in Italy, that little was to be apprehended there; and the loss of their commerce and credit, with the depreciation of their assignats, made up such a sum of distress, that they

could no longer continue. The address, which, as an echo of the speech, by lord Walsingham, on other topics, observed that, "instead of availing of the very depressed state of the enemy to carry on the spirit of national vengeance with infinite mercy and lenity to the French, took

the earliest opportunity of pledging himself to make peace as soon as a settled government should afford a fair prospect of a safe and honourable peace. His lordship pointed out the evils attendant upon a temporary and "patched up" peace, and thought it certain that it could not be for the interest of any description of men to prosecute the war a moment longer than the necessity of the case indispensably called for; least of all could it be for the interest of ministers. As, however, the prosecution of the war could not be at present dispensed with, he thought the interests of this country peculiarly required it in the West Indies. His lordship enforced the necessity of making reprisals upon the Dutch, and thought the treaty with America ought to give peculiar satisfaction.

The duke of Bedford thought, when an address was proposed to be carried to the throne, that it was consistent with the dignity of parliament to adopt a language of its own rather than that of the minister. He should therefore recommend language very different from that of the address proposed. The inability of the French to continue the contest had been the constant theme of ministers from the commencement of the war; and the ingenuity of administration in contriving excuses for carrying it on, was admirable. Years ago, their lordships had been told that the French could not hold out three months longer: but practice, opposed to theory, had proved, that, in proportion as ministers had affected to depreciate their resources, their vigour had increased. The improvements, said by ministers in the speech to have taken place since the last year, he spoke of as a gross and palpable misrepresentation. He did

did not expect to hear it stated as a matter of triumph on our part, that the French had not been able to over-run Italy. If this was triumph, he should soon expect to hear it was a matter of satisfaction that we still existed as a nation. We were told that the advantages obtained by the enemy were far from compensating the calamities of war. This was true; for victory after victory, without one defeat, could not do this: but if this was the case with the victorious party, what was our condition, without victory, with many defeats and losses, and the desertion of our allies? If, as we were told, the French people wished for peace, of which he had no doubt, what must be the wish of the people here in their present suffering situation? His grace said, he had expected some hopes to have been held out, when we were told that France was come to a crisis that would produce important events to Europe. Did ministers mean to insinuate that the present government of France was not such as was capable of keeping the faith of treaties? At this time, they dared not attempt so gross a delusion on the understandings of their lordships. There never, indeed, was any thing solid in the objection to their ability to preserve the faith of treaties and neutralities, as was evident from repeated instances. His grace noticed the calamities already consequent upon the war, and the disasters of the last campaign. In the expedition to the coast of France, besides the sacrifice of many brave and illustrious men, who had often protested against the project, but who had no alternative, large quantities of ammunition and stores were wasted at a time when our poor were either starving or depending on the precarious bounty

of the rich. In the West Indies, he thought none would say we stood upon a better footing than at the beginning of the war. What our losses in men there were, he was afraid to calculate. All these calamities, together with the dreadful evil of scarcity, his grace imputed, with many others, to the corruption and wickedness of administration, but, in the opinion of all, to their weakness; and he exhorted parliament to tell the truth to their sovereign, who, was he once made acquainted with the wretchedness of his people, had too much goodness not to be struck with their sufferings, and to take the only step by which they can be effectually relieved,—to give them peace. He concluded by moving, to entreat his majesty to review the state of affairs for the last three years, the desertion of the allies, the pillage or insecurity of the West Indies, the disgraceful or abortive expeditions to France, and the unparalleled expenditure of blood and treasure;—that therefore the house entreated his majesty not to act on the opinion that the French could not preserve the relations of peace and amity, but that his majesty would take immediate and decisive measures for a negotiation for peace, without adverting to the government of France; and adding, that if the present government of France should refuse to treat, that house would persevere in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Lord Grenville contended that the circumstances particularized in his majesty's speech were real and solid *improvements* in the situation of this country! In addition to the checks received by the French on the side of Italy and on the Rhine, our naval superiority had been more decidedly established since the last year

year than at any former period of our history. His lordship ably entered into the history of *paper currency* and assignats, to prove the impossibility of the French continuing their exertions, and cited the opinion of general Montesquieu, who, in a memorial on the subject, had enforced the necessity of withdrawing a great part from circulation, and out of 13 milliards leaving only 3; but since that time the circulation had been increased. Every writer on the subject of *paper currency* was, he said, agreed, that such an enormous mass, so little proportioned to any solid capital, *must at length accomplish the utter ruin of a state*. By the exertions we had made, and by the distresses we had caused to be felt, the desire of peace had become general in France. The new constitution there was, his lordship said, a miserable and imperfect copy of ours; but with all its defects, it was a valuable acquisition to this country, as it might lay the foundation of peace. His lordship vindicated the speech of his majesty for expressing no determination to treat upon terms short of those which the country had a right to expect. He considered the advice which the duke wished to present to his majesty as highly impolitic and extraordinary in the untried situation of the French government, and as justified by no distress, no pressure, no exigency. His lordship asserted, the scarcity was in no respect owing to the war: much of it was, he said, owing to the present unproductive situation of the Netherlands. The disaster at Quiberon had not occasioned it, as the grain which fell into the hands of the enemy consisted chiefly of the cargoes of some of the American ships which had been seized in their way to France.

1796.

The bad success of that expedition was, he contended, solely to be ascribed to the treachery of emigrant corps, which could not have been foreseen.

The marquis of Lansdowne pointedly ridiculed the satisfaction enjoyed by ministers, on finding that the prophecies he had formerly uttered in that house, on the conduct of our worthy allies, had been but half as bad in the accomplishment as they were predicted. After enumerating the victories of the French, and detailing the desertion of the allies, he wished to be informed, how many years of such *improvement* the nation would be able to bear? Judging of the future by the past, he had but little confidence in ministers; but if their boasts of our improvement and temporary success were founded, this was, above all others, the most favourable season for negotiation. The empire could only be saved by peace; and it was of the utmost importance to preserve it entire. The old story of the French finances had again, he said, been brought forward: he wished some attention to be paid to the finances of this country. If those of France were not unlimited, the finances of Great Britain were not without bounds. His lordship wished to know if the taxes of this year had proved productive. If they failed, all was over. Few people only could bear taxes to a certain extent: a few more would weigh down the scale. As to the West-India expedition, there was little chance of making an impression on St. Domingo; and of this lord Chatham was so sensible, that in his seven years' war he never would attempt it. The armament was, he understood, the worst arranged and equipped that had ever gone from

E

from this country. After stating its probable inefficacy, his lordship asked, whether a worn-out island or two, if taken, were worth the price of such an armament? The plan of the French, in sending out ship by ship, was what our ministers should have followed. If the discussions in the French convention were to be depended upon, the French would not give up the Netherlands for West-India settlements, as they were powerful enough not only to retain their own islands, but to invade ours. The language of the speech, though rather more pacific than that of the preceding year, meant, he said, nothing more than a display of the dexterity of ministers in proceeding with the war another year. The last year every thing was to be achieved by a decisive and vigorous effort; now the new order of things in France was to be relied upon. With respect to the assignats, it was plain the noble secretary inclined to the old exploded idea that money was the sinew of war,—an idea contradicted by the best writers, ancient and modern. Livy told us of three things which constituted the sinews of war,—good soldiers, good commanders, and good fortune; all of which the French possessed in an eminent degree. His lordship repeated his former argument, that nothing in point of resources was beyond the reach of a revolutionary government, whereas regular governments had their limitations in this point; and he trusted that what had happened to the old government of France would serve as a warning to ministers, of the fatal consequences of improvidently exhausting the revenues of this country. He earnestly recommended immediate negotiation: and, after an exhortation

to peace, as the only effectual remedy which could be applied to the grievances under which the country groaned, his lordship declared that he should support the amendment.

The address was supported by the earls of Darnley and Mansfield, and the amendment by the duke of Grafton. The earl of Lauderdale made a spirited attack upon the pledges, the promises, and the prospects, held out by ministers the former year. The mighty things to be accomplished for us by the emperor in return for his loan, were forgotten; what Spain was to do; what Sardinia; what the German powers; all was forgotten; together with the panegyrics upon the king of Prussia and the constancy and vigour of all our allies. But the secretary of state could, he said, remember exactly how many evils had been predicted; and, because they had not been fulfilled, our situation was improved. The sources of the satisfaction that was expressed, he could not discover. Disaster and defeat attended us abroad, and the lamentable scarcity of provisions at home was most properly recommended by his majesty to the consideration of the house. Our naval superiority, so much boasted of, fell far short of the statement made by his majesty when he came to the throne: and whatever was our superiority, the little protection given to our trade did not prove that it had been directed with sufficient skill and vigour to make it useful. His lordship proceeded to state the conduct of the allies, and the expedition to Quiberon, as very little satisfactory, and particularly censured the choice of M. De Puisaye as commanding officer. He had, he said, no sort of confidence in the equivocal promise

promise which the present speech gave to the country; it was less favourable than the hopes held out in the speech at the close of the last session, where there was an unconditional pledge that ministers would treat in case of a change of situation, which was said to be probable; but now the pledge was clogged with a condition, that the French must not only have a fit government, but must be the first to offer negotiation. The arguments drawn from the depreciation of the assignats, he thought nugatory. The case of America, and the last campaign of the French, were in proof of this. Ministers pretended regard to the new French constitution; but they ought not to be sanguine in the hopes they derived from it. Their boasted constitution of Corsica, which had combined such various talents in its first concoction, having been formed by the pope and a cardinal, and put into execution by a presbyterian governor and an episcopal secretary, was an improvement on the British model: yet by the late proclamation, no part of the French republic was in more confusion than Corsica. Could we prevail upon the people of France to accept of our ministers as their new directors, he should have some confidence in one further struggle.

Earl Spencer objected strongly to the amendment, as entirely relinquishing that indemnity for the war, for which ministers had always contended, and which the people would consequently expect from

in respect to the loss of
r convoys, it would be
in a war like the pre-
was not the case; and
cause of surprize was,
had been captured, con-
it nearly the whole of

the maritime commerce was in our hands, whilst the enemy had scarcely any. With respect to the Jamaica fleet, it had been separated from its convoy on the 13th September, and came home safe; except a small squadron. The mediterranean fleet having sailed, was detained by contrary winds so long, that, though it left Gibraltar on the 24th of September, it was little to the westward of St. Vincent on the 7th of October, when a small squadron which had sailed from Toulon, passed through the straits of Gibraltar, and captured a part, some of which had been retaken. His lordship appealed to the knowledge of professional men, whether it was possible so to block up the ports of an enemy, that no squadron could escape. Had the ships sent on the expedition to the coast of France not been sent thither, they would not have been sent to the mediterranean. Of M. De Puissaye, his lordship said, he personally knew little; but he had been at the head of a great party in France, whose object was the restoration of monarchy; all communication with it from this country had been through him; and he was now at the head of a considerable party which was ready to join, and did join, and was now acting with great effect!

The lord chancellor supported the address, and the duke of Norfolk the amendment. The duke of Bedford declined the privilege of replying at large to the arguments which had been adduced. The declaration of his majesty had not, he said, been sufficiently precise: but that of the secretary of state, if he had taken down his words correctly, which he had soon after they were delivered, would satisfy him. These, his grace stated, were, "that

in case the constitution now offered to the people of France, and perhaps now adopted, should be found likely to establish itself in such a form as should secure a government likely to preserve the relations of peace and amity, his objections to treating with them would be entirely removed."

Lord Grenville professed he never would hold ambiguous language, or deny what he had said in that house, and repeated his assertion (which in substance was the same as the words taken down by the duke of Bedford), but thought, that making the words of an individual peer in the debate the ground either of making or withdrawing a motion was so unfair and unparliamentary, that he could not agree to be placed in such a situation. His grace, in reply, professed it to be no part of his intention to be unfair or unparliamentary; that, not wishing to clog ministers, he was willing to withdraw his amendment, upon seeing any cause, plain and intelligible, avowed by ministers, though it might not go so far as he wished. He then withdrew the amendment, declaring, however, that he could not agree to that part of the address which expressed satisfaction at the improved state of affairs; and the address, after the customary forms, was presented to his majesty.

In the course of the debate on the address in both houses, many arguments arose respecting the scarcity of corn, mentioned in the latter part of his majesty's speech. The principal part of these, however, were again adduced on the subsequent bills which were introduced for the remedy or alleviation of this grievance.

On the 30th of October, the chancellor of the exchequer moved

in the commons for a committee for the extension, during another twelvemonth, of the bill of the last session, allowing the importation of corn duty free. The consideration of the present high price of corn was again brought before the house by the same gentleman, Nov. 3. He would, he said, in the first place, propose some alteration in the corn laws, and under this head meant to bring in a bill for amending the law relative to the assize of bread. In this part of his speech Mr. Pitt strongly recommended the use of several substitutes for wheaten flour. A considerable saving of wheat might be made by the substitution of articles not applicable for food in the manufacture of starch. For this he proposed to bring in a bill, and also for preventing obstruction in the transit of grain, &c. from one county to another.

Mr. Lechmere thought that the house could not prescribe any actual remedy for this evil, without first investigating the causes; these he stated to be the *monopoly of farms*, and the *jobbing in corn*. He wished granaries to be erected over the kingdom, where corn might be sold as at market, and where the poor would have the same chance in buying for themselves, as the corn-dealers.

The measures proposed by the minister were approved by Mr. Fox, who feared, however, that we should not find an immediate remedy for the grievance complained of, by a regulation in the assize of bread. The "palatable and wholesome bread" talked of, instead of that hitherto used, was, he said, to him as palatable, and might be as wholesome, as that made of the finest wheat; but that was not sufficient for the poor, to whom it ought

ought also to be *nutritious*. Another important point to be considered, was the nature of the scarcity. This certainly did not entirely arise from the smallness of the produce. Those articles in which no defect of produce could be pleaded, as the product of dairies, barley, &c. were still extravagantly dear. He mentioned this, to prove that the cause of the scarcity was a complicated one, and therefore the remedy to be applied ought to be applied with extreme caution. He strongly recommended the continuance of the prohibition upon distilleries. Many speculations had, he observed, arisen upon the fact of the increased price of all articles of provision. Many thought the price of labour too low; he was himself of that opinion, and had long been so. Such was, at present, the proportion between the price of labour and the price of provisions, that the poor were compelled, if they subsisted, to subsist on charity. He feared, however, that no legislative remedy could be applied to this evil. He did not believe it possible to raise the price of labour equal to the present price of provisions, and that it was equally impossible to reduce the price of corn to an equality with the present price of labour. Mr. Pitt fully agreed that the causes of the scarcity were various and complicated, and that the subject required proportionate serious investigation. The scarcity, he agreed, was not solely attributed to the deficiency of the crop, but to the interference of the law in the importation of corn. In the course of the debate, no allusion was made, he asserted, been emitted home; and the only remedy or such a charge were the made for the supply of

the usual contracts. That agents had been employed to supply our markets with foreign corn, he acknowledged; but he doubted whether this tended to check the speculations of individuals. After a conversation upon these subjects, Mr. Ryder moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter the existing laws relative to the price of bread, to prohibit the manufacture of starch from wheat or other articles of provision, and to lower the duties upon its importation; for continuing the prohibition of distilling from articles of grain; and for removing all obstructions to the free passage of grain within the kingdom, which were carried *sem. con.*

Upon bringing up the report of the select committee respecting the high price of corn by Mr. Ryder, it appeared, from the fullest information which the committee had been able to procure, that, except in the article of wheat, the crops had been abundant; so that, by the proper mixture of different grains, a considerable alleviation of the evils of the present scarcity might be made; and this was the more necessary, as, from different causes, the price of grain in America, the Mediterranean, and the northern parts of Europe, was exorbitantly dear, and an adequate supply could not be depended upon. After full consideration on the best means of obtaining a supply, the committee thought it best to leave the trade perfectly open, and to grant a bounty upon the importation. This bounty was twenty shillings upon every quarter, and fifteen shillings upon every barrel, imported from the Mediterranean, till 300,000 quarters should be imported. The bounty upon corn imported from America was fixed at fifteen shillings the quarter, and ten shillings the

the barrel, till 500,000 quarters should be imported. A bounty of five shillings a quarter, and three shillings a barrel, upon Indian corn or meal, till 500,000 quarters should be imported. Motions, founded upon these resolutions of the committee, were afterwards put by the chancellor of the exchequer, and carried.

As a further remedy for the grievance so universally suffered, and so afflictive to the poor, sir W. Young brought in a bill for enabling overseers of parishes to extend relief to the poor at their own houses.

On the 27th of November, Mr. Whitbread pointedly animadverted upon the peculiar hardships suffered by labourers in the present season of scarcity. Manufacturers, artisans, &c. frequently obliged their employers to make an advance of wages proportionate to the price of the necessaries of life; but the *maximum* of wages to the husbandman, by an existing statute, was appointed to be regulated by the magistrate, but not the *minimum*. This act was also so defective, that it could not be enforced. On the 9th December, the same gentleman brought in a bill to enable justices, at the quarter sessions, to regulate the price of labour. The arguments for this measure he urged with his usual humanity. The bill was also supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Honeywood, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Noel Edwards, Mr. Martin, gen. Smith, and Mr. Hufsey; and opposed by Mr. Burdon, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Vanstuart, and the chancellor of the exchequer who entered, in a very prolix, but unsatisfactory manner, into the expediency and policy of the measure. He thought it much better for the house to consider the operation of general principles; to

reflect what remedy might be adopted, more comprehensive in its object, less exceptionable in its example, and less dangerous in its application. They should look to the instances where interference had shackled industry, and where the best intentions had often produced the most pernicious effects. It was, he observed, the most absurd bigotry, in asserting the general principle, to conclude the exception; but trade, industry, and barter, would always find their own level, and be impeded by regulations which violate their natural operation, and derange their proper effect. Mr. Pitt then adduced the poor laws and the law of settlement, as proofs of regulations, which, however wise in their original institution, had contributed to the evils they were designed to remedy. Much of the evils complained of might, he thought, be remedied by an extension in the reformation of the poor laws, which had been lately begun. He wished for an opportunity of restoring the original purity of the poor laws, and of removing the corruptions by which they were obscured. The great defect of the poor laws was, that they did not distinguish between those, who, from misfortunes, were unable to support their families, and those whose poverty was the consequence of dissipation; whereas, the aid bestowed should be an honourable distinction, a matter of right, which the person could claim when he was unable to provide for all his children. But whatever was done was insufficient, if, at the same time, all applications for relief were not discouraged if unnecessary. If the necessities of those who required relief could be remedied by a supply of labour, the most important advantages would be

be gained: He recommended giving effect to the operation of friendly societies, granting relief according to the number of children, preventing removals at the caprice of parish officers, and the advancing of small capitals, which might be repaid in two or three years; and pointed out several means by which the object so much wanted, a pure execution of the laws, might be obtained. After a long conversation, in which many important arguments were adduced on both sides of the question, Mr. Whitbread's motion passed in the negative.

A similar fate attended the repeated efforts made by Mr. Lechmere to alleviate the present distresses of the poor.

The arguments of the chancellor of the exchequer on this subject (if arguments they may be called) were evidently intended merely to get rid of a question which must interest every man who has any feeling of justice and humanity. That the wages of the labourer should bear a proper proportion to the price of the necessaries of life, is a matter of right, a principle of justice, and in no respect connected with the consideration of the poor laws, except in this, that if the wages of labourers were what they ought to be, the poor's rates would be diminished to almost a cipher. Indeed, in such a state, none would have a claim on the benevolence of the public but the aged and infirm; and even of these, many would be enabled to

lay up, in the days of youth and health, a supply for their latter years; whereas, in the present state of things, it is evident that the labouring poor cannot gain a healthy subsistence, much less can they lay up any thing for age or adversity.

The committee to consider of the high price of corn, in the mean time, entered into an engagement to reduce the consumption of wheat in their families one third, by every possible expedient. This measure, which provided no legislative remedy for an evil of such magnitude, was pointedly animadverted upon by lords Lauderdale, Lansdowne, and Thurlow, as "filly, futile, and even ridiculous." The engagement was, however, signed not only by the committee, but by several members of both houses.

Several important regulations were, however, made by the committee respecting weights and scales, the tolls of millers, &c. which formed the basis of succeeding acts of parliament. About the same time sir John Sinclair brought forward a motion, founded upon the resolutions of the board of agriculture, for the cultivation of the waste lands. This was intended to prevent a recurrence of the distress at present experienced, and the necessity of such measures as had been lately adopted. In consequence, therefore, it is supposed, of the recommendation from the board, a considerable number of inclosure bills passed the house in the course of the session.

CHAP. III.

Committee of Supply. Seamen and Marines voted. General M'Leod's Motion respecting the Military Force of the Country. Army Estimates. Debate on that Subject. General Smith's Motion for recommitting the Report of the Army Estimates. Discussion on the West-India Expedition and the Barrack System. General Smith's Motion relative to Barracks. Negatived.

ON the 4th of November lord Arden moved, in the committee of supply, that one hundred and ten thousand seamen should be employed for the sea service of the year 1796, including eighteen thousand marines; and that four pounds a man *per* month, for thirteen months, should be allowed; both of which were accordingly voted. On the 4th of December, the committee granted a sum not exceeding 624,152l. 1s. 0½d. for the ordinary pay of the navy, including the marines, and 708,400l. for building and repairing ships of war.

Previous to the production of the army estimates, general M'Leod moved for returns of all the military force of the country. Before the house voted away the money of their constituents, it was, he observed, their duty to inquire into its purposes, its application, the number of men paid, and the allowance granted to each. It was, besides, the duty of the house to watch the conduct of ministers, and to see their projects and powers for their execution; to know also the means employed for the protection of the country, and the manner in which the levies had been conducted. The house ought likewise to see how gallant and experienced officers had been neglected, and the trust committed to those who had neither age nor military skill to discharge it properly. This return the general

wished to come up as far as September, but was induced to change that part of his motion to August, at the desire of the secretary at war, who thought it highly improper to make public the actual state of the force to the present time. Of the yeomanry, he stated, there could be no return, as they had never received pay; but this part of his argument was opposed by general M'Leod, as this description of persons had been furnished with arms, and therefore the returns might be made at the ordnance, or some other office. This motion being agreed to, the general proceeded to make two others, first, for a return of all the general and staff officers, whether British or foreign, who had been employed under the earl of Moira, with their pay, &c. and of those employed in the service of his majesty under the count d'Artois, prince of Condé, or any French general, with an account of their several allowances: both of which were agreed to.

The army estimates were referred to the committee of supply, in which the secretary at war observed that the whole land force of the kingdom was comprehended under two articles, that of guards and garrisons, and that of colonies and plantations. The amount of the first was, he said, by withdrawing the army from the continent, reduced to 49,219. In the colonies there

there was an increase from 35,000 to 77,868, owing to the augmentation of the army in the West Indies. Upon the whole, there was a reduction to the amount of 28,000 upon the establishment of regular troops. The troops of every description, with the regular forces, amounted to 207,000. The West India staff was increased; but it comprehended the medical staff.

The general result was, that the army, which was equal to every purpose of defence, had been reduced by 25,000, and formed a saving to the public of 800,000*l*. After recapitulating the several articles of force*, Mr. Windham moved his first resolution, "that 207,000 men be employed for the service of the current year."

Several of the articles stated by the

* The militia amounted to	—	—	—	—	42,000
In the fencible infantry there had been a reduction of 1700 men.	—	—	—	—	
The whole amounted now to	—	—	—	—	13,000
The fencible cavalry had received an augmentation of 4000 men, and amounted to	—	—	—	—	10,000
<hr/>					
The whole force, therefore, was as follows:					
Guards and garrisons	—	—	—	—	49,219
Force in the colonies and plantations	—	—	—	—	77,868
Militia	—	—	—	—	42,000
Irish brigade	—	—	—	—	4,414
The India army (which was paid by the company)	—	—	—	—	10,000
The fencible infantry	—	—	—	—	13,000
The fencible cavalry	—	—	—	—	10,000
					<hr/>
					206,501
					<hr/>
Or, taking it in round numbers,	—	—	—	—	207,000

The other article of importance was the West India staff, in which was included the medical staff.

The general result of the whole was, that the army to be kept on foot, in the ensuing year, was less than it had been last year by 25,369 men; the saving that accrued in consequence, was £.817,091, as would appear in the following statement,

For 49,219 land forces for 1796, £.11,358,621. 2*s*. 9*d*. for their charge and cloathing. £.1,666,200 for maintaining the forces in the plantations, Gibraltar, Corfu, and New South Wales, from the 25th of December, 1795, to 25th December, 1796.

£.40,125. 4*s*. 9*d*. for difference between the English and Irish establishment of six regiments of foot, from December 25, 1795, to December 25, 1796.

£.360,000 for recruiting and contingencies for 1796.

inkeepers, for increased subsistence on quartering for 1796.

3*d*. for general and staff officers for 1796.

6*d*. for pay of general and staff officers on an expedition under general

11*d*. to supernumerary officers and others, from December 25, 1795, to 1796.

5*d*. for paymaster-general, secretary at war, &c. for 1796.

6*d*. for reduced officers of land forces and marines, for 1796.

for reduced troops of horse guards, for 1796.

icers late of the states-general, for 1796.

account of reduced officers of British American forces, for 1796.

allowance to ditto, for 1796.

1*d*. for militia and fencible infantry, for 1796.

contingencies for ditto, for 1796.

1*d*. for cloathing militia for 1796.

£ 476,636.

the secretary at war were objected to by general Tarleton, who remarked a considerable variation from the statement given in the preceding year, and thought the estimate much larger than might be expected in the present circumstances of the war. He particularly objected to the whole statement of the fencible cavalry, and the expences of the corps estimated at 480,000*l.* and the increased number of general and staff officers, the estimate of which was 103,000*l.* The charge of American reduced officers was, he said, equal to the former year, though this body of men was considerably reduced. From the year 1792, to the end of 1794, the increase of expence had, he said, accumulated in the extraordinary ratio of from one million to eleven.

The conduct of ministers, in not furnishing the West India troops with a proper supply of medicines, was strongly animadverted upon by general M'Leod. They had, he stated, sent out only one ship with medicines, which had been captured by Victor Hughes, though we had twenty-six men of war and fourteen sloops in those seas. The general also desired an explanation

respecting colonel Beaumont's regiment, the horses for which were provided at the expence of 2*g**l.* each; but, when the regiment was afterwards dismounted and sent abroad, were sold again for 8*l.* *per* horse. The secretary at war and chancellor of the exchequer stated in reply, that immediate exertions were used for repairing the calamity of the loss of medical stores, by the dispatch of medicines in all the first ships that had sailed to that quarter; and that with respect to the horses, they should enquire into that matter. General M'Leod pointedly animadverted on the prodigality of ministers respecting staff officers, observing, that sir C. Grey, during his services in the West Indies, had only five generals under his command; whereas, the public were now called upon to provide for one thousand field and staff officers; there were thirty generals and field marshals, sixty-two lieutenant-generals, two hundred colonels, and seven hundred majors. The general further objected to the large army of fencible cavalry, which could only act in repelling a foreign invasion, or in maintaining internal tranquillity. With respect to the

- £.476,636. 10*s.* 8*d.* for fencible cavalry, for 1796.
- £.115,000 for certain allowances to ditto, for 1796.
- £.875,483. 14*s.* 1*d.* for ordnance, for 1796.
- £.279. 4*s.* 4*d.* for ordnance service previous to the 31st December, 1793.
- £.45,656. 0*s.* 5*d.* for ditto in 1794.
- £.61,000 for ditto for sea service in 1794.
- £.762,046. 13*s.* 6*d.* for ditto for land service in 1795.
- £.71,000 for civil establishment of Upper Canada, for 1796.
- £.5,415 for ditto for Nova Scotia.
- £.4,530 for ditto for New Brunswick.
- £.1,900 ditto for St. John's island.
- £.18,000 for civil establishment for Cape Breton.
- £.1,232. 10*s.* for ditto for Newfoundland.
- £.4,200 for ditto of Bermuda island, above present salaries.
- £.580 for chief justice of Bermudas.
- £.600 for ditto of Dominica.
- £.5,241 for the civil establishment of New South Wales.
- £.2,000,000 to pay off exchequer bills of last year.
- £.1,500,000 to pay off other exchequer bills.

first, since our fleets had been so triumphant, the idea of an invasion had never entered the head of even an old woman. The fencible corps, he conceived, were in fact "no further necessary than to support the wickedness of the minister's measures against the resistance of the people." Our regular cavalry coming from Germany made it additionally unnecessary to keep up two bodies of these troops. The resolutions, though strongly objected to, were, however, all put and carried.

When the report of the committee of supply on the army estimates was brought up, general Smith stated that the sum of 750,000*l.* was brought to account as the savings in 1794 and 1795: he thought it therefore time to ask whether the house would agree to such estimates without inquiring whence such savings should arise. The estimate for army extraordinaries for the ensuing year was larger beyond all comparison than any former one. He strongly objected to the fencible corps, and to placing raw and unexperienced commanders over old officers, and thought it a proper object of inquiry how the emigrant corps were employed, and at what expence; in one regiment of only two hundred and seventy men, ninety serjeants were enrolled. For various reasons connected with this subject, the general moved to re-commit the report for more minute examination.

The secretary at war objected to the re-commitment as useless, since every necessary information might be obtained without this measure. The cavalry, he contended, was not out of proportion to the rest of the army. In the fencibles, the troop which had consisted of eighty was diminished to fifty-five men.

With respect to the Irish brigade, concerning which the general wished to be informed, they were a body of troops lent to Ireland, and paid, in consequence of an arrangement, by this country. They were troops raised in Ireland, destined for general service, and, so far as they exceeded five regiments, were to be paid by England. The nature of the fencible corps had, he contended, been overlooked by the general; the men received no bounty, nor had the officers half-pay and the other advantages afforded by the regular service. The employment of men of large fortune, in their respective counties, was more conducive to the public service, as they easily procured men. The emigrant corps had, he asserted, done very essential service, and were now embarked for the West Indies. The deficiency of men, in proportion to the officers, arose from their having been formed during the heat of the campaign, and no provision having been made for filling up those who were *killed off*.

The statement made by Mr. Windham was opposed, as incorrect, by general M'Leod, who asserted that the mode in which troops had been raised during this war was unconstitutional, and unwarrantably expensive. In contradiction to the statement of the secretary at war, and of Mr. Jenkinson, he asserted his ability to prove, that, in the fencible cavalry, a bounty had been given by government. The command of not only the fencible regiments, but of many upon the establishment, had, he contended, been given to members of both houses of parliament, "for the disgraceful purpose of patronage and corruption." Many of the officers were stated by the general to be grossly ignorant of their duty.

We

We had, he observed, the enormous establishment of 220,000 men, of which there was a motley force of fourteen or fifteen species of troops. He considered the fencible cavalry as retained "to over-awe the people of this country." The regiments of this description were more profitable than had been allowed, all the off reckonings being pocketed by the commanders. On an average, every man enlisted within these two years had, at the least, cost government 66l. In addition to this, the army was so ruined, that it would be impossible, in ten or fifteen years, to bring it back to the state in which the minister had found it.

General Tarleton asserted, that, so far from the cavalry being less numerous than on former occasions, as had been affirmed, there were not, even during the rebellions of this country, an equal number. He strongly reprobated the levity of phraseology made use of by the secretary at war respecting the fate of the unfortunate emigrants. In addition to the other arguments against maintaining so large a body of fencible cavalry, he mentioned the immoderate quantity of fodder, &c. that would be consumed; and that it would involve the nation in an expence of 700,000l. He took a progressive view of the army expenditure from 1792, when it amounted to 1,814,000l. to the present year, when it was increased to 11,470,000l. The ordnance in 1793 was 448,000l. and at present 1,913,000l. so that the army, for the present year, would cost the country 13,383,000l. The general pointedly animadverted upon the mismanagement and neglect of ministers, and particularly blamed the delay in sending out the West-India fleet — the state of inactivity

in which our troops were kept on the continent, merely as a guard to Hanover, which ought to contribute to the expence of troops defending her own territories -- and the unfortunate expedition to the coast of France, which was ill-timed, and the commander, M. de Puissave, neither a man of character nor of military talents. By this expedition a British fleet was kept useless, which if employed for the protection of the Mediterranean, the severe loss lately sustained in that quarter might have been prevented.

Mr. Windham exculpated himself from any intentional levity in the phrase "*killed off*", so much censured by some of the members. Mr. Sergeant, lord Belgrave, and Mr. Dundas, entered into a justification of the conduct of ministers, particularly of the duke of Richmond respecting the ordnance. The latter strongly controverted the positions that had been advanced respecting the West-India fleet. That it ought to have sailed in October, he readily admitted; and in fact part was ready by the 10th of that month, and the remainder by November. The failure of its sailing was then owing to the wind. Mr. Grey strongly noticed the impropriety of the whole fleet not having been ready to sail, not merely by the 10th of October, but so as to have cleared the Channel by the 20th of September. The necessity of sending out a great armament to the West Indies must, he observed, have been known to ministers as long since as last June twelvemonths, when an account of the recapture of Guadaloupe was received. Before the charge of neglect could be removed from ministers, they must prove that the fleet was ready to sail before that season when storms and tempests

generally prevailed. From comparing the reduction of the army which had been stated, and the estimates of the present and preceding year, he contended that a saving of 350,000*l.* ought to have been deducted. The provision for the staff, amounting to 103,642*l.* was, he said, unparalleled and enormous; and this he proved from the statement of sums required for this purpose under the administration of lord Chatham and during the American war, which had been reprobated for its extravagance, but which fell infinitely short of the present sum.

Mr. Fox thought ministers, in justification of themselves, ought to call for an inquiry. The assertion, that the fleet was ready to sail by the 1st of November, could not, he averred, be made good upon an inquiry. He censured the first expedition to France, as wild and chimerical; on this expedition, however, he confessed there was some room for difference of opinion; but the second was planned and executed in contempt of the experience to be collected and learned from the former. In the present season of scarcity, he strongly objected to maintaining so large a body of cavalry, but thought it shameful, when the country was in no danger of invasion, to keep up so alarming and unprecedented an army in the kingdom, under pretence of the preservation of domestic peace; he observed, the civil power had always been sufficient. He arraigned in strong terms the commencement and conduct of the war; which, as usual, was as strongly defended by Mr. Pitt, who farther assigned, as a reason why the estimates of the present year were calculated upon the same scale as those of the preceding year, though that exceeded

the expence, that "last year there was a considerable number of *non-effectives*," and therefore a saving of pay; but that this year there would no such deficiency be found in the reduced establishment. He endeavoured to justify the increased expences of the staff; he mentioned the increase in the militia, the fencible and the yeomanry corps, and the advantages resulting from superior discipline. He warmly controverted the opinion, that Great Britain had for the last twelvemonth prevented a general peace from taking place. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, in reply, stated it as a proposition which he could prove and establish as completely as any political proposition could reasonably be proved and established. The recommitment was negatived; and the resolutions, after being read a second time, were agreed to.

Upon the report being brought up, a discussion again took place respecting the West India expedition. Mr. Grey remarked that the armament was so far from being ready at the time mentioned by ministers (though they had contended, that, in order to make an impression, it should act together), that the contingent from Ireland was not yet ready. The troops from that kingdom had, he asserted, been long encamped on Spice Island in the cove of Cork, where, from the dampness of the situation and the detention, they had lost many men by disease, and had then 1200 sick in the hospital. On the 28th November, they had not transports sufficient for their embarkation, by 3000 tons. A still further discussion took place respecting the charge for the erection of barracks. The expence and unconstitutional tendency of this measure were very forcibly exposed by

by Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Martin; and the measure was supported by Mr. Windham, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Dundas. In the progress of this debate, Mr. Whitbread moved for amending the resolution, by omitting the sum expended for the erection of barracks; which was negatived by a division of 74 against 28. The whole of the debate ended by two motions from Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan, for papers relating to the expences of the officering of barracks; which were ordered.

The papers thus moved for Dec. 4, were not, however, brought forward till the 7th of March. On the 8th of April general Smith moved for a committee to inquire into the amount of the expenditure in erecting barracks, to investigate the authority for this application of the public money, and to report the evidence, with their opinion, to the house. The general prefaced this motion by a speech, in which he stated the expence of barracks at nearly £.1,400,000. The *increased patronage to ministers* was, he said, the appointment of 46 barrack-masters, a barrack-master general, and nineteen officers, with salaries amounting to £.11,000. The general pointed out instances where "the barrack-masters had entered upon pay even before the erection of the barracks, perhaps even before they were intended." This, he contended, was unconstitutional, and a gross infringement of Mr. Burke's bill. The barracks already erected were, he said, capable of containing 34,000 troops, which was double the number of the usual peace establishment. Was this a needless squandering of the public money? or was it to main-

tain a standing army, sufficient (to use one of their own expressions) to enable ministers to *exercise a rigour beyond the law?*

The secretary at war allowed the expence to be very great, but thought the only question was, whether there was a comparative proportion between the magnitude of the expenditure and the importance of the object. In point of form, he allowed there had been a departure; but no public inconvenience arose from it. The question, though it had not come regularly before the house, had come in other forms. The amount of the expence of erecting barracks could not, he said, have been previously ascertained. He strongly insisted upon the hardships from which innkeepers, &c. would be relieved by the erection of barracks, who, in fact, had no more *right* to be thus burthened than any other description of people. When this practice of billeting first obtained ground, there was more proportion between the pay of the soldiers and the price of every necessary of life; and therefore the soldier was better able to pay for his fare. The necessity of getting inns for the soldiers often made their route more troublesome and circuitous, and was consequently a further reason for the erection of barracks. From this consideration, and the allowance which it had been found necessary to make to innkeepers, he contended that barracks would be considerably cheaper in time of war, and, he believed, also in time of peace. In the event of a peace, it was by no means necessary to fill them with troops. On a general principle of defence, it might be necessary to quarter troops where there were no inns; but, without such a precaution as the one then
under

under consideration, some parts of the kingdom, such as the towns upon the east of Scotland, might be liable to the depredations of any privateer. The accommodation above the peace establishment, which he stated at 3700 men, would only allow for the surplus of 1700, which were surely not sufficient to excite alarm. The new system was, he contended, greatly superior in point of œconomy to the old; the new expences included a part of the expences formerly placed to the account of ordnance; a part likewise went to the governors of forts and garrisons. With respect to the appointment of a barrack-master previous to building the barracks, it was necessary to have a master to treat for the ground, and oversee the progress of erection. He stated further, that much trouble and little emolument was attached to those offices, and that, therefore, gentlemen were continually resigning them. The erection of barracks was, he thought, further justifiable from the prevalence of sedition, which rendered it necessary to remove the soldiery from the danger of contamination: it would at once increase the comforts and the obedience of the soldiery. After an elaborate vindication of the expression alluded to in the speech of the preceding speaker, Mr. Windham, as might be expected, gave a direct negative to the motion.

Mr. M. A. Taylor observed that it had been insinuated, that seditious papers had been thrown into the quarters of the soldiers, in order to corrupt them; and therefore barracks were necessary. But why might not these papers be thrown into the barracks? and why were not persons thus acting subjected to the punishments provided by law?

Could barracks, however, secure the soldiery from those pernicious attacks? Did they never go abroad, and share with their fellow-citizens the blessings and contagion of society?—Automaton troops of such discipline might do for drill, but the best support of government, and the bravest defenders of the rights, liberties, religion, and property, of the kingdom, were those who had an interest in all, and partook of the comforts they afford. Having formerly declared his sentiments respecting the expediency and advantages of uniting the characters of the soldier and citizen, he would at present decline that subject; but he was certain, had Lord North, in the American war, proposed such a system, the present minister would have been one of the most strenuous opponents of a measure which he would not have hesitated to deem eminently weak and extravagant. He proceeded to notice the vast extension of patronage, and pointedly ridiculed the appointment of a barrack-master at Lincoln, who, though he could not plead having seen military service, and though these offices were held forth by the secretary at war as rewards for men who deserved well from their country, yet certainly possessed uncommon abilities, and was at once a good saddler, a good sportsman, a good dancing-master, and, at the same time, master of the ceremonies at the Lincoln assembly!

The improbability of placing the soldiery in such a situation as to prevent their listening to the voice of sedition, without shutting them out from the principles of rational liberty, was forcibly stated by Mr. Fox. God forbid that they should be taught disobedience! But was it not a plain proposition, that indiscriminate

criminate obedience was not the duty of an Englishman, whether soldier or citizen? If one system was more corrupt and inimical to freedom than another, it was the system of barracks. The cantonment in barracks of the army of France was, he pointedly observed, one principal cause of the revolution. To speak in terms of reprobation of those who held doctrines hostile to the constitution, was a farce, while ministers were continually passing acts subversive of its acknowledged principles. Their manifest breach of the appropriation act must be fresh in every one's recollection. These deviations were justified on the plea of necessity: some deviation from strict form was confessed; but nothing, it was said, had been done substantially prejudicial. This was the language of him who had a sanctified horror at every thing which wore the semblance of reform,—of him who trembled at the bare idea of making one step towards innovation; yet he was the person who came forward to say that forms might be dispensed with. But what was this form to be dispensed with? Was it not to dispense with a fundamental principle of the constitution? Was the house not called upon to dispense with that controul which it ought to have over the public treasure, and the sanction expences to which it had never agreed? The constitution asserted that money was not to be levied without the consent of parliament. Had not that been done in the present instance? When the question of barracks was under the contemplation of government, should it not have been solemnly submitted to parliament, and maturely considered, and not brought before them for approbation after

all the expence had been incurred? Mr. Fox proceeded to notice an inconsistency which had appeared in the doctrines laid down that evening. Barracks were said to have been erected upon the spur of the occasion: this was the excuse for their erection; but yet it is asserted that it has been long a matter of experience, that the military could not be properly accommodated in any other way. The plan, he contended, had been long in agitation, though ministers had not thought proper to bring it regularly before the house. It was triumphantly said that our ancestors gave their occasional consent to such a measure; but was there any resemblance between small cantonments partially taking place, and the seclusion of the whole army from the rest of their countrymen? —When this subject had been brought before the house some time ago, ministers got rid of it by the order of the day. Could this be called a solemn decision of parliament? That decision gave no countenance whatever to the unauthorized expenditure of the public money. Many of the barrackmasters were, he contended, selected merely for election purposes. Should the appointment of a committee of inquiry be resisted, however, Mr. Fox said, though he might expose himself to invidious observations, he would say that we had but the mockery of a constitution. If, indeed, ministers disregarded all fundamental principles—if the house quietly tolerated their excesses—if the power of raising and applying money was exercised, not by the house of commons, but by ministers, what was the constitution but a farce and mockery? The maintaining of a standing army in the country, and dis-

dissolving the connection between the citizen and soldier, was, he observed, a matter of the greatest delicacy and intricacy; and it would have been decent, even for the sake of form, for ministers to have given the house an opportunity of exercising its deliberative functions, before a measure was carried into execution, so hostile to the general freedom and happiness of the nation.

Mr. Pitt denied that the shutting up soldiers in barracks secluded them from the society of their fellow citizens; it only prevented them from society at a time when the ill-disposed of the community might instil into them sentiments of a tendency pernicious and hostile to the constitution. He contended, that the system at present pursued had been sanctioned by the legislature, and that, instead of introducing a new system, ministers merely carried on an old one to a greater extent. If the principle, as had been stated, was repugnant to parliament, the country, and the constitution, would *they* not have taken steps to stop it!!! and consequently, if they did not, their conduct was to be construed into a tacit and implied approbation. The manner and process of erecting barracks could not furnish any argument with respect to their novelty. There did not appear the least want of wisdom in the system, or mismanagement in the execution: with what propriety, then, could the house institute an inquiry? The assertion, that government had no right to employ money in extraordinary services; was unfounded. The measure, he contended, was only a prudent and necessary extension of an old institution. The substantial question for consideration was, whether the

1796.

house would have foregone the expence incurred if the estimate had been laid before them, and whether they would then refuse their assent to extraordinaries so beneficially employed?

The system in question was opposed by Mr. W. Smith; as novel to the constitution, highly expensive, and only fit for the most absolute and despotic governments. It was further objected to with uncommon humour by Mr. Courtenay, who thought the secretary at war had not been treated with sufficient candour and fairness. From an uncommon species of ingenuous modesty (not always to be found in ministers) a most considerable and ample fund to supply the expence of erecting barracks in every part of the kingdom, had been hitherto concealed. A new and most judicious order had just been issued from the war office, that all the dung of the dragoon horses, which, from time immemorial, had been a perquisite to the soldiers, was now to be sold, and the produce remitted to the war-office, to be lodged in his majesty's exchequer, and employed for the service of the state. In his usual strain of irony, Mr. Courtenay continued to entertain the house, observing, that the hon. secretary, like Virgil, as described by Mr. Addison, 'could scatter his dung with a grace and majesty;' and the royal domains principally derived their rich and flourishing crops from the manure he bestowed upon them. He, with great irony, continued to compliment the secretary at war for acting upon those enlightened motives which lord Chatham, Montesquieu, and Blackstone, had thought might be attended with the most dangerous consequences to a free country. He had no doubt, from the

F joy

joy expressed by ministers in having the half pay list relieved by the opportunity of providing for several meritorious officers, that out of the fifty-six places to be bestowed, fifty at least had been given to gallant and veteran officers; and he should therefore move for a list of the barrack-masters, to prove to the country their patriotism in having no regard to election jobs and improper influence.

Mr. Grey, after restating his assertions on a former night, which he contended were not disproved, wished to know what were to be looked upon as permanent barracks for a peace establishment? If the new barracks were to hold 34,000 troops, and the old 20,000, this would be 54,000 on a peace establishment. If the barracks were not to be filled with troops, how could it be proved that the cheapest way of quartering men was by keeping up barracks for many more than were wanted? With respect to the expence of barracks, he noticed two accounts, one of £.243,000, the other of £.314,000, and wished to know, whether these were distinct, or the lesser contained in the greater sum? whether the total was expended in the last five years, or all in 1795? Mr.

Steele, in reply, recapitulated the statement made, and said, that when the intended plan was completed, there would not be barracks for more than 25,000 men. He vindicated ministers from having misapplied the vote of credit, and said, they had only acted like former ministers in similar situations. This justification upon precedent was ridiculed by Mr. Grey, who, with Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, contended that there was a palpable inconsistency on the face of the accounts. In that upon the table, it was stated that £.314,000 had been paid to the barrack-master general, and expended in the erection of temporary barracks, on a warrant dated July 1795; while the account given in by ministers last year, the title of which was "An account of money issued to the barrack-master general for the erection of temporary barracks, up to December 31st, 1795," amounted only to £.243,000. A difference of £.73,000 therefore remained to be accounted for. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Steele in reply said, they believed almost all, if not the whole, was expended in 1795. On a division of the house, the ayes were 244 noes 98.

CHAP. IV.

The Budget. Estimates. Taxes. Debate concerning the Loan. Further Debates on this Subject. Motion for a Committee of Inquiry concerning it. Close Committee appointed. Report of the Committee. Debate on the Report. Motion respecting the fictitious Hamburg Bills drawn by the Treasury. Debates on the Vote of Credit Bill—In the Commons—In the Lords. Opposition to the Tax on Tobacco. To the Horse Duty. Tax on Callicoes given up. Debates on Collateral Succession Tax. Tax on Landed Succession abandoned by the Minister.

AT a very early period in the session (Nov. 18th), the minister gave notice of his intention

of laying before the commons the usual motions with respect to the national expenditure and supplies. The

The budget, however, (as it is termed in the technical language of the house) was not opened till Dec. 7, when Mr. Pitt observed that he was fully aware of the difficulties of calling the attention of the house to a view of the expences of the year at so early a period, when many of them must be judged of by estimate, and of course must be taken upon confidence. He called upon the committee, however, to recollect the prospect of peace held out to them by his majesty's speech; adding, that it was probable a speedy termination to the war would be materially assisted by shewing ourselves prepared for either alternative. He therefore thought it

best to open the general state of receipt and expenditure; and he did this with the more confidence, in the persuasion that the account would be a *triumph* of the finances of Great Britain, and fully demonstrate her equal to every emergency! He was the more induced to this, from observing the totally exhausted state of the enemy, while Great Britain could confidently look forward to providing the means for carrying on the war during years if necessary, without burthening the people or injuring trade!!! The whole of the supply wanted, Mr. Pitt stated as follows:

Navy—110,000 seamen	£.5,720,000			
Ordnance	£.624,152	1	8	
Extraordinaries	£.708,400	0	0	
	<u>1,332,552</u>	1	8	
				£. 7,072,552 1 8
Army—guards, garrisons, &c. } Chelsea, &c, &c. }	-	-	-	6,194,452 14 5
Extraordinaries	-	-	-	2,646,990 19 10
Foreign corps	-	-	300,000	
Sardinian subsidy	-	-	200,000	
Further extraordinaries computed at			350,000	
			<u>850,000</u>	0 0
Ordnance	-	-	1,744,471	8 1
Miscellaneous services, plantation estimates, &c. &c.	-	-	360,616	8 5
Vote of credit	-	-	2,500,000	0 0
Exchequer	-	-	3,500,000	0 0
Annual addition to sinking fund	-	-	200,000	0 0
Deficiencies of grants	-	-	2,333,000	0 0
Debt land and mak	-	-	350,000	0 0
			<u>£.27,662,083</u>	12 6

The ways and means Mr. Pitt stated to be;

£.2,000,000
750,000
Growing

Growing produce of consolidated fund on 5th Jan. 1796, computed at	}	2,395,000	
Money arising from the sale of Dutch prizes			1,000,000
Imprest			200,000
			<hr/>
		3,595,000	
Deduct from half year's interest on new stock		360,000	
		<hr/>	3,235,000
Exchequer bills			3,500,000
Loan			18,000,000
			<hr/>
			£.27,485,000.

The further sums to be provided for in the course of the session, were, he observed, first, the navy debt, which had increased to five millions. This was not, however, to be regretted, considering the proud height to which our navy had risen. This was chiefly to be ascribed to the purchase of India ships, and the employment of numerous transports. In the ensuing year he expected a saving in this branch of at least two millions and a half. The army extraordinaries would, he thought, not exceed two millions and a half. Another important sum to be attended to was the bounty upon corn to be imported. He did not think 1,000,000*l.* was so wide a sum as was likely to be called for. There was, however, he observed, a fund to which the house might look with confidence, if they were disposed to refer it to the public service. Upon an average of three years, the provision made for the American loyalists had produced 300,000*l.*; of the charge upon this fund only 250,000*l.* would be due after this year. The permanent taxes, and the growing produce of the consolidated fund, were more than equal to the existing charge upon it; and the taxes of last year bade fair to come up to the sums at which they were taken, as they had already

amounted to two-thirds. The taxes for the loan of 18,000,000*l.* for which he had contracted, he should submit to the house, after premising that the interest upon every 100*l.* borrowed was 4*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* to which was to be added the one per cent. wisely provided by parliament in aid of the fund for discharging the national debt. This made the interest amount to the annual sum of 1,111,500*l.* and for this he should propose taxes upon collateral legacies, an addition of 10 per cent. on the assessed taxes, a tax upon horses, a tax upon tobacco, a tax upon printed cottons and calicoes, a duty upon salt, and a reduction of the bounty upon the export of refined sugar. With respect to the tax on legacies, it had already been tried in Holland, and been found neither oppressive, nor had it in any degree taken from industry its stimulus in the acquisition of wealth. Nor was the principle new in this country, where a tax upon legacies had existed several years. He meant to propose, therefore, a tax of two per cent. on all legacies above a certain extent in the first collateral degree, and also to extend to residuary legatees — three per cent. on first cousins — four per cent. on second cousins — and six per cent. on more remote relations, and on strangers. From the calculations re-
specting

pecting the amount of property in England, made in the beginning of the present century, the lowest amounted to 25,000,000*l*. Estimating this rental at 28 years' purchase, The landed property

was	£.700,000,000
Personal property	£.600,000,000

Total	£.1,300,000,000
-------	-----------------

From an inspection of the records of the courts of Canterbury and York, it appeared, that about one third of the personal property devised by will went to collateral branches. Of landed property, the proportion was about one fifth; he would therefore take the medium, one fourth, upon which to form the probable estimate. From the calculation of property transferred by will, this tax would amount to 294,000*l*. per ann. from this he would deduct the present tax upon legacies, amounting to 44,000*l*. per ann. and take the new tax at 250,000*l*.

With respect to the assessed taxes; the amount was well ascertained; the 10 per cent. to be laid upon them, he estimated at 140,000*l*. From this whole he meant to exempt horses, as they were to make a separate tax. On these animals kept for pleasure, it was his intention to double the taxes already paid, so that 1*l*. would be paid by a person who kept one horse, and 12*l*. by those who had six; the produce of this he should estimate at 116,000*l*. He should also propose a tax of 2*s*. per horse upon all horses kept for industry; and he should estimate the tax upon such horses at 100,000*l*. The tax upon tobacco he should propose to be 4*d*. per lb. which would produce 170,000*l*. Upon printed goods he should propose an additional tax of twopence halfpenny per yard, which he esti-

mated at 135,000*l*. With respect to salt, he only proposed a regulation, which would produce 32,000*l*. The reduction of the drawback upon refined sugar might be considered in precisely the same predicament: he should propose to reduce it one fourth, which would be a saving to the amount of 180,000*l*. The total of these taxes amounted to 1,127,000*l*.

The whole amount of the sum for which he estimated the new taxes, would be 1,120,000*l*. and the sum for the payment of the interest of the loan was only 1,115,000*l*. This was all that was necessary to be said, had nothing been advanced respecting the terms on which the loan was borrowed. The interest he had already stated at 4*l*. 13*s*. 6*d*. per cent. to which the provision for a reduction of the capital, in the proportion of one per cent. made the whole amount to six per cent. In the fourth year of a war held out to be peculiarly disastrous and odious to the public, a loan of 18 millions had been negotiated upon terms little more than four and a half per cent. This he stated as *prima facie* evidence of our prosperity. He had, he said, discharged his full duty in obtaining terms as favourable as he thought ought to be obtained, with due regard to the real interests of the public. With respect to his departure from the usual mode of competition in making a loan, Mr. Pitt stated that he had heard it suggested that the gentlemen concerned in the last loan had a right to a preference in any future one, till all the instalments on the former loan were paid off. The pretensions of the contractors for the last loan had not till lately been formally notified to him. These pretensions rested on the grounds that no instance had occurred,

curred, when a new loan was contracted for, previous to the discharge of the payments upon the one preceding, and that great inconvenience would arise from such a loan being at market before the dividends on the scrip were paid off. Further, that when, in negotiating the last loan, they proposed paying the last dividend on the 1st of February 1796, he had objected to it on the probability that a new loan might be wanted before the last scrip was paid. They had therefore concluded that he would not negotiate another loan previous to the former being paid off. The governor of the bank had confirmed the reasonings of the contractors; and he could not, consistently with public faith, without their consent, contract for a new loan. He was therefore bound either to wait for the expiration of the last payment, or so to act, that the former contractors might not find themselves aggrieved. The delay, he thought, would be highly prejudicial. Taking, however, the alternative not to forego a fair competition, and that the terms of the loan should be just and wise, the former contractors were willing to enter into a competition of offers, on condition they should have an option to take the loan at one half per cent. less advantageous to the public than the lowest terms offered by any other contractor: and this half per cent. amounted to 90,000*l*. Fearing that this might prevent bidding, and to save the public from any disadvantage, he had taken precautions, before he consented to even this qualified competition. Mr. Boyd was willing to take the loan on such terms as he should award, on the event of Mr. Morgan's refusal to govern the terms by the present price of stock; and on

Mr. Morgan's refusal, he had fixed them as advantageously for the country as could be established with a view to policy and public credit. He had stated to the contractors, that an unfunded navy debt of five millions was likely to ensue in the next year, and reserved the free option and discretion of this country to enable the emperor to raise a sum for carrying on the war. This amounting perhaps to three millions, added to the navy debt, made the possibility of raising eight millions in the ensuing year. Under these circumstances, Mr. Boyd accepted the following terms:

120 in the 3 per cent. consols.

25 in the 3 per cent. reduced.

And 6*s*. 6*d*. in the long annuities.

The whole amount for 100*l*. 104*l*. 5*s*. 3*d*.

In the last loan the discount was 2*l*. 5*s*. in this it would be 5*s*. more, arising from the difference of payment on the 3*d* and 30*th* of this month. The loan of the former year had, he said, been agreed to be favourable for the country; the terms of the loan this year were a quarter per cent. more favourable. Though larger by one half than the loans in the American war, which were at from 5*l*. to 6*l*. interest, this was at little more than four and a half. It would not suffer in comparison with loans in time of peace. On comparing it with the loan in 1789 for the Spanish armament, it appeared to have been made on better terms. When he considered that the new taxes kept pace with the sums at which they were estimated, and were fully adequate for the purposes intended, and the numberless circumstances which proved the rising credit of the country, and her full ability to carry on the arduous contest in which she was engaged, he felt his heart

heart dilate with pride and satisfaction !

Mr. W. Smith thought the point for discussion respecting the loan was, whether there were sufficient grounds for the existing contract, and whether the terms were such as the house ought to sanction. He was instructed by the petitioners against Mr. Pitt in the present instance, to state, that on the night preceding the 26th of November, when the contract with Mr. Boyd was signed, that gentleman's memorial had not been presented: it therefore appeared, that, had every thing on all sides been *fairly* and liberally intended, the night before signing the contract would not have been the time for the first plea of the memorial, when notice had been given of an open competition ten days before, and a circular letter was written by the secretary of state, in which a general invitation was given, without any mention of preference. The grounds for preference in Mr. Boyd's memorial were, that he had a lease of the monied interest for one year, or at least, to the payment of the last loan of 1795, which was computed to amount to 5,000,000*l.* and might be greatly injured by the intervention of another contract. This statement he was in some measure prepared to deny, and could prove, that only 1,400,000*l.* remained in the market. Mr. Smith proceeded to contend that there was nearly as much money lost by the present negotiation on one part, as the 477,000*l.* if it could have been lost, would have been on the other. If any preference were due, it was to Mr. Morgan, who, three years ago, had made a loan of 12,000,000*l.* when he objected to another loan, all the shares were disposed of ; and the loan was made on that

condition. This was in February ; yet the May following another loan was entered into for the emperor, when the shares of 12,000,000*l.* were at discount. That loan was the best ever made for this country ; and it was therefore reasonable that those who had suffered on a former occasion should have had the right of preemption. A pre-engagement with the present contractors did not hold good in all its connections. Mr. Boyd had it again, with a different list of individuals. No subscriber to the former loan had asserted a claim to the present, for which there was a very good reason, since that was worth from 12 to 14 per cent. consequently they could have been no losers. After such advantages, Mr. Smith thought it very unreasonable that they should have the pre-emption, to the exclusion of those who had lost by a former loan, and to the great disadvantage of the public. To call the terms offered a competition, was, he thought, a mere abuse of words. Had it been rejected by Mr. Boyd, that rejection would have proved its want of value ; and any man who had taken it, with the addition of 10 shillings per cent. would have proved himself an idiot. The public mind was so much made up that Mr. Boyd was to have the loan, that bets were publicly offered upon it. Contrary to the common practice in making loans, Mr. Smith asserted that this had been concluded with uncommon precipitation ; and Mr. Morgan had heard of it on 'change, when he conceived the matter was still under deliberation. The money borrowed might, he contended, have been had at two per cent. less ; of which he was ready to produce proof at the bar of the house. Four hundred thousand pounds

might, he said, have been saved to the public. The shadow of competition had only produced mischief, occasioned by the minister not waiting for the proposal of Mr. Boyd, but offering terms to him, and throwing him in six per cent. when he might have had the money on better terms for the public. This was a fact unnecessary to prove. He knew, he said, that this had not been transacted without consultation, but thought a consultation with the governor or deputy governor of the bank extremely improper, as they were officially entitled to a considerable share of the loan, and could not be stated as perfectly disinterested in the bargain. To sanction the loan, tended, he said, to prevent all future competition; and concluded a very able speech by moving, that, after the first resolution for granting 18,000,000*l.* to his majesty, should be agreed to, the chairman should report progress, in order that when the house was resumed, he might move for an inquiry respecting the loan. His proposal was, however, thrown out by a majority of 237 against 27.

On reading the resolution for allowing the subscribers to the loan 6*s.* 6*d.* long annuities, Mr. Hussey moved an amendment, that, instead of *six*, the word *four* should be inserted; which, after some debate, was negatived without a division.

The business of the loan, however, after being repeatedly adverted to and censured by Mr. Fox and several members of opposition in the house, was again formally brought forward by Mr. Smith on the 15th of December, in a motion for a committee of inquiry on this subject. He particularly wished this, that buyers of a loan should know, that, in case of an extra-

gant bargain, it would be subject to revision. The defence made by the chancellor of the exchequer, though he was pledged not to bring a new loan into the market till the last instalment on the last year's was filled up, was, he thought, extraordinary. The pledge had entirely escaped the chancellor's memory, and rested wholly on the governor of the bank. It was he who had announced a competition, and it was upon his recollection of a precious pledge, that the competition had been laid aside. If such a pledge really existed, the minister ought to have advised with the house before he wantonly threw away 180,000*l.* of the public money. A smaller loan might have been contracted for, till the former instalments were paid up. Mr. Morgan had, he thought, suffered personal injustice. The interest, he observed, was said to be 4*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* and it was therefore boasted that the bargain was good. Mr. Smith, however, entered into a calculation, to shew that in fact the interest amounted to 4*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* and that this difference upon such a capital was immense. The bargain for the loan, he proceeded to remark, was concluded just thirteen days before a message arrived to that house from his majesty. This message informed them, that the crisis which was depending at the commencement of the session had led to such an order of things in France, as would induce his majesty to meet any negotiation on their part for peace, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest effect. Mr. Smith could not see any circumstances affecting the relative situation of that country to this, that rendered particularly expedient a message which had certainly had a very favourable operation upon

upon the loan, which, within three days after the conclusion of the bargain, bore a profit to the subscribers of no less than 250,000*l.* a profit little less than all the loans during the American war had brought to the contractors, though lord North was often reprobated for extravagance, and even in one instance convicted of corruption. The average interest of lord North's loans did not exceed $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. those of the present chancellor, in a period of much greater prosperity, were no less than $5\frac{1}{4}$. In the course of four years, fifty-one millions had been borrowed; and if the loan of eleven millions formerly contracted for by Mr. Morgan was thrown out of the account, the interest paid by the country would be found to amount to 7 per cent. This loan was, he contended, still more reprehensible from the situation of the country. Exclusive of this loan of eighteen millions, the national debt amounted to 388 millions; the annual interest of this debt to 10,640,000*l.* During the last nine years, a sum of about 15 millions 3 per cents. had been paid off, but 98 millions had been added. Since the year 1791, though the ways and means had been stated to exceed the expenditure, the deficiency in that year was 430,000*l.* in 1792 still more; in 1793 800,000*l.* and in the present year it amounted to a very large sum indeed. Add to this, that since the year 1784 five millions of taxes annually had been laid on. Should then any of the means of our prosperity fail, where would the taxes be found to pay such an enormous accumulation of debt? More money, he contended, was thrown away by the loan, than saved by the reduction in the expenditure of the public offices.

The inquiry was readily agreed to by Mr. Pitt, who vindicated the governors of the bank from having had any share in the transaction of the loan, except being witnesses to it. With respect to the observation of Mr. Smith, that the greater part of those who composed the list of Boyd and Co. were excluded from a large portion of their subscription, when it was known that so considerable a *bonus* was attached to the loan, he averred, that neither in this nor any other loan did he know the manner in which it was distributed. The question for consideration, he observed, was, whether, under all the circumstances in which the loan was made, it was an improvident bargain. If a better loan could have been made, he must submit to censure; but the guilt to be imputed to him was not to be governed by the sum which the contractors might profit by the loan, but upon circumstances antecedent to the present period. At the moment of contracting for the loan, gentlemen considered the whole sum which from a fortunate concurrence had ultimately come to the subscribers, as so much money absolutely taken from the public; but the utmost loss to them was the difference between the terms upon which the loan might have been had, and those which had been made. In all loans, subscribers had been allowed to have 5 per cent. but the whole profit to the subscribers, according to the arguments adduced, was to be considered as a loss to the public. Mr. Morgan had neither informed him of any thing respecting an imperial loan, nor of the state of the navy debt. Let it, however, be supposed that the terms of Mr. Morgan, as they had been since stated, had been agreed to; this would not amount to any thing like the supply of

of the public loss which was said to be sustained. After the message had been brought forward, many circumstances had occurred, both in the situation of this country and of Europe, which were not then known either by them or him. The offer of gentlemen who now inveighed so much against him was not 10 or 12 per cent. but two shillings upon the long annuities. The whole effects of the loan, he contended, proved that the credit of the country was greater than in former loans; and it was reasonable at the time it was made to conjecture, that bringing 18 millions to market would have an immediate effect to the amount of 2 per cent. With respect to the message from his majesty being brought forward at such a time as must be advantageous to the loan, it was a specific event, arising from the sentiments conveyed from the throne at the opening of the session: he thought it of great public importance that it should come at the time it did. How far it operated on the price of stock, he should not attempt to determine: but he could by no means agree that it conveyed a sense of an immediate peace. The rise in the funds did not, he contended, proceed from the message, but from the progress of the Austrian arms,—the difference which had taken place in the affairs of Europe,—the rapidly increasing distress of the enemy from the almost extinguished state of their resources,—and the great change in the minds of the people.

The reason why better terms than two shillings upon the long annuity were not offered, was stated by Mr. Fox to arise from the house not having been acquainted with his majesty's message one hour before. The minister had laid great stress on a fortnight's experience of

the affairs of France. Had any thing happened which the minister had not said he had long foreseen? and was it not his general topic in favour of carrying on the war? If so, was it not criminal to avail himself of such a message at such a time? If (Mr. Fox said) he understood the message, it was, that his majesty would negotiate when there appeared on the part of the French a reasonable disposition for peace; and that then he would give such a disposition the speediest effect. The minister had conveyed an idea that he did not foresee the necessity of the message on the 25th November, when the loan was agreed for: how was that reconcilable with the sentiment delivered from the throne on the 29th October? as he said that the message was only to follow up what was then expressed on the government of France. If he then foresaw the situation of the enemy, did he not foresee it equally when he made the loan? The minister, therefore, ought either to have brought forward the message sooner, or have deferred the loan till the message had been produced. The minister said, he thought it important to convey the information at that time to the house,—alluding to Mr. Grey's intended motion for a negotiation for peace, the notice for which had been given long previous to the 25th November, and was postponed at the desire of the minister, who wished previously to bring on the budget. The operations of the Austrians upon the Rhine, and the distresses of the French, were well known before the loan was contracted; and the effect of this was trifling upon the funds; but the effect of the message was great and instantaneous. The minister had said, no:
body

body suspected him of *corruption* in this business. He did not know what the minister had done in every respect upon this loan: but when he saw a method followed which favoured the *probability* of *corruption*, by furnishing an opportunity of putting millions of the public money into the pockets of individuals, he did not like to have it defended by mere assertion. Had any reason been shewn for making the loan so early? Had any thing been urged by the minister to induce a belief that the reason for negotiating was not as strong in his mind long ago as at present? The loan, he contended, was not only in itself disgraceful, but it would have a bad effect in future; men would say there was no safety in a public competition: it was true, a competition was talked of; but the minister might recollect some private promise he had made to an individual, and that, after they attended to bid, he might give an option to that individual to take it to himself.

Mr. Sheridan observed that they were two distinct things, to say that the minister has no part of the *onus* himself, and to say that he has not *contrived* to make a distribution of it to others. In 1783, lord John Cavendish, who, it was clear, had been influenced by the purest motives, had been far from tenderly treated respecting the loan he had made. He totally doubted the minister's ignorance of the subaltern subscribers to the present loan, and wished the house to call for a list of the contractors, and then for the subordinate lists of the bankers. The lord mayor, he observed, was said to have two millions of the loan; and he pointedly noticed the conduct of that magistrate respecting the meetings which re-

garded the two celebrated bills. He thought there was full right to fasten a *suspicion* on the *distribution* of the loan. Could any man in the shape of a politician, and circumstanced like the minister, assert that he did not, on the 25th of November know that the French were already in possession of such an order of things, or in the course of obtaining it, as could justify a negotiation for peace? Mr. Sheridan proceeded to remark what he considered as inconsistent in the minister, who, on the opening of the budget, had declared the French in the very gulph of bankruptcy, and yet came forward with another proposition, asserting that the order of things in that country was favourable to a treaty. Could it be thought that the minister had made no estimate on the probable duration of the present government of France, when he bargained for the loan? It might have been expected from his declarations, that the present council of 500 did not elect themselves, and that four out of the five members of the council of ancients had not imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereign. Yet the reverse was the fact. Upon a review of the circumstances of the loan, there were, in his conception, grounds for *frivolous suspicion*, that if the minister had not been guilty of *personal corruption*, he had, through the means of particular agents, used one of the most pernicious species of *bribes* that had ever been resorted to by the most *corrupt* government.

The lord mayor asserted that he had never made a declaration in the common hall that he would oppose the bills. Out of 8000 of his constituents, a majority of 2000 had indeed opposed the bills, but these he could not consider as a majority

jority of the whole. He declared in the face of God and that august assembly, that he knew nothing of the loan, "till his hair-dresser, an *honest fellow*, told him that the house with which he was connected got 2,800,000*l.* of the loan." God knows, he had no impure motives! much stress was laid upon a *bonus*, but would any one take a loan without a *bonus*?

The house, after much opposition, agreed to a close committee, which all members who pleased were allowed to attend.

This committee, after sitting a considerable time, and examining several witnesses, completed their report, which was brought up by Mr. W. Smith. After a speech remarkable for its force of argument and accuracy of detail, Mr. Smith moved a string of resolutions establishing the principle of an open competition—that the loan was bad and improvident—and that the minister, in adjusting the terms, had been guilty of a departure from his own principles, and of a breach of his duty. Mr. Smith observed, that 8 millions of the loan was divided amongst those gentlemen who had supported the measures of the minister in Grocers' Hall; and this yielded a clear profit of 90,000*l.* Mr. Boyd had, he said, urged, that his claim to the loan was a right, founded in justice and the nature of things, and recognised by constant practice and public opinion. How came it, then, that the chancellor of the exchequer, who had so long administered the finances, should hesitate about it? Instead of five millions of the scrip remaining in the market at the time the loan was made, there was only 1,400,000*l.* In 1794, Mr. Boyd had made a bargain for the loan a month previous to the last pay-

ments of Messrs. Morgan and Angerstein for the last loan: what, then, was the opinion of Mr. Boyd and of the minister? Mr. Smith next argued, whether, had the claim of Mr. Boyd been well grounded, there was a necessity to conclude the bargain during the time of his exclusive privilege.—This, from a review of the different means by which money might have been raised for a short time, he contended was not the case: Mr. Morgan himself had offered to lend five millions. Mr. Smith objected to the calculations of the minister respecting the terms of the loan; and contended that there was 120,000*l.* more profit upon it than he had stated. The preference given to the three per cents. in the bargain, was, he argued, extremely unfavourable for the public. The terms of the loan might certainly have been more advantageous; Mr. Morgan would have been content to take it at three shillings, long annuity, less. In every way, whether calculating by the unusual amount of the premium, by the difference between the real and ostensible interest, or from Mr. Morgan's offer, he estimated the public loss at near half a million. The king's message had produced a further profit of 900,000*l.* sterling. He severely censured, as disgraceful to the country, the bills *ante-dated from Hamburgh*, but drawn on unstamped paper in London, on the Treasury, by Mr. W. Boyd. When, he said, he considered the amount of the late loans, the liquidation of the national debt, which had been *theoretically* held out, appeared to be practically impossible. We had lately added to the mass no less than fifty-two millions sterling. Mr. Smith further remarked, with great ability, the bad effects to a com-

commercial country in taking money out of trade to employ it in money speculations.

The conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer was supported, in a speech of considerable length, by Mr. Sylvester Douglas, and by Mr. Steele. It was again arraigned by Mr. Francis. Mr. Pitt, in a very adroit speech, observed that he thought himself fully warranted in assuming the benefit of the opinion of the committee, which, after a laboured investigation, had decided that there was no distribution of the loan for the purpose of corrupt influence. It had, he observed, been indirectly insinuated, that, with undue partiality, he had contrived to enrich Mr. Boyd at the expence of the public; and for this purpose frequent allusions had been made to the *Hamburgh bills*. In every loan, he said, parliament inserted a clause, holding out a premium for the prompt payment of the subscription, as the money might probably be wanted before the instalments became due. Government, therefore, had entered into a negotiation with a monied house to advance such sums as were wanted for the service. The aid of parliament could not be had without calling it together at great inconvenience. In consequence of this, treasury warrants were offered; but Mr. Boyd said, bills of exchange were a more mercantile commodity; and, to avoid the expence of stamps, they were dated at *Hamburgh* to make them foreign bills of exchange. In all this there was nothing unwarrantable, or which gave Mr. Boyd an exclusive right to dictate the terms of a future loan. The bills were merely a security from government for the sums: whether on stamped or unstamped paper, they were equally

valid. The mode of executing them was dictated by the necessary regard to secrecy. The service rendered to government by this transaction was by no means of such magnitude as to give Mr. Boyd a strong claim upon it; nor did that gentleman think so; and was it likely, he asked, under the pressing necessity he was in of making large demands of money that he should add eight or ten per cent. to the public burdens? Mr. Pitt remarked upon several inconsistencies he thought had arisen in the evidence of Mr. Morgan to the committee. Had he determined to throw the loan at all events into the hands of Mr. Boyd, would he have deliberately announced his intention of competition, and invited competitors? How could Mr. Morgan contend that he had sustained injury from having prepared his property to qualify himself to be a bidder, when he stated, that till the 22d of November he never began to doubt that there would be a competition? It had, he observed, been proved, that he testified strong prejudice, and great reluctance to depart from the system of competition, and did not agree to it till it was brought forward in an uncontrovertible way. No express condition indeed subsisted: but were there not other considerations equally binding to the observance of a claim founded in justice and honour? He had promised the contractors for the loan of 1795, that there should be no payment on any new loan before February 1796: he was therefore bound to act as he had done, and was confirmed in its propriety from a reference to what had been done in similar circumstances. He warmly vindicated the terms of the loan, and thought much credit was due to

to those efforts by which government had been able to contract for so large a loan in the fourth year of the war, and upon terms superior to what had been obtained in former years. The king's message was not in his mind when the bargain was made; nor, if it had, could he possibly have foreseen the rise of stocks: nor could it have arisen from the message, which only intimated, that the time was arrived to which his majesty had alluded in his speech to parliament. There were other collateral causes for the rise, as the Austrian victories, and the increased distresses of the enemy. The profits upon the loan, he averred, amounted to nothing like the sum stated.

Mr. Fox said that still he must accuse the chancellor of the exchequer with having made an improvident bargain; and he had been astonished to hear him state it as a mere *peccadillo*. Was improvidence in him to this extent a mere *peccadillo*? "Improvvidence (said he) in a minister of finance is no small crime: and when I see this improvidence accompanied by such circumstances as the present, I cannot conceal my suspicions; though, when I cannot prove, I will not allege." He did not conceive the loan to have been used as an instrument of corruption in that house: there was certainly no occasion to increase the majority; if it was made a subject of influence, it must be an influence of another kind. It was not, however, necessary to couple corruption with improvidence, to criminate a chancellor of the exchequer: and if there was any species of improvidence which it was proper to check, it was that which tended to procure to the minister, from great and powerful men, a great and powerful sup-

port which he cannot constitutionally possess. However innocent the minister, the loan was divided among men from whom he might derive more solid advantage than from a few votes in that house. Mr. Fox next adverted to the principle of competition in transacting loans. Let it, said he, never be forgotten, that in 1793, when he made the most extravagant bargain that ever was made by any minister, he justified his conduct solely on the ground of competition. With respect to the question, what motive the minister could possibly have? were he unable to discern the motive, he must demur to such a question. To ascertain the motive, it was important to consider with attention the period and manner in which the chancellor of the exchequer first attended to the claim of Mr. Boyd. The year before last, a loan was bargained for by the minister. The following May, when it was thought advisable to send a loan to the emperor, the former contractors objected to its falling into other hands, so that the question was by no means new. During that year there was another loan; but no agreement was stated declaring the point on either side. It was material for the honour of the minister's character, to tell when he had the first notice of Mr. Boyd's claim. Mr. Fox pointed out several apparent inconsistencies in this point between the account given by the minister, and by Mr. Boyd. If Mr. Boyd's claim was just, it ought to have been ascertained; if it was not, the minister had broken his faith with the public. Was it nothing, after having made a positive promise to prefer an individual, to give notice to the governor of the bank of a public competition, in which the minister

minister knew at the time he could not persevere, and which he had been obliged to abandon? The evidence given by the governor of the bank, went, he said, directly to invalidate the claim of Mr. Boyd; and this opinion was fortified by fact and justice. As to the reluctance of the minister to accede to the claim of Mr. Boyd,—reluctance was, he observed, often a veil to conceal the commission of acts which ought not to have been committed. Reluctance was sometimes put on to save appearances. Of this coyness in the minister, “this sweet, reluctant, amorous delay,” the reluctance appeared to be of the doubtful kind. The qualified competition talked of by the minister, after the manner in which the loan had been made, could deserve no other character than a mere mockery. If that system had any solid advantages, why was it abandoned? The motive which actuated the hasty transactions of the loan, was, he thought, the *Hamburgh bills*. If this was not allowed to be a means of corruption, it certainly had some reference to what had taken place in September, when Mr. Boyd raised 2,500,000*l.* for government upon treasury bills bearing a *fictitious date* from Hamburgh, though drawn here. This transaction was reprobated by Mr. Fox, on the authority of the governor of the bank, as extremely discreditable to government, and as disgraceful to those who set it on foot; by imposing a fictitious security, it did injustice both to the drawer and indorser. From a train of reasoning deduced from the advantages derived by the minister from Mr. Boyd in this business, Mr. Fox again thought the relation established between that transaction and the negotiation of the loan.

The mode of negotiating a present supply till after the holidays, could not, it had been objected, have been explained to France, nor have given her that idea of our financier's superiority which she must necessarily have formed from such a highly-creditable transaction as raising money by *fictitious Hamburgh bills*. How false and how ridiculous an argument! With respect to the causes, independent of the king's message, for the rise of stocks, the Austrian victories were, he said, known before the 25th of November: and, since that time, had the French finances decayed so rapidly that even the most sanguine calculator found his calculations far short of the truth? This language was the more surprising, as eight months ago they were described as in the agonies of death, “in the very gulph of bankruptcy.” These were, he said, *childish and contemptible pretences*, to veil the suspicious conduct of the minister.

The report of the committee was pointedly censured by Mr. Sheridan. The examination, he said, had been chiefly in the hands of the friends of the minister, who, he did not think, could plume himself on the result of an inquiry conducted by persons notoriously dependent on his own political character. The loan, he still thought, had been used as a means of extending political influence. Nay, the house, he said, had witnessed enough to bear out that assertion. The lord mayor had obligingly come forward to correct the *monstrous* error he had fallen into of stating that his banking-house had been favoured with only two millions of the loan; whereas, according to the worthy magistrate's *better* knowledge, the sum was not two millions, but two millions eight hun-

hundred thousand pounds. To the accommodation secured by government in the Hamburgh bills, he ascribed the preference shewn to Mr. Boyd in the loan. Such a transaction as that of the Hamburgh bills had been declared, by the governor of the bank, of a nature so bad, that, if it had taken place in the dealings of a private merchant, it would have been deemed a disgrace to his house. If the ruin of the French finances brought that country into a more negotiable state, "he must congratulate the minister on having brought Great Britain into a state peculiarly fitted for negotiation."

Mr. Smith, in reply to what had been advanced, insisted upon the abandonment of competition. The point which had been conceded to the claim of Mr. Boyd, was certainly, he observed, of great magnitude and importance; and the minister was desirous to have it understood that he had received such *conviction* on the subject as enabled him, with propriety, to make such a sacrifice. Now, he desired it might be carefully observed, that after all the conversations and representations which had wrought this unwilling conviction, the minister had *repeatedly* spoken of that claim in such terms as these; as a circumstance which had but recently come to his knowledge, but which "was entitled to *some* degree of attention." Would he then say that an impression on his mind, so lightly spoken of when warm and existing in its full force, to persons too who were entitled to the strongest reasons he could produce, and whom he must be desirous of convincing, could be the real, sole, and *sufficient* motive to induce him to surrender, and to *justify* him in *surrendering*,

the acknowledged benefits of competition, and in concluding such a bargain as had been made? In conclusion, the resolutions which had been brought up by Mr. Smith, and which consisted of thirty-nine, were negatived; and two resolutions moved by Mr. Douglas were passed, approving the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer.

The affair of the Hamburgh bills, which had been so frequently alluded to in the debates respecting the loan, produced, February 29, three resolutions from Mr. Jekyll, the 1st. stating the fact that 700,000l. were drawn in London in September 1795, on the treasury, in the name of W. Boyd, jun. bearing a fictitious date at Hamburgh, several weeks preceding the time when, with the privity of the chancellor of the exchequer, they were drawn in London; and that the said Boyd was not engaged in business in Hamburgh.—2. That the said sum was paid to the paymaster general by order of the treasury, in direct breach of an act of parliament of the 23d of George III. and that the bank of England could have refused to discount the notes as illegal:—and, 3d, that the said transaction was illegal and unconstitutional, and had brought the public credit into disrepute and suspicion.

The motion was preceded by a speech from Mr. Jekyll, in which he observed upon the secrecy of this transaction. Secrecy, he said, was the concomitant mark and badge of fraud. How the minister came to be in want of so much money so early in September, and why he was not upon such terms with the directors of the bank as to obtain the money from them by way of anticipation, was not indeed the question;

question; but that he was not, appeared from the evidence of Mr. Boyd, who suggested the mode by which government might be supplied. Mr. Boyd had stated, too, that he expected no remuneration for this service to government. This, however, had not been the opinion of Messrs. Giles, Mellish, and Morgan. The first particularly understood that a preference was to be given to Mr. Boyd in the loan. It was the opinion also of these gentlemen, that the mode in which Mr. Boyd assisted government in these bills, would have discredited any private mercantile house, and shaken the credit of any private individual. Another feature of *fraud and collusion in the bills*, was, that they were without stamps, though inland bills of exchange. It was an axiom, legally admitted, that an appearance of fraud like this would vitiate any transaction *ab initio*; and the moment that a cause had come into court respecting these bills, when this defect was discovered the whole would have been completely annihilated, the parties nonsuited, and the bills, with the right of action, fallen to the ground. Here were three species of presumptive *fraud*,—the secrecy of the transaction, the antedating of the bills, and the drawing of them on unstamped paper. Had they, indeed, been drawn at Hamburg, no stamp was necessary; this, therefore, was glaring fraud. Had the holder of the bills been asked, where was the drawer? he must either disgrace the paper and discredit himself, or he must assert a *fraudulent falsehood*. “The statute which this transaction violated, was passed to prevent *embezzlement*, and to interpose the bank as a salutary check upon the paymaster general.” This had been grossly evaded. When a transaction similar to this, in the
1796.

case of the Liverpool and Manchester bills, had come before the lords, a very serious doubt was entertained whether they did not amount to *forgery*, and whether the parties concerned in the indorsement ought not to be *hanged*. “If such was the case when the indorsement only was fictitious, what was the case when the *drawer* and the *place* were both *fictitious*, the bills drawn on unstamped paper, and antedated?” What would be the situation of the bill-holders, had the bank refused to discount them? and what confidence could be placed in a minister who resorted to such means, and who, in a war like the present, might be frequently driven to the same system? Who could tell, when a bill was offered, whether it was a fair bill from the treasury, or a fictitious one from Boyd? The minister had, he said, on a former evening, contended that there was no fraud, because there were sufficient assets. Had there not, he asked, a whole month elapsed after the last payment of the loan of 1795, and before these bills were due? The bills were drawn September the 10th; and fortunately some of them ran to the 3d of February before they became due. What was the actual case? If no new loan had been bargained for before December 10th when the first class of these bills became payable, an action might have lain against the acceptor, the drawer, and the indorser of these bills; but it fortunately occurs, that, on the very day when they were due, the deposit of 10 per cent. of the new loan is made, and thus Boyd pays himself out of his own fund. The fund was then lessened by the prompt payments; and towards the latter end of the year the payments came in fact, or
G the

the funds at that period would not have been half the value of the bills. Mr. Jekyll censured the want of foresight in the minister, in not making the loan of 1795 nineteen instead of eighteen millions; which would have precluded the necessity of shaking the public credit by coming in the middle of summer for another million. The excuse for this had been, that, as parliament was not then sitting, and as it was necessary to be secret lest the enemy should be apprized of the pressure of our circumstances, he was compelled to recur to this expedient. What would the enemy say now, but that the chancellor of the exchequer has been so distressed for money, as to raise it, in concert with one Boyd, *by forging bills*, and that he had been guilty not only of *fraud*, but of a direct violation of an act of parliament?

Mr. Charles Long objected to the resolutions, and stated the transaction which they were designed to reprobate. In August 1795, money was wanted for the public service, in anticipation of certain portions of the payments on the loan and lottery remaining unpaid, and which became due in November, December, and January. In consequence of this, application was made to Mr. Boyd, who, through a relation, his agent at Hamburgh, agreed to accommodate government. Secrecy was necessary to prevent a scarcity of money. Before this business took place, Mr. W. Boyd arrived in London; and the exigence of affairs did not allow of sending to Hamburgh in convenient time for a remittance of such bills as were wanted. The only irregularity was in antedating the bills, and dating them from Hamburgh; had they been drawn in Hamburgh, and sent to London, they would

have been perfectly regular. There was no fraud, he contended, in any part of the transaction. From the account of monies paid into the exchequer, he asserted that there was more than sufficient to discharge the 700,000*l.* without anticipating the new loan. If, in complying with the orders of the lords of the treasury to pay this sum into the hands of the paymaster general, he had offended against the letter of an act of parliament, he had not offended against the spirit of it. He knew there was no balance left in the hands of the paymaster general; but the regular mode was to pay it in his name. The engagement about the loan between the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Boyd he perfectly recollected.

Sir W. Pulteney vindicated the whole of the transaction. The sum wanted was, he thought, far from extraordinary, and was much better raised in the mode in which this business was transacted, than by convening parliament at so unusual a time. With respect to the mode in which it was raised, bills of exchange were preferable to bonds or treasury warrants, which could not be readily transferred. It was certainly right that the minister should give Mr. Boyd whatever security he liked best; and surely there was no crime in raising money by anticipation from the bank, or from a private banker; consequently there could be no fraud. The 5 per cent. interest required by Mr. Boyd was, he thought, very reasonable. This was not, he said, as had been advanced, a new thing. In 1772 the bank of England agreed to advance 60,000*l.* on the security of a West India estate: the bank then never discounted bills for more than two months. Bills in this case (Walton and Ellifon) were drawn

at two months. They were all dated and purported to be drawn at Edinburgh; but the bank knew the drawer constantly lived in London. The bills were, however, renewed every two months, and the bank continued to discount them for two years. As to the bills being drawn on unstamped paper, had they been stamped, government must have been paid. It was only saving government the trouble of paying with one hand, and receiving with the other.

Mr. Grey asked what was the amount of the deficiency so lightly treated? and what were the circumstances attending this transaction? When the budget was opened in February, eighteen millions, a sum exceeding any former loan, were borrowed to provide for the estimates of the year; the land and malt-tax, a vote of credit for two millions and a half, and the loan on exchequer bills, were put into the hands of the executive government. In September, money was wanted to carry on the war; yet the worthy baronet wondered that the minister had erred so little in his calculation. The money raised by these bills was said to be merely the anticipation of sums to be paid in upon the loan at the usual period of instalment; yet in August fifteen millions eight hundred thousand pounds of the loan had been paid up; a sum fully equal to what could reasonably have been expected. The house ought to recollect what was the constitutional object of the vote of credit, the exchequer bills, and the prompt payment of the loan. If the minister erred so egregiously as to require fresh supplies before half the year had elapsed,—if he raised money by anticipation, in a way wholly unknown, and at a rate of interest altogether unsanctioned by parlia-

ment,—he violated the laws of the land, to which he was amenable. A discount of three per cent. was allowed for the prompt payment of the loan. On the advance of Mr. Boyd, 5 per cent. was given. Ministers had then violated the laws of the land, the very act of parliament by which the loan was made, by giving a rate of interest for the anticipation, for which a discount of 3 per cent. was allowed by act of parliament. This, too, might be in addition to the legal discount. This advance was obtained from Mr. Boyd, the contractor for the loan; and the public might be paying 8 per cent. on the last payment, while he advanced, for the accommodation of government, what was again to be paid as part of the loan. While 8 per cent. was gained by Mr. Boyd, the discount allowed by parliament could have no effect, while the superior inducement of 5 per cent. was presented to withhold it. Supposing a change of ministry, and certain services secured by the act of appropriation had required the supply of the money, how would the bills have been paid when they became due? Would another chancellor of the exchequer have been authorized to divert the money in the treasury to the payment of bills antedated, drawn really in London, though assuming to be at Hamburgh, *imposed upon persons ignorant* of the truth, who would not have been able to recover payment? The case of Walton and Ellison was, he said, by no means in point. He wished, as had been stated, that the enemy, from finding an individual was able to supply the exigencies of government, might be inspired with a favourable idea of our finances; but as a member of parliament, he was not bound to acquiesce in any thing irregular or illegal, because it was

said that he would disclose our resources to the enemy. The expedient of antedating the bills from Hamburg was, he said, by no means adopted on account of Mr. Boyd, jun. having arrived here, nor was suggested by it, as there was no intention, no arrangement, to draw bills from Hamburg previous to that event. As to the matter being consistent with the spirit though not with the letter of the law, ministers were bound to act according to that letter; and, if they found it inefficient, to apply for a legislative remedy. It was, however, irregular, and inconsistent with the spirit of the act; for a sum of 2,000,000*l.* had been paid to the bank for the paymaster general's department, and not sent to the accountant general's office.

The attorney general thought the bills were to be looked upon as paper that bound the government to have them duly honoured, and that the holders would be entitled to recover from any new administration. The solicitor general, however, who perfectly approved the transaction, doubted whether any action could be brought by the holder of such bills. Mr. Jekyll pointedly ridiculed this inconsistency; and observed that the bills were not only fictitious, but that the law provided no remedy respecting them. The previous question, which had been moved by Mr. Long, was carried by a majority of 85. On the second resolution, the ayes were 8, noes 108.

During the time employed in the business of the loan and the Hamburg bills, the third reading of the vote of credit bill for 2,500,000*l.* was opposed by Mr. Grey, who observed that the intention of such a vote was to enable the king, during the recess of parliament, to de-

fray any extraordinary expences which may not have been provided for by the yearly estimates; but that the application of this sum to debts previously contracted destroyed the intention, and was a dangerous innovation on the house of commons. From the year 1756, no vote of credit had passed till a few days previous to the close of the session. From the early period at which this appeared, and from the answer given on a former day (by Mr. Rose) that delay would be attended with danger, he suspected the house was not called upon for prospective but past services. In the war of 1750, and that with America, one million only had been demanded on a vote of credit. By granting money in this random way, the house, he observed, deprived itself of its peculiar prerogative to guard the public purse. If the supplies were inadequate for the purposes they were designed for, let ministers state the estimates in a formal and constitutional manner. Ministers, he averred, could not defend the bill either on grounds of expediency or constitutional duty; he should therefore move for deferring the third reading to "that day three weeks."

It was contended by the chancellor of the exchequer, that the vote of credit was given for such extraordinary expences as attend the war. He allowed the vote commonly passed at the time that had been stated; but when extraordinaries could be foreseen, it was more proper to state them in the committee of ways and means; and it was found more agreeable to established precedent, than to wait till the close of the session. The present mode certainly afforded parliament the best opportunity for investigation. It was certainly the least objectionable

jectionable mode, to find taxes to defray the sums yearly expended, and not leave them a dead load on the ensuing year; he had therefore differed from the mode which had lately obtained, and stated the vote of credit for 2,500,000*l.* in the budget. It might be applied or not, as wanted, while it constituted a floating capital. This was better than leaving it to increase the unfunded debt to be afterwards provided for; it was also the most economical, as it was better to take the vote for both the ordinary and extraordinary service together, and sink them in one common fund, that the money of one service might not be idle, and the surplus be paid out of the vote of credit. Thus, with respect both to the principle and application, the present mode was the least objectionable.

It was observed by Mr. Fox, that the chancellor of the exchequer had confounded what was separate and distinct. He considered a vote of credit, in a committee of supply, as more eligible; but objected to it under one pretence, while he applied it to others. He did not himself see how a vote of credit and the estimate could be blended without confusion. The question was, whether any unforeseen exigence had occurred, and if such could not be provided for during the assembling of parliament. If none had, why depart from the established rule? If any had, why not state it to the house? As to the advantages resulting from the new mode which had been introduced, he must stop *in limine*, and observe, that in a vote of credit the money is not issued till it is wanted; and that, for the current expences of the year, the money purposely provided by estimate is ready. It might be thought, from the great desire of regularity ex-

pressed, none of the departments were even in arrear. The ordinance, the navy, the civil list, were all, however, in arrear; and there were staff officers, who, since 1793, had not received a shilling. A vote of credit was, he contended, never applied to the deficiency of estimates; and therefore the present vote was not consistent with the laws of the country. Mr. Sheridan noticed, that the objection was made to the extent of the vote, and appealed to the preamble of the bill to shew that the money ought merely to be applied to the supply of future exigencies, when parliament was not assembled. Mr. Grey's motion was, however, negatived; and the third reading of the bill carried by a majority of 77.

On the order of the day for the vote of credit bill in the house of lords, it was opposed by the earl of Lauderdale, who strongly insisted upon the danger and unconstitutional tendency of the present proceeding. He should, he said, move for discharging this order, and having it renewed for a more distant period of the present session. No inconvenience could arise from the delay; or, if it did, it must be owing to the unwarrantable manner in which ministers were to apply it to services already performed, and not included in the proper estimates. This anticipation of the resources of the country was not only a gross violation of the law, but a palpable fraud attempted to be passed on the house. The vote of credit for the last year had been, as he would pledge himself to prove, immediately converted to uses which accounted for the subsequent distresses of government, and the demand for money that arose from the vote being diverted from its proper application,—and was the original cause

cause of the pressure that followed. Of the sums then voted, a great part had been immediately paid into the offices of the paymasters of the forces and the navy. The consequence of this application was, that ministers had been forced to raise money by the most disgraceful means. His lordship inveighed with much force against the measure of the *Hamburgh bills*, and stated that treasury warrants had been used as a means of procuring supplies; that the responsibility of individuals was added to satisfy the persons by whom they were held; that the transport board — an office unknown to the constitution — had been in the practice of drawing bills, which were paid in consequence of the private order of Mr. Rose; and money had also been raised by the pitiful expedient of selling the neutral captured vessels, while the owners were paid by navy bills.

Lord Grenville referred to the preamble to the bill, and to the example of former wars, to prove that votes of credit were applied to the extraordinary expences incurred during the war; and defended the present measure by arguments similar to those advanced by the chancellor of the exchequer. His lordship vindicated the measure of the *Hamburgh bills*, on the ground of keeping up the general credit and resources of the country, and preventing the enemy from being acquainted with any temporary inconvenience. Much extraneous matter arose on this occasion; but after a debate of some continuance between the earl of Lauderdale, and the earls of Mansfield and Hawkesbury, and lord Grenville, the motion was negatived without a division; and the bill went through the committee.

The third reading of the bill in the house of lords was again forcibly opposed by the duke of Grafton, the earls of Suffolk and Lauderdale, and lord Thurlow, who concurred in the idea of the measure being unconstitutional, and dreaded its mischievous consequences,

The duke of Grafton observed, that, had such a measure been practised by ministers in the good times of the constitution, it would immediately have been followed by a bill of indemnity for a proceeding so repugnant to the principles of the constitution. The means employed by ministers for raising money were at once, his grace said, disgraceful and illegal; and if such measures were sanctioned, the constitutional duties of the house of commons would be violated, and a part of the executive government draw to itself prerogatives which the constitution did not allow it to exercise. Upon putting the question, it passed, without a division, in the affirmative. On the following day the earl of Lauderdale entered a spirited protest against the measure.

In the mean time, several of the new-laid taxes met with considerable opposition. On the report of the committee on the tobacco bill, Mr. Hussey objected to this tax on account of its being raised from the lower classes of the people. Mr. Courtenay, general Smith, and Mr. Sheridan, objected to it on the same account, as depriving the poor of almost their only luxury. General Tarleton brought up several clauses for supplying non-commissioned officers and soldiers, while on board transports, with this article, duty free; which passed. The horse duty bill underwent some alterations; and all working horses under thirteen hands

lands high were exempted from the tax. Horses used in the yeomanry cavalry, freeholders living on freeholds from 10l. to 15l. a year, and persons holding farms of 70l. or freeholds of 35l. *per annum*, were also exempted. The tax on printed cottons and calicoes was given up. That on collateral succession was strongly opposed by Mr. Sheridan; and the report of the budget underwent further opposition in its successive stages. Mr. alderman Newnham remarked the inquisitorial power which the succession bill must necessarily vest in certain persons. Every circumstance relative to private property was exposed to public inspection, which would particularly subject commercial men to great inconveniences. It was a tax on the bounty due to illegitimate children, to a well-tried friend or domestic, to the value of 6 *per cent*. It rendered the office of an executor so complex and troublesome, that none should venture to become one without an attorney at his elbow. Mr. Newnham further objected to dividing the landed property into one bill, and the personal into another. After a variety of observations on the evil tendency of the bill, he moved for its being taken into consideration that day four months; which was seconded by Mr. Rashleigh.

Mr. Fox thought the bill introduced a mode of taxation wholly inapplicable to the state of this country. By this tax every species of commercial property must be laid open. This was totally impossible; and it was therefore impracticable, by any regulation, to obviate the objection to this tax; in order to pay a tax *ad valorem*, the value must be ascertained, and the state of the commercial property known to the world. Many

commercial possessions depended upon a balance of debts and credits: the nature of these debts must be necessarily exposed. A man might lose on one branch, and gain on another; and many were the instances in which injustice, though it was not intended, was inseparable from the operation of the bill. In some cases the property bequeathed might be of such a nature, that it would not be possible to ascertain its value. If by good fortune a man should extend the business bequeathed him, he must annually pay a proportion of the increased advantages. In many other instances there was no possibility of estimating the value of property under this bill. In some cases it would produce a scene of confusion and intolerable vexation. Admitting the principle of this tax to be just, he could see no reason why, at a future time, it should not be extended to lineal as well as collateral succession. As far as it operated on property in the funds, it was, he thought, "a direct breach of faith in the government;" and a breach of faith which, in time, would swallow up a considerable part of the debt due to the proprietors of stock. As to that part of the bill which respected the succession to entailed estates, the tax, he observed, was to be calculated upon the life estate, which, he contended, could not equitably be put in practice. If, by any mode of calculation, it was estimated that a man should live a certain number of years, and he died much sooner, it would then be found that he had paid more than a fair proportion. All this, however, was, he thought, subordinate to that grand objection, that, to levy the tax *ad valorem*, a dangerous system of discovery must be adopted.

The solicitor general observed that the principle of the bill was previously recognized by the law already in force, and every objection to the present bill bore equally against that. To ascertain the value of lives, the assessment was taken as low as possible; the tax was to be taken in four different payments, so that if the person did not live till the last, the tax would not be collected. The duty of an executor was, he contended, made easier by this tax, as a line was "chalked out" for him. It had a superior advantage to other taxes, as it took nothing from what a man had really in possession. A variety of other advantages were pointed out by the *learned* gentleman. It appeared strange to him, that the tax should be considered as injurious from its occasioning the publicity of private property, when, he said, in other countries it was supposed to strengthen credit. In Jamaica, an executor was bound to render an annual account of the property, and was liable to heavy penalties for concealing it.

Mr. Grey thought that whatever might be the policy of that country, it would be extremely prejudicial to the commercial credit of this. In this country, where large capitals were embarked in commerce, if two or three collateral successions were to take place in a short time, would not the subtraction of 6 per cent. make a heavy impression, and take from actual employment of capital? Mr. Grey strongly supported the arguments of Mr. Fox, which, he thought, had been by no means answered.

The attorney general, in a speech of great legal ability, stated, that, with respect to this bill affording no exception in the case of illegitimate children, this was precisely

the case with other acts of parliament, and was both moral and politic. This act, however, in case the testator stated the legatee to be his child, provided that it should enjoy the exception in favour of lineal descent. Several occasions of dispute between the executors and legatee were, he stated, removed by this bill, and several doubtful cases ascertained. According to the existing laws, there were few cases in which, if any dispute arose, the books and private concerns of individuals might not be examined.

The bill was strongly opposed by Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Francis, and general Smith, and supported by Mr. Pitt. It passed by a majority of 78 in the house of commons; but was again spiritedly attacked in the house of lords by lord Lauderdale, who considered it, when coupled with the landed property bill, as tending to sweep all the property of the kingdom into the hands of government. Their effects would be the most felt by the members of that house, a house of hereditary members. In time, his lordship said, it must swallow up the fortunes of their lordships' collateral heirs, who might succeed to their titles. Had such a tax existed in the last century, none there would have possessed sufficient property to support their rank and character. In the case of the duke of Norfolk, 600,000l would have been taken from his family. Taxes on legacies had, indeed, been imposed; but it was never thought that ministers would extend the principle so far as to empower themselves to seize the whole capital of the kingdom, and impoverish noble families till they were likely to become convenient tools to the minister. His lordship noticed

ticed the unequal operation of this bill in the instance of a military man, who could only sell an annuity left him at four years' purchase; whereas, those who were less exposed to hardships, less active in the defence of their country, might dispose of it for thirty-one years' purchase; yet they would pay the same tax. If the collateral property of all other descriptions of men was thus to be affected, his lordship thought that of the church should not be exempted; but that all churchmen, upon translation or presentation to a living, should, for four years, be obliged to give up a proportion of their annual income. The tax was impolitic, upon the established maxim that it was least injurious to the community to tax consumption and not capital. Taxes upon productive capital, he observed, tended to withdraw it from the support of industry, and diminished that wealth on which circulation depended, and whence national prosperity was derived. Our enemies would, he thought, have a very unfavourable idea of our resources, from our adoption of such unheard and untried measures. The arguments of lord Lauderdale were opposed by lord Grenville and

the bishop of Rochester, who observed that churchmen paid taxes in the same proportion with other men: and the bill passed.

The bill for a tax upon the succession to real estates met with still stronger opposition. Mr. Rashleigh, Mr. Newnham, Mr. Crewe, lord G. Cavendish, sir W. Pulteney, Mr. Bastard, lord Sheffield, Mr. M. Robinson, general Smith, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Buller, sir A. Ferguson, Mr. Francis, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox, strenuously opposed it; it was supported by the attorney and solicitor general, the secretary at war, Mr. M. Montague, Mr. H. Brown, and the chancellor of the exchequer. On a motion from Mr. Sheridan for postponing the third reading for three months, the majority against the motion was only one. Mr. Pitt then moved for its being again read the following day; when the ayes and noes being equal, the speaker gave a casting vote for the motion. The bill, however, appearing so thoroughly obnoxious, Mr. Pitt abandoned the measure, by moving the next day for deferring the third reading to that day three months.

CHAP. V.

Message from the King relative to Peace. Debates on that Subject. In the House of Commons. In the House of Lords. Mr. Grey's Motion for Peace—Rejected. Maroon War. General Macleod's Motion on that Subject. Mr. Sheridan's Motion for Papers relative to the West India Expedition. Successive Debates on this Subject. Motion relative to M. Sombreuil, and the Quiberon Expedition.

A MESSAGE from his majesty*, relative to his disposition to meet any negotiation on

the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace, was read by the

* The same which was referred to during the debates on the loan.

speaker on the 8th December, previous to the report of the budget. On the following day, Mr. Pitt moved an address in reply. He observed that the sentiments expressed in the message were conformable to those delivered from the throne at the commencement of the session, with a view to the formation of a government in France, with which a secure and honourable peace might be concluded. He renewed those sentiments as applicable to the present French government, the recent successes of our allies, and the embarrassment of the enemy's finances.

Mr. Sheridan wished to know what had occurred, in the space of five weeks at most, of so important a nature as to occasion such an alteration of sentiment in the minister. In fact, however, he had only one week for this change: otherwise why not have declared it before the settlement for the loan, which would have saved the nation two millions? Mr. Sheridan thought this change of opinion could not be sincere, but intended to defeat the motion for peace, of which Mr. Grey had given previous notice. This very government, Mr. Sheridan said, which the minister stated on the opening of the budget to be "not only on the verge but in the gulph of bankruptcy, and rapidly approaching to what must inevitably overthrow or destroy it;" this very government was now represented to the house not only as a form of government with which we may safely negotiate, but as capable of maintaining a secure and permanent peace. Would the minister say he was more reconciled to those who exercised the functions of government? Of the executive directory, four out of five

had voted for the death of the king. These had been described as men who brought on the war, and with whom no settled order of things could take place. The revocation of the decree respecting intermeddling with other governments had long since taken place. That decree, he observed, had in fact been a retaliation upon the coalition of kings against their own government. This, however, he did not, he said, justify. What was the time when the French government was thought fit to be treated with? when the rulers of it adopted the system of self-election,—took all power into their own hands,—and treated with contempt the rights, opinions, and interests of the people? Yet then gentlemen exclaimed, this was something like a regular government; something was now got resembling the British constitution: and indeed, the way in which they chose to express their attachment to it, was by their eagerness to retain its abuses. All this looked as if the minister had some subterfuge. Mr. Sheridan further strongly insisted on the propriety and necessity of not considering any particular form of government in France as necessary for peace, whenever it could be effected on suitable terms; and moved an amendment, which in substance went to express the concern of the house, that any thing in the internal affairs of France should have induced his majesty to a disposition unfavourable to meeting a negotiation for peace with the enemy; that if the present circumstances in France only were admitted as a ground for negotiation, any change might be considered as a ground for discontinuing any treaty which was begun; and therefore the house prayed to have this principle

principle entirely disclaimed, and that the form of government in France might be no bar to negotiation, whenever a peace could be safely effected; and that his majesty would be pleased to order an immediate negotiation to commence.

The amendment was opposed by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. M. Robinson. In reply to the former, Mr. Grey observed, that none could wish that peace, however desirable, should be procured even at the risk of inglorious submission, or that such a relaxation should take place in the conduct of the war as to prevent our exacting those terms which the king of England was entitled to ask. The government which the French had chosen, was, however, in fact, the same in principle with the one with which this country went to war—that which ministers had declared so odious and dangerous, that we could only find safety in its utter destruction. We had, he said, first engaged in war with the Brissotines; the successors of that party were at present in power, more moderate indeed, but precisely acting upon the same principles. The only difference was, they had a council of ancients instead of a committee, and a council of five hundred instead of a national convention. France, he observed, was still a republic, one and indivisible; and he wished to know how ministers reconciled the conduct of declaring at one time that nothing but the destruction of certain principles could prepare the way for peace, and at another taking advantage of a very slight variation of circumstances, to follow the line of conduct so often recommended to them in vain. At that time, Mr. Grey stated, several continental powers had concluded treat-

ties with the French, which had never been violated. He further observed, that we had been baffled every where but at sea—had spent above 50 millions sterling—and added above 80 millions to the national debt. He thought there was a part both of the message and address so equivocal, that he wished ministers to be tied down really to negotiate by the terms of the amendment, which declared the government of France no bar to this business.

Mr. Pitt observed that the amendment went much further than the address: it required ministers to enter into immediate negotiation, whether they saw a proper disposition on the part of the enemy or not. He denied that our having entered into the war was an aggression on our part, or that ministers had ever asserted that the restoration of monarchy there was a *sine qua non*. From the change which had taken place in the French government,—from the change which had arisen in the mode of calling forth its supplies,—and, above all, the change in the temper and sentiments of the people,—there was a hope that peace might be concluded with them at this time, which had not existed at any other period of the war. The new constitution, in its formation, admitted the falsehood of the doctrine of perfect equality. They admitted of artificial distinctions, which fastened and kept together the mass of society. They had laid hold of one of the elements which contribute to form a social state for man—a mixed form of government:—and their present legislative system, however long it might endure, was constituted on a principle very different from that of pure democracy. The subject of the

the decayed finances of France had already been sufficiently discussed; in addition to what had been said, he would only call the attention of the house to the dying confession of their old government, and to the infant acts of the new. Mr. Pitt observed that the British character in war had never been more exalted than in the present. What had been done in Holland and Germany? We had gained the three most important points; Martinique, Cape Nicola Mole, the Cape of Good Hope. If the amendment, and the advice of its promoters, was adopted, the discretion of government would be entirely taken away, and the responsibility doubled.

The present measure was considered by Mr. Fox as a total retraction of all the charges which had been made against himself: for he had from the first maintained the very doctrine delivered in his majesty's message. The amendment, he contended, so far from exceeding, did not go to the extent of the message: it only declared that there were no impediments to treating, in the form of the government in France. In supporting the amendment, he was far from arguing against the address: he was, in fact, supporting it by what gave it meaning and force. The message, he said, expressly declared that the French had now adopted such a form of government that Great Britain might safely treat with them. If that was the case, what possible objection could there be to a declaration that we would treat with them? The fitness of that country to maintain the relations of peace and amity was evident to the whole world, and would have been so to the minister, had he been sincere in June last, when he moved an amend-

ment to the motion for a pacification, which he called a conditional declaration that we were disposed to treat with France whenever there was a government capable of maintaining those relations. With this glaring fact before their eyes, would the house again leave it in the power of ministers to juggle with words? Would they not think it prudent to bind them down to a specific act upon their own words? If they did not, what confidence could they have in the present declaration more than in the past? Mr. Fox pointed out many evasions which might otherwise occur. The ministers, he said, had persuaded the house to leave them open, and had neglected the time upon which other statesmen had wisely seized, and happily improved. The gentlemen with whom he acted, never did contend that the French constitution was well framed; and they utterly detested the atrocities that had been committed there; they had only asserted the capacity of that country to maintain faith with foreign nations. He thought the present government no more capable of this than any of its predecessors. The Brissotine party maintained the treaties of their predecessors. The execrable tyrant, Robespierre, had observed, with equal fidelity, the treaties made with Brissot. His successors were equally steady in the external system which had been adopted. Considering the treaties which ministers had made, with whom they had made them, and what acts of abandoned tyranny they had not discountenanced, it was not worthy the manly character of the British nation to abet them in their resistance to a treaty with France. Mr. Fox expatiated with his usual ability on what he conceived the absurdity

furdity of considering France as now capable of maintaining the relations with foreign powers because their distress was so great that this very stable government was on the point of annihilation. If their distress was a reason for treating with them, had they not this distress a year ago, when the ministers stated the depreciation of assignats at eighty per cent? He pointedly ridiculed the idea of considering the present rulers of France as objects of perfect confidence because they had two houses of legislation instead of one. There was, he said, something so whimsical, and so unworthy of statesmen, in that mode of reasoning, that he would not stop to answer it. Was the Jacobin government destroyed? Was the government founded on the rights of man at an end? Had the declaration of November 19, 1792, been more abandoned than it was two years ago? Why had ministers not treated before?—Because they objected to treat expressly with a government founded on the rights of man. He would not, he said, assert that the minister had gone the length of asserting that the war would be *bellum ad internecionem*: but he used a quotation which left this impression upon his memory; this was,

———“*Potuit quæ plurima virtus
Esse, fuit. Toto certatum est corpore regni.*”

Mr. Fox proceeded to ask how far we had attained the objects of the war. The first was our obligation to defend the States General and prevent the opening of the Scheldt. Ministers now spoke of treating with France possessed of Holland. We had then failed for Holland. What had we done for Austria, Spain, and Prussia? From a review of the transactions of the

war, he contended that it had been highly disastrous. On every account Mr. Fox thought it necessary to bind ministers to make peace. It was a vulgar opinion, and the most vulgar of opinions, that it was constantly disadvantageous to a power at war to be the first to offer terms of peace: the experience of history proved the very reverse: and were peace offered to the French on reasonable terms, it would not be in the power of the directory or the council of ancients, nor the two houses joined, to refuse the terms. The people would force them to agree to them. It had been said that the present message might have been expected from the speech at the opening of the session. The speech from the throne had, however, produced no impression on the funds. The message produced on that day a rise in the funds, of five or six per cent.

Mr. Dundas said that nothing had fallen from the minister tending to prove that it was contrary to the interest or honour of a country to make advances for peace. There were, indeed, so many indirect ways of sounding each other's intentions, that it was frequently difficult to discover which party made the first offer. The argument had only gone to prove the injustice of putting the executive power under the necessity of making peace, and making ministers responsible for the terms. He entered into an argument to shew the difficulty of this situation, and the impracticability of success. Ministers in such a situation ought to be left unfettered. If this argument was just, and he thought it incontrovertible, it must apply against the amendment, which bound the hands of the

the executive power, and laid the country at the mercy of France.— Mr. Dundas went over the usual ground of argument, to shew that the aggression was not on our side, and that the war was not carried on for the restoration of the ancient despotism. When the motion for peace was made the preceding year, the successes of the French were much greater than at present. The whole eastern coast of the kingdom was in a panic, on account of the resources of Holland being gained to France. Would it then have been politic to negotiate? Could we then even have obtained tolerable terms? France would have retained her power, and, what was still worse, would have retained her pride.— The object of Great Britain was, so to reduce the power of France, as to give a probability of a permanent peace; and would it be contended that their power was in any degree in the same state as at the period alluded to? Taking into consideration the objects for which we had contended, and the nature of the enemy, this had been a most successful war! So far from being true was the assertion that from the distracted state of the French they must have been anxious for peace last year, this was the first period when their language or sentiments had shewn the least of a pacific disposition. Mr. Dundas said he thought it necessary to remind the house that the message only held out our readiness to negotiate upon honourable terms, and vindicated the sincerity of ministers in the messages they had produced. The last, he said, could not have appeared at a more suitable time than after the supplies had been granted for carrying on the war another year, as the enemy might

now be apprised of our preparation for either alternative. After a few observations from general Smith in favour of the amendment, and a short reply from Mr. Sheridan, the amendment was negatived without a division, and the address carried.

The message was brought down to the house of lords by lord Grenville, December 9th, who on the following day moved an address, exactly similar to that in the commons, which, after a short debate, was agreed to.

Very soon after the recess, Mr. Grey observed in the house of commons, that, from the message delivered from his majesty, a general expectation of returning peace had been excited, and a general desire of knowing whether it was still at a distance, or whether we were still to prosecute the war. As the chancellor of the exchequer replied that he did not think it incumbent upon him to answer such a question at present, Mr. Grey proceeded to give notice of his intended motion for peace, which he introduced to the house on 15th February. He observed, that, contrary to the hopes that had been formed, no negotiation for peace had taken place, but that ministers appeared determined to prosecute the contest to extremity; that they had totally changed the language with which they set out: it was no longer the preservation of social order, the safety of regular government, or the extirpation of doctrines hostile to tranquillity;— the expedient was now resorted to of *deluding the people with the hopes of peace*, while they were determined to persevere in the system of warfare. Mr. Grey took a review of our embarkation in the war, and contended that the consequences

quences which followed were those we had reason to expect. A confederacy destitute of union, of object, and concert, and with separate views to the individual interest of each, could not be successful. He took a review of the disasters which had arisen in the different campaigns, and the repeated motions which had been submitted to the house for the purpose of promoting a negotiation with the enemy. From the desertion of several allies, we were now, he observed, likely to have the whole weight of the war thrown upon our own shoulders. Another campaign was about to take place, and the emperor was to have another loan. In bringing forward his present motion, Mr. Grey observed, the question appeared disembarrassed of many topics which it formerly involved. The French were no longer heard of as the avowed enemies of God and man: we had now no objection to contemplate them as a republic one and indivisible, founded on the basis of liberty, equality, fraternity, and the rights of man. The arguments respecting the decay of their finances were now no longer adduced as a reason why ministers should not negotiate. He by no means pretended to assert but that every thing must depend upon the terms to be proposed and accepted; but had any advances in negotiation been made? He should, he said, be told to rely on the wisdom of ministers, and the gracious disposition of his majesty, which, through his ministers, he had lately communicated to that house and to the country; but he was no friend to a blind confidence in ministers who had so repeatedly shewn themselves unworthy of it. If ministers ~~seem~~ to prove themselves sincere

in their desire for peace, they ought to make direct proposals. It might be said this was humiliating. When a nation was successful in war, it was generous to wave the advantage, and assume the language of moderation to the enemy: when they were equal, overtures of peace were equally honourable. But if we were engaged in a war eminently disastrous, misfortune should teach us humility, and submission to an alternative which our folly had rendered inevitable. By express declaration from this country, France was not to be treated with; and this position had never been retracted. It was, therefore, deserving of inquiry, whether the message was a virtual acknowledgment, and whether something more explicit was required. The obnoxious principles of the French had been formally disclaimed; and we ought unequivocally to acknowledge the republic, and with this bring forward our proposals. Mr. Grey declared, that he was so little disposed to fetter the operations of ministers in any real endeavours to obtain peace, that, if he could have any assurance that they were negotiating, he would gladly withdraw his motion. He concluded with moving for an address to his majesty, praying him to communicate to the executive government of the French republic his readiness to meet any disposition to negotiate, with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect.

Mr. Pitt said, that, however he might be disposed to favour that object which the motion appeared principally to have in view, he could not concede to the grounds on which it had been followed up. The state of the country was far different from that held out; and

no

no temporary reverse in the fortune of war, no internal pressure in our domestic situation, had yet produced that humiliation. Mr. Pitt contended that our successes had been such as to obviate any obstacle to negotiation on the score of national honour; and therefore the difficulties which formerly existed, and which had been formerly urged by those with whom he acted, were certainly lessened. The progress of measures which were necessary in such a situation of affairs, could, however, only be left safely to the conduct of the executive government. If the house was of opinion this could not be done with safety, the proper mode was to address his majesty to *remove his ministers*; but by applying to take it into their own hands, they deprived the country of every chance of successful negotiation. It was his wish, Mr. Pitt said, to do justice to his own conduct and those with whom he acted; but it was difficult to say much upon state affairs without breaking in upon that principle which guided every discreet minister on subjects of this nature. It was particularly so in the present situation of affairs, when it would be ruinous to do any thing which could possibly raise any suspicion, or create any disunion amongst our allies, who, *if they remained entire*, might give honourable and lasting peace to Europe. After enlarging upon the necessity and importance of preserving this union entire, Mr. Pitt observed, that it was important for the supporters of the motion, to consider whether the measures which they might wish to recommend were such as might oblige the country to give up the chance of a successful peace altogether,

or to make it on terms inconsistent with the honour of the nation. If the motion was adopted, the prospect of peace must either be entirely given up, or peace must be made on terms inconsistent with our honour. An honourable peace might be had by perseverance in the vigorous conduct we had hitherto pursued. This, he said, he knew from the statement they had themselves given of their almost exhausted means for carrying on the war. Since his majesty's message had been delivered to the house, ministers had taken every measure, consistent with the interests of the country and of her allies, to enable his majesty to take any opportunity either to meet overtures for negotiation, or to make such as might be found most expedient: the only point to be considered was the prospect of obtaining just and honourable terms. Measures had been taken to ascertain these points; which, if the enemy was sincere, must lead to a speedy negotiation. Whether that would lead to peace, must depend upon whether the exhausted state of the enemy led them to form that negotiation with a view to peace, very different, as to the terms, from any which their public declarations had for a long time past indicated: if this was not the case, a speedy peace was impossible. He could not, he said, hold out a prospect of immediate peace; but it would not be the fault of ministers if the period was remote. It rested, however, not only with us, but with the enemy, whether negotiation would lead to peace. According to report, what they held out as the boon of peace, was, that they were ready to give peace, because the English government asked it: that is, we were to sue for it, and abandon

don all for which our ancestors had fought; abandon our allies, and the safety of all Europe, and sacrifice to France every thing that is dear to us. If the motion was adopted, he could not say what overtures we should or should not receive; but while we shewed confidence in our resources, he did not fear that the measures which were in train, might prove effectual.

Mr. Fox remarked, that whether the season for negotiation was advantageous or not, when compared with those which had occurred in past periods, it was certainly so, when compared with any which might be expected in future, however numerous our victories, or unprecedented our successes. In justification of the measures which he had formerly proposed, he would ask whether we were in a situation now in which more honourable terms of peace might be expected than when the enemy were driven out of the Dutch provinces? — routed in every battle in Flanders? — compelled to retreat within their own territory? — when Valenciennes was taken? — when a considerable impression was made upon them by the emperor in the north, and by Spain in the south? — and when they had not one inch of ground beyond Old France? — We were then told we were to wait for peace till the misfortunes of the foe should lay him prostrate at our feet! — On other occasions, Mr. Fox observed, that he had wished for a pacific negotiation when the country was far more advantageously situated than at present. He strongly recommended our adoption of the conduct held out by them in abjuring sentiments pernicious to other countries, by

declaring our departure from the system of such interference in their affairs as should tend to restore the ancient monarchy. — Till we had done this, we had not gone so far as France towards a negotiation. — We were, he observed, told, that the message from his majesty was the natural consequence of his speech at the opening of the session. Six weeks might be considered as having elapsed since the communication to the house, that the French had a government with which we might treat: but in that time nothing had been done that was worth the public notice. This had happened, not in the middle of a campaign, but during an armistice, when even parliament was not sitting; for the message was communicated upon the eve of a long adjournment when the executive government had more opportunity to expedite a treaty. He could not but wish to know why no steps had been taken? If the professions of the minister were true, he could not, he said, see what rendered an explanation of the proceedings of government a subject of such particular delicacy in the present war. If he would allow that he was engaged in a clandestine negotiation, of the benefits of which he would deprive the allies, and of which he would consequently keep them ignorant; then some motive for his conduct might be conceived: but, if he was really acting in concert with them, where would be the harm, though he were to lay all the papers that passed upon the subject before the house? Mr. Fox remarked, that, last year, when the loan was granted to the emperor, it was objected that we did not bind him to persevere in the prosecution of the war longer than he

thought fit; and the answer was, that if he was bound to prosecute the war, we must come ourselves under the same restriction. We were now told we could not make peace without our allies. The manifestation of a sincere desire to make peace would, he contended, be highly popular in this country, and grateful to all Europe: and could it be thought that we should make worse terms of peace with France because they know our desire to be sincere? Was it not, on the contrary, to be feared, that the mutual alienation of affection, and the mutual distrust which has subsisted between the two countries, would create more difficulties in the way of negotiation, than even the terms that might be proposed. In former wars, the obstructions to pacification had uniformly arisen more from the temper of the adverse countries than the specific terms brought upon the tapis. This was obviously the case in the glorious war of the succession. Such had been the asperity displayed on both sides in the present contest, that the temper of governments would occasion a difficulty no less formidable than any which might arise in the discussion of terms; and this difficulty, Mr. Fox thought, would not be removed by some parts of the minister's speech. It might be said that the conduct of the directory was similar to our own; but this conduct did not justify ours. The assertion, that the motion would so cramp and humiliate government as to render an honourable negotiation impossible, had been so often made that it had lost its force. When it was proposed to declare the government of France in a negotiable situation, the proposition was scornfully re-

jected; and now this very declaration was made at the commencement of a negotiation. As to the royal prerogative of making peace when and how his majesty pleases, none could doubt it; but none, on the other hand, could doubt the prerogative of the commons of England to advise his majesty both on the time and the terms of pacification. It was said by lord North, in the American war, that it was the height of indiscretion in the parliament to interfere with the prerogative of the king in making peace. This argument was wisely rejected; and by the declaration of parliament, the hon. gentleman and his associates were enabled at that time to conclude a peace. There were, he observed, certain bugbears which had ever been held out by ministers to parliament, and which had been disposed of according to its good sense at the time. Fortunately for the people, their constituents had not always paid that attention to them which on superficial observation they seem to claim. However wild the sentiments of the directory of France might be concerning peace, these sentiments ought not to deter us from offering terms. Let us meet their demands with reasonable overtures, which would have a greater effect than the most strenuous resistance, in relaxing their exertions. He knew, he said, reason had little effect in the government of mankind, and that justice and moderation often yielded to power and lawless might. Poland was one example of this; but there were examples of a contrary nature. — One of these was, when a war was meditated against Russia, by England, at sea, and Prussia by land, which was entirely subdued by

by reason and moderation. "Let us, Mr. Fox said, manifest to the world a spirit of moderation, and this night address his majesty to commence a negotiation with the republic of France. I say, *republic*, for there is more in names than we can imagine." He noticed the great care with which ministers used the term French rulers, persons exercising the government of France, &c. and that they had sent an ambassador to the court of Louis XVIIIth. Could they imagine, after such insults, they should be treated with, without a previous acknowledgement? He argued, that the motion was calculated to serve ministers in forming a negotiation. With respect to the relative situation of Great Britain, Mr. Fox did not wish to speak. He was little inclined to despondence: but if any thing could make him despond, it would be that species of reasoning, when, after being told of the increased national debt, the taxes, &c. he was desired to look at the ruined finances of France for comfort, which were quickly hurrying that power to the precipice of destruction; so that in proportion as the enemy retreated from the common abyss which would swallow both up, we were encouraged to be under no apprehensions for our own safety. The French might be in more distress than the people of this country: but it appeared to him poor comfort to the afflicted, to hear that their enemies would fall before them. Were we to succeed in the most romantic hopes of establishing a government in France, it would not indemnify us for the evils of war which we had experienced already, and which, if peace was at that hour to be made, we must feel, day after day, year after year, nay, age af-

ter age. Allowing, however, all that could be urged, could any man be bold enough not to wish peace because the finances of France were more deranged than our own? Rather than continue the war for another campaign, independent of moral reasons, he would not give up honour, dignity, or liberty, but he would give up every question of etiquette, of ambition, or national vanity. He wished not, he said, for a dishonourable peace, or a peace on any other terms than such as were worthy the character and situation of the country; but such he entirely thought might be obtained. On the division of the house, there appeared for the motion 50, against it 189.

In a few days after the above discussion, viz. on the 26th of February, general M'Leod addressed the house of commons respecting a letter which had appeared in a morning paper, stating that there had been an importation from Cuba to Jamaica of 100 blood-hounds, attended by 20 Spanish chasseurs, for the purpose of hunting the Maroon rebels; and that they had proceeded into the woods, where, it was the opinion of the inhabitants, they would produce the desired effect. The circumstance, he observed, must recall to the remembrance of the house the atrocities formerly committed by the Spaniards in the island of Cuba, where they hunted down the original proprietors of the land. He sincerely hoped the government of Jamaica had not sent to Cuba for these means of exterminating the Maroons, the proprietors of a part of the soil; but thought, for the credit of the nation, that parliament was interested in discovering the truth of the narration.

Mr. Pitt said that nothing could
H 2 be

be more foreign from the ideas of ministers, than carrying on war in such a mode. Mr. Yorke, however, observed that the use of blood-hounds, in discovering the haunts of murderers, &c. was nothing new; and that the Maroons massacred, without mercy, every enemy that fell in their way. It was therefore very possible they had been introduced for the purpose of facilitating the detection of these miscreants, who, from their knowledge of the country, could easily conceal themselves from common pursuit.

On the 21st of March, general M'Leod brought forward a motion on this subject. He produced an original letter stating the transaction *, and observed that the first question that presented itself upon it was, who were the Maroons? the result of which was, that they were men, freemen, and the descendants of freemen. The second was, what were these blood-hounds? the result of which would be, that they were dogs which the Spaniards had found of great use upon their discovery of Mexico, for the purpose of extermination. But could the parliament of Great Britain wink at enormities like these? It had

been, the general said, usual in Cuba for the Spaniards to feed the dogs with human flesh, to make them unnaturally ferocious. It had been common among them to split a child in two, or cut up an Indian in quarters, to feast their dogs. Would the house of commons sit careless, while 50 couple of blood-hounds were imported from Cuba, and 20 chasseurs, to pursue the same bloody and inhuman sport? And who were the sportmen? British subjects, British soldiers, and British officers! There was, at the same time, no account of our war with the Maroons. We knew not what provocation they had given. But allowing the war was in defence of our rights, yet we had no right to resort to unjustifiable means in its prosecution. We had no right to pursue them with blood-hounds into their inmost recesses; and he had authority to state, that it was not merely in their sallies forth and incursions we used such resistance. After urging every argument against this infamous practice, drawn both from the laws of war and the principles of morality, he adverted to the dreadful probability of retaliation. It was not, he said, his intention to move for

* "Strange might the idea appear, but 'tis a fact, we have imported from Cuba one hundred blood-hounds, attended by twenty Spanish chasseurs; and they last Friday proceeded into the woods to hunt and destroy the enemy. It is the opinion of people in general, they will have the desired effect. *Query*, What effect will it have on Mr. Wilberforce? I suppose he shinks at the idea of hunting human flesh and blood, as he is pleased to style them, with blood-hounds. We all with him present. We had severe duty during Christmas holidays, in keeping guard in and about this town, that being the critical juncture to observe the dispositions of the slaves; but I am happy to say, they are universally well affected, and I never saw a quieter Christmas; there is very little to be dreaded from them. One-half Kingdon is in Trelawny; have been there these three months myself; have been in one expedition against the Maroons, in Charlestown: they immediately lay down their arms. In addition to a number of fine fellows that have lost their lives, it has cost the country above half a million since the commencement of this unfortunate war. You would scarcely credit that 500 of these fellows could so long withstand upwards of 5000 troops, which are the number against them; they get into the interior parts of the mountains, and 'tis impossible to get at them. I suppose you are almost tired of reading; if not, I am almost tired of writing; so will conclude this subject by wishing a speedy extirpation to them."

any

any censure on any commander or officer, but merely for official papers. The general concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, praying that he would give directions for laying before the house whatever has been received respecting the mode of carrying on war against the Maroons.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, who stated that no information had reached ministers that these dogs were used for the purpose of carrying on the war. He had never heard that the Maroon war had originated with us; he had, indeed, heard they were in a state of insurrection against the government and people of Jamaica without the smallest provocation. In the war, the inhabitants of Jamaica suffered dreadfully from the Maroons, who, living in almost inaccessible places on the heights, descended in the dead of night, and after having massacred whole multitudes, retired where the whole force of the island had been found inadequate to dislodge them. In this situation the planters were obliged to be continually under arms; and finding many of their troops destroyed by efforts to suppress them, though their numbers did not exceed 400 men, it was natural to adopt such practical means as appeared most likely to crush the insurrection. The use made of these blood-hounds in Cuba was, he said, merely to prevent negroes from running away, or to discover the way they had taken. The grounds for the motion were, he contended, too

use the house to
opposition. How
e on the propriety
he measure which
to, was another
e complaint was
y measures would
n to remove the

evil; and from the mere rumour which had been received, ministers had sent off dispatches expressing their disapprobation of the measure, if any such had occurred.

The character of the governor of Jamaica (lord Balcarras) was vindicated by Mr. Bigham, who stated the Maroon war to have originated from the mild punishment inflicted upon one of these people, for a crime which, in this country, would have been punished with death. Mr. M. Robinson thought the letter insufficient ground for the motion, had not the defence of Mr. Dundas admitted the fact of blood-hounds being employed in the war. The small number of Maroons, he observed, was an additional reason against the introduction of a means of war abhorrent to human nature.

Mr. Sheridan expatiated upon the horrors of this addition to the necessary calamities of war. He professed himself sorry to hear that the Maroon war was a war of extermination; which he understood was the case, as it was stated that Jamaica could not be safe till the Maroons were destroyed. Was it not strange, that the whole force of the island was inadequate to this end, without the introduction of such abominable means? They had been driven to arms by oppression, the breach of treaty, and in vindication of their rights. One gentleman (Mr. Bigham) had asserted that they were not to be treated as Maroons, but as rebels. Was, then, the resistance of an independent nation, with whom this country had signed a solemn treaty which it afterwards violated, to be considered as a state of rebellion? The tendency of such measures was to drive them, by cruelty, to nourish such a reflection of their wrongs, as would render

them in future incapable of preserving amity towards this country. Would it be said that the Maroons, when in habits of intercourse with the planters, were either useless or intractable? The slight punishment alluded to, had been that of publicly whipping through the town a poor Maroon, charged with stealing a pig. Such was the pride of this independent people, they preferred death to an ignominious punishment. Nor had *we a right to try him*, "as, by an *express stipulation* in the treaty with this people, they were to be tried by a tribunal of their own." Complaints were made by the Maroon chiefs of this violation: we refused redress; and thus, he said, the war had originated.

Mr. Courtenay observed that this measure appeared to have been defended, though indirectly. One gentleman had hoped no improper use would be made of the blood-hounds. What proper use could they be of against men? Would they be instructed not to hurt the men when they caught them? Fox-hounds, when set on, would tear a man to pieces. As a poor woman, with her child in her arms, had stood upon the beach in Jamaica, some of the blood-hounds had fastened upon her, and could not be taken away till they were pierced with a bayonet. Such were the animals of which it was hoped no *improper* use would be made! In consideration of the assurance given by Mr. Dundas, general M'Leod, after asserting that he would never abandon this subject till he was satisfied that government had really dispatched orders for terminating a practice so injurious to the British name, consented to withdraw his motion. In the course of debate, the character of the

governor of Jamaica received from all parties great encomiums.

On the 13th of April, Mr. Sheridan moved for several papers relative to the West India expedition, the production of which was objected to by the chancellor of the exchequer. The debate was resumed April 21st, when Mr. Sheridan observed, that no reason had been offered for their non-production. This, he contended, was part of the plan of ministers; it was calculated to conceal their blunders, and to hide their incapacity, and was a practice unknown to former parliaments—a practice which must effectually preclude any inquiry into the conduct of administration. The minister had, he observed, last year regretted the lateness of the season, which prevented him from entering into the merits of the war in the West Indies; and had declared his conviction, that it would redound to the credit of ministers. How was it then, that the motion was now opposed? No man in that house, Mr. Sheridan said, would, he was certain, assert that no blame was imputable to those who had the conduct of the war, or of the West India expedition. After the conquests of sir C. Grey, what had been the treatment he received? From the hour of his departure to his return, not one detachment, he believed not a single man, had been sent him. If, by this neglect, we had lost the greatest part of our conquests; if, by the delay of equipments in 1794, men had been kept in floating pest-houses till they perished with disease, was it, or was it not, a ground for inquiry? But how was this to be obtained without documents? He would, he said, undertake to prove that much blame was imputable to ministers in the expedition under admiral Christian, and,

and, if the house would go into the inquiry, that all our failures and disgraces were attributable to the same cause. After sir John Jervis left the West Indies, he had intelligence that several of the officers had behaved in such a way as demanded an inquiry into their conduct. None had, however, been instituted; for ministers feared recrimination. In the case of admiral Cornwallis, they had not, however, been so tender; by the curious sentence of the court by which he was tried, he was right and wrong; blame was imputable to him, but no censure merited. After instancing several proofs of misconduct, Mr. Sheridan moved for a return of the men lost by fatigue and disease in the West India expedition. This, he said, would convince the house how much the drain from the three kingdoms must injure population, and weaken the country. The troops sent out were so dreadfully neglected, as to be destitute even of shoes and stockings; and in this situation, with bleeding feet, had to encounter the burning sands. He next moved for an account of the number of men withdrawn from the West India expedition, for that of Quiberon.—Another for the correspondence of the West India expedition with ministers relative to necessary reinforcements.—An account of the reinforcements which had arrived in the West Indies—of the number sent to St. Domingo, and what for—and of the number of men and staff officers employed under the earl of Moira in 1794 and 1795. The object of this was, he said, to inquire why this armament was not sent to the relief of the islands. Why was such an armament kept idle and unemployed, the ridicule and contempt of the country? To its failure no blame could attach. He,

Mr. Sheridan said, was, he understood, ready to prove at the bar of the house that the disgrace of the expedition was alone attributable to the imbecility of ministers. His next motion would, he said, be for an account of the number of men and officers lost since the return of sir C. Grey, specifying the loss of each regiment, and an account of all the stores and the number of ships employed. While gaudy, expensive, and inactive camps were displayed at home, the troops in the West Indies had been cruelly neglected, and had been saved only by the diseases amongst the troops of the enemy. Of our troops, the 29th regiment had, he said, lost 400: and in June, the hospitals of Martinique were crowded by British officers and soldiers, who were in want not only of medicine, but even of bandages for their wounds. It was, he said, a well-known fact, that 90 or 100 men, who had been put into a transport to be brought home, had, upon some dispute about freighting, been relanded upon the beach, covered with wounds, and many without limbs, where they were left for a night to the mercy of the elements; and only seven or eight survived. When such grounds for inquiry existed, how could it be refused by the house? His next motion should, he said, be for accounts of the number who had died in the ports of Plymouth, Southampton, and Portsmouth; and for copies of letters from the mayor of Portsmouth, colonel Lennox, and other officers. This would inform the house, that troops in those places had daily expired through fatigue. When, on a former night, he had urged the shocking neglect of leaving troops stowed in ships for seven months, a prey to disease and death, many dead bodies thrown overboard, and

others carried through the streets without coffins, the minister had held his information cheap, and presumed to deny the fact. It had, however, been authenticated by several officers on board; and the mayor of Plymouth had frequently remonstrated with government on this account. Mr. Sheridan's next motion was for the production of extracts of letters from general Abercrombie and admiral Christian, with an account of the transport board, and the number of ships foundered or missing. To this he added a motion for a copy of his majesty's proclamation, transmitted to sir Adam Williamson, which threw light upon the withholding of reinforcements from the West Indies, as it stated that his majesty disdained using force, expressed his feelings for the distresses of the people, and wished to be considered not as a conqueror, but as an emancipator, when he pleased to establish martial law in the island. If the papers for which he moved were produced, Mr. Sheridan said, he would prove to the house a most solemn charge of misconduct on the part of ministers, who, if they felt bold on the occasion, ought to exult in the opportunity presented for vindicating their characters.

Mr. Dundas remarked the singular predicament in which ministers were placed, by motions for a variety of papers, which, from their public duty, they could not indiscriminately lay before the public; yet were they to be charged with a wish to check discussion by their non-production. He contradicted having, in a former session, pledged himself to a general inquiry; but whatever were the sneers he might meet with, he could assure the house, that a day should come when the West India business, with his ma-

jesty's permission, should be fully investigated, when it could be done with public safety. He pointedly censured Mr. Sheridan for having so long delayed his motions, when, on the first day of the sessions, he had talked in a lofty style of the gross mismanagement of the war in the West Indies, and yet had not till that time thought of moving for papers on which to proceed. Four regiments from Cork, under general White, had, he stated, arrived in the West Indies previous to the departure of sir C. Grey. Nor could sir Charles think those islands defenceless, since he had dispatched these regiments to St. Domingo. He wished for time to consider the motions, that ministers might judge what they could, and what they could not, assent to; for which they would, at a future time, assign their reasons. This proposal was acceded to by Mr. Sheridan, who explained, that the delay which had taken place in this business arose from his expectation that the whole conduct of ministers would have been subjected to inquiry, and from the force sailing under admiral Christian, when it might have been objected that it was improper to call for papers which might disclose what it was right to conceal. Still, he observed, no attempt had been made to shew that the communications he called for were inconsistent with public safety. If, he said, sir C. Grey had sent off so large a reinforcement for the security of the island without the instructions of ministers, or the expectation of a larger reinforcement, a heavy responsibility attached to him. To account for this, he should think it necessary to move, "that sir C. Grey be directed to attend at the bar of the house."

Mr. Dundas explained, that he did

did not say sir C. Grey might not expect other reinforcements, or that he thought the West Indies would be safe without them after he came away. The former statement of Mr. Dundas was, however, considered by Mr. Fox as having been intended to convey the idea which had been adopted—he thought inquiry additionally necessary for the character of sir C. Grey. An altercation arose upon this occasion, in which Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Francis, and general Tarleton, vindicated the conduct of sir C. Grey, which they thought arraigned by what had fallen from Mr. Dundas, who, with Mr. Pitt, paid the highest compliments to that gallant commander. Mr Grey, who had been absent during the debate, declared it the earnest wish of the honourable person alluded to, to have every inquiry instituted which could respect any transaction in which he was concerned, as far as was consistent with the public interest, and begged that no inference might be drawn from any supposed opinion of that person which was not warranted by papers explaining the principles upon which he had acted.

The debate, which had been adjourned, re-commenced April 28th, when, after the first motion had been read, Mr. Dundas entered into a very extended defence of the conduct of ministers. Of the small force we had in 1793 (the consequence of our reduced peace establishment) and which did not quite amount to 17,000 men, four regiments were dispatched to the West Indies; and from the first appearance of hostilities, such orders were given as enabled us to re-capture almost the whole of our possessions in that quarter. Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, were soon re-taken; and, indeed, the whole of the West

Indies, so far from being neglected, first obtained the protection of government. In the summer of 1793, it was proposed that sir C. Grey and sir J. Jervis should embark with 10,000 men; that force was, however, diminished to 6000; but, joined to the force already there, composed 11,000 effective men. With this diminution of force, it was impossible, he observed, to effect all that might have been otherwise effected; but the highest praises were due to sir C. Grey for the services he performed. On the reasoning of some gentlemen, he said, it could not be denied that censure was to be inferred. If their argument was good, the conduct of that gallant officer was wrong; but he denied both these propositions, and contended directly the reverse, that sir C. Grey was right, and the censure of his conduct wrong. The event of that expedition was the capture of Martinique, St. Lucie, and Guadaloupe. These sir C. Grey had no uneasiness about retaining. In sending the four regiments to St. Domingo, he was solely governed by his own discretion; and it was certainly a serviceable measure; but all its consequences were to be attributed to that officer, who, by that very step, plainly evinced his belief of the security of the islands. After the expedition had failed, sir C. Grey received no intimation of any further reinforcement than of one or two regiments, which, in fact, had arrived; for two of the four sent from Cork were destined for the Leeward Islands, the other two for St Domingo; he had, however, the power of detaining the whole for the Leeward Island service. On the contrary, he had sent away two regiments destined by government to that part of the West Indies; which plainly indicated his opinion of their

their security. At that time sir C. Grey meditated an attack on Cayenne, and for that purpose detained the 35th regiment; but afterwards, thinking his force insufficient, sent it to join the three at St. Domingo. All that government had done to determine sir Charles to this measure, was an intimation, that, if circumstances allowed it, it might be expedient to send the four regiments to St. Domingo; but even this letter was not sent from England till June, and sir C. Grey had dispatched the regiments in May, which proved him totally uninfluenced. With respect to what had been stated of sir C. Grey's demand for a reinforcement, that demand was not made till long after, when our attempt to dispossess the enemy of their situation in Guadaloupe had been ineffectual. Sir Charles's letter bore date July 11th; that the West Indies, therefore, were safe so late as June, was deducible not only from these facts, but from the character of sir C. Grey, who would not otherwise have thought of returning home. Previous to his departure home, which his health demanded, he had visited and inspected all the islands, and was as far as St. Kitt's on his return, when he was informed that the enemy had taken possession of part of Guadaloupe. With the utmost gallantry he had divested himself of every personal consideration, and returned to a contest which, though unfortunately unsuccessful, was concerted with vigour, and carried into effect with the utmost courage and resolution. It was not till after the unfortunate even at Point au Pierre that any application had been made for reinforcements. In August and September 1794, 6000 were demanded by colonels Dundas and Coote, 1200

or 2000 of which were immediately required. Two thousand three hundred were dispatched from Gibraltar, who reached the West Indies in November, and further equipments were set on foot here. At this time the whole of the forces in Great Britain amounted only to 17,475, including the sick; the number of effective men now was somewhat under 17,000. By the 29th of May he had sent out to the Leeward Islands and to St. Domingo a force amounting to 15,500 men. After this exertion, he argued the little probability there was that every measure had not been taken to expedite their sailing. They were at first stopped by contrary winds, and were afterwards blocked up by the Brest fleet; which necessarily delayed their sailing till February 1795. Under all the complicated claims to which government had to attend, he left it to the candour of the house, whether the attention paid to the West Indies deserved the imputation of neglect. The last reinforcement considerably exceeded the demand of sir C. Grey, though it arrived too late to enter upon any considerable plan of operation in 1795, which, combined with the almost unprecedented sickness of the climate, occasioned our debility, the capture of Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, and the insurrection in St. Vincent's and Grenada. Let it be recollected, too, that this demand for troops was not wholly for the defence of the Leeward Islands; it was with a view to offensive operations, including, further, the conquest of St. Domingo. The application consequently did not imply an insecurity tantamount to the force required. The capture of Tobago was, he contended, to be in a great measure attributed to the eager wishes of government to extend

tend protection to every part of the West Indies that had been connected with us. As to the late armament under general Abercrombie and admiral Christian, the expedition was to consist of two distinct bodies, one of 15,000, the other of 12,000 men. The celerity with which this armament was equipped, was, Mr. Dundas stated, a matter of astonishment. There were at that time 32 old regiments, and 47 new, making 31,154 men; but these were so irregular in their combination, that a new regulation was obliged to take place in the whole army. Not one regiment was in a proper state for foreign service; and from 114 regiments, by draughting and incorporation, they were reduced to 90. In the process of the new arrangement, regiments were relieved by fencibles in Jersey, Guernsey, Ireland, &c. the corps to be incorporated brought together; and after all, the force was to be equipped for distant and arduous service. The expedition required, besides, the equipment of a large squadron of men of war, and 100,000 tons of shipping for transports, when the transport board had only 40,000 at command; provisions were extremely dear, seamen extremely scarce. To alleviate the difficulties, recourse had been had to the East and West India fleets just arrived; without which the plan could not have been carried into execution. But as time was necessary for unloading these ships, a great and unavoidable delay ensued. Amidst every difficulty, he would, however, appeal to the candour of any unprejudiced person, whether more zeal and activity could have been manifested. The ordnance office had also been called upon, and had made unparal-
~~lled~~ exertions; and when to all

this was added the equipment of each regiment, the completion of the medical staff, and hospital ships, some idea might be conceived of the magnitude of this expedition, which not only included the two armies of 27,000, but a corps of 1,000 German riflemen, and another of foreigners employed under the command of the duke of York on the continent, of nearly 6,000, but necessaries for the West Indian army of Europeans and Creoles consisting of 3,000 militia, and 6,000 blacks. Every expedient, he asserted, had been devised for the comfort and accommodation of the troops on board ship, and for the success of the expedition; in confirmation of which, Mr. Dundas read some letters from sir Ralph Abercrombie; and to refute what had in former debates been stated respecting the inattention shewn towards the accommodation of the troops sent to the West Indies from Cork, he read a letter from general Wright. Of all the ships which had sailed under admiral Christian, four only were missing; 67 had safely arrived at Barbadoes, containing above 7,000 regular troops, artillery, &c. and only 400 were in a sickly state. Of those who had been obliged to return to port, a still more favourable account had been received. The facts were, he said, so different from what they had been represented, that he was anxious to lay the correspondence which he had had with the transport board upon the subject, before the house. The last charge of which government need be apprehensive, was, that of neglecting the West Indies. One expedition had been sent there, while a force was collecting against the French in the East Indies; another, while that was in agitation, which had since
 been

been so successful against the Cape of Good Hope, which we now possessed, and he hoped ever should, and that *no man would ever dare to give it up*. He was, he said, ready to consent to some of the propositions which had been made, and even to bring forward others as supplementary to them.

Mr. Grey thought it would have been more regular to have produced the documents before entering upon so wide a field of discussion. He rose, he said, merely on account of the allusion which had been made to the opinions of a person whom it was his duty to respect and honour. He wished, before any argument was founded upon the opinion of that person, every document which could explain its nature, and the circumstances in which it was given, should be produced. The opinion given by sir C. Grey respecting the safety of the Leeward Islands, he was authorized by him to say, had been given in the confidence that no force could get out of any of the ports of France to the West Indies till the promised reinforcement arrived. In exercising the discretion allowed him to dispatch the regiments to Jamaica and Barbadoes, sir Charles had understood that he was complying with the wishes of administration. Of the reinforcement demanded, though it was required in June, none had arrived till November; and this he stated at the desire of his honoured relation.

Mr. Sheridan deprecated the idea of reasoning on official papers not regularly before the house, for the authenticity of which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) would have credit, and which he had used in this way to make that impression upon the house which would resist the effect of any future consideration

of the subject more regularly introduced. The papers, he said, had been gone through before they were on the table: the defence was prior to the accusation; and the exculpatory proof preceded the trial. The appeal to official papers, however, instead of acquitting ministers, convinced him that the utmost criminality was attached to them. After a speech of four hours and a half, not one thing had been said which had shaken the foundation on which he wished to institute an inquiry. He heard, with alarm for the future, that our late peace establishment had occasioned our disasters in the West Indies. Mr. Sheridan observed that he had never heard a commander more highly complimented in words than sir C. Grey; but it was remarkable that he was the only commander who had not, by the advice of ministers, received some signal mark of royal favour. When the troops destined for the West Indies were dispatched under lord Moira, it was now said the state of the country required the sacrifice, and demanded the preference of an important to a less important service. At the time, however, that this detachment was made, it was contended that it would not cripple the exertions in the Leeward Islands; that only one or two regiments had been promised; and that, beyond this, sir C. Grey could not look for any reinforcements. Ministers were not, however, to be acquitted upon this miserable quibble; the quantity of reinforcement was not to be measured by what sir C. Grey had thought necessary in the commencement of his career, but by the necessity of maintaining the brilliant advantages he had obtained. As to criminating sir C. Grey by affirming that the detachments to Jamaica

maica and Barbadoes were dangerous to the safety of the Leeward Islands, that business had been well explained; but without such motives as sir Charles had acted upon, his conduct would have deserved blame. Had the attack on Guadaloupe been made by troops in the West Indies, when the commander pronounced the islands in a state of safety, fault might have been imputed to him; but if the contrary was the case, the argument resolved itself into a mere quibble, and the guilt devolved upon ministers. If the sailing of the French fleet were admitted to be an event which could not be prevented, yet the disasters in the West Indies were imputable to ministers in another view. Not only the reinforcements did not arrive, but the troops were destitute of cloathing, and overwhelmed with fatigue. This he could prove: yet the inquiry was resisted. It was stated that in August 1794 news arrived of the disaster which befel Guadaloupe, accompanied by a requisition for 6,000 men. If an inquiry was instituted, it would be found that this was owing to a want of troops, and a want of necessaries for the troops there already. The demand, however, met ministers unprepared. Only 17,000 troops were in the kingdom, of which 3,000 were destined for marine service. How came that service to have been previously neglected? Of the 9,000 sent out, why were they not, according to the advice of sir C. Grey, sent out in detachments? Or was it to be sustained, in excuse for the delay, that we had not a fleet which could meet the French fleet at sea? As well might it be said, that, should the French land an army in Ireland when our fleet was in port, no blame would be imputable to government. Great care

might have been taken of the health of the troops; but Mr. Sheridan persisted in declaring that every day immense numbers were thrown overboard, who died of sickness and disease occasioned by neglect: where the blame lay, would be discovered on inquiry. He stated the great inconsistency of its having been said, that out of the 31,000 regular troops in England, it would not have been safe to send a large force on foreign service; yet when the militia and fencible corps were increased, it was represented that this force would suffice for the internal defence of the country, and enable us to apply our army to foreign service. The declaration made respecting the Cape, was, he thought, very comfortable news to the stadtholder; it amounted, however, he thought, to a declaration that ministers did not wish for the re-establishment of what was called the regular government of Holland, but were satisfied with the present republican anarchy. A scheme was at last formed for sending 27,000 men to the West Indies; but they were difficult to be procured. The most disgraceful mode of defence had been adopted that ever appeared before a British house of commons. There was conveyed a mighty army upon paper; but, when it came to be reviewed, it was good for nothing. He had seen this motley assembly at Southampton, consisting of children, feeble old men, and boys at their head. Such was the consequence of converting the army into a job. Was it no guilt to delude the country with such mockeries? Mr. Sheridan represented, in a very ludicrous light, the difficulties stated to have attended the expedition; unfortunately, he said, the difficulties always got the better; and incredible disasters

disasters had uniformly attended these incredible exertions. Not a week before the 10th of November, admiral Jervis had failed with a wind which would have carried the whole expedition to the West Indies. The expeditions of the French were, he said, carried on in a different manner; and there were times in this country when the delay would not have been borne. It was, he declared, his intention to persist in his object; if the papers were granted, to move for an inquiry, which, if agreed to, he should follow by a resolution expressive of the strongest censure of ministers.

The unfairness of quoting the opinion of sir C. Grey, without producing the documents on which it was founded, was pointedly insisted upon by Mr. Fox. Of the force which went out from France, sir C. Grey could have no knowledge; ministers might, and therefore the grounds of their opinion respecting the West Indies must be essentially different. The more this business was considered, the more ground, he thought, there was for an inquiry. Mr. Sheridan's motions for "accounts of the number of men destined for the expedition to the West Indies under sir C. Grey in 1793,"—for "accounts of the number withdrawn from that service to form an expedition against the coast of France under lord Moira,"—and, "of the numbers who, after the conquest of Martinique, St. Lucie, and Guadaloupe, were detached to St. Domingo," were put and carried. The motion for laying before the house the different applications made for reinforcements was withdrawn, on Mr. Dundas undertaking to give what information could be given. That "for returns of the reinforcements which arrived, specifying the distri-

bution of the force, and the dates of their arrival," was agreed to. Mr. Sheridan's next motion for "an account of the appointment of sir J. B. Warren, and of general Doyle to the expedition of Quiberon, with that of the regiments serving under him, was negatived on the opposition of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Sheridan then moved for "extracts of the letters from admiral Christian and general Abercrombie respecting the delay of the expedition;" which was strongly objected to by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt, as connected with official information which it was not proper to publish; and the motion, after a very spirited conversation, was negatived; as was that "for a return of the number of ships foundered or missing, and the number of men lost or missing, belonging to the expedition under general Abercrombie." The next motion "for a return of the staff officers serving under lord Moira in 1794 and 1795," was withdrawn, on Mr. Dundas offering to give the substance of the information in another form. The motion "for a copy of the instructions to sir J. B. Warren relative to the expedition to Quiberon," was negatived, as also that "for an account of the number of men who died on board transports at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Southampton, &c. destined for the West Indies in 1795 and 1796." Mr. Sheridan then moved "for copies or extracts of the letters from officers commanding the transports, from the mayor of Portsmouth, or from lord G. Lennox," which was negatived. The remainder of Mr. Sheridan's motions were all agreed to, except that for the correspondence of the ordnance and transport boards. Mr. Dundas then moved for a long list of letters in 1794 and 1795, from
sir

Sir C. Grey, Sir J. Jervis, and other naval and military commanders in the West Indies; which were ordered.

Whilst the business of the West India expedition was in agitation, General Tarleton moved for a copy of a letter from Count de Sombreuil to the Secretary at War, relative to the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon, and referred to in a letter to Sir J. B. Warren. The Secretary at War lamented that this anticipated his intention of giving the wished-for information to the house. That he had not done this sooner, he intimated, was owing to its having been lost; indeed, he had a remote recollection that he had destroyed it. Of this, however, he was certain, that it did not contain any of the important matter stated by gentlemen; but for his own satisfaction and justification, he could have wished to produce it. The one and only letter he had received from Mons. Sombreuil was more of a private than public nature, and contained not a word respecting the nature of the expedition, the command of the army, or any government secrets. The letter had at last been found, and he pledged himself for its production; but its contents were so entirely of a private nature, that they fully justified his opposition to the motion.

It was contended by Mr. Sheridan, that the count must have con-

sidered the letter as of a public nature, and exculpatory of his character, from the letter of that unfortunate gentleman to Sir J. B. Warren, in which he had wished that Mr. Windham would publish his letter. The motion was got rid of by one for the order of the day, which was moved by Mr. Pitt. The subject was, however, resumed by Mr. Sheridan, April 18, who again moved for the production of the paper which had before been refused. The house, he said, might judge of his astonishment, after its refusal, to see it published in a daily paper: and of its authenticity he had no doubt. After what had been advanced respecting the privacy of its nature, what could be more astonishing than to find it related principally to matters of public moment? This letter, he said, did not convey any paltry recrimination upon the persons who advised and conducted that unfortunate expedition, but contained foundation for a charge of the most marked criminality, the strongest grounds of condemnation upon ministers for sending out the expedition under circumstances the most gross, inhuman, and treacherous. After reading the two letters * to the house, Mr. Sheridan observed the relation between them, that the latter displayed all the characteristics of a great mind; it contained no reproaches; it merely referred

* From the COUNT DE SOMBREUIL to the Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM, dated

“ On board the John, Portsmouth Road, July 8, 1795.

“ SIR,

“ The short stay which I made at London not having permitted me the honour of seeing you more than once, and my sudden departure having prevented me from conversing with you on several points of importance to me, in my present situation, I have sufficient confidence in your sagacity, to be convinced that I shall find such instructions as will serve me for a guide, and enable me to support the responsibility attached to my conduct, as well towards you as towards the troops under my command.

“ A full conviction of the necessity of subordination, joined to a zealous devotion to the cause in which I have embarked, induce me to fly with precipitation at the first signal I receive, and never allow me to urge the smallest objection. I say nothing of the situation which a government has a right to expect from those it employs; I have long

since

referred to the remarks made by the count in the former letter, that he was dispatched with troops upon an expedition, of whose destination, command, subsistence, and ammunition, he was ignorant. There were only two lines which related to a beautiful and accomplished woman to whom his affections had been pledged, and who had since been reported to be disordered in her understanding. After stating the cruelty and reproach of abandoning such a man, and that the letters threw light upon the scan-

dalous manner in which the expedition to the coast of France was conducted, Mr. Sheridan again moved for copies of the letters to be presented to the house; which was seconded by general Smith.

The secretary at war, in a speech of such warmth as produced the interference of the speaker, said that the only motive which he could conceive the count de Sombreuil had in his last letter for referring to the expressions in his former, was that, harrassed and confounded as he was in his last fatal moments, he

since given sufficient proofs of mine; and I have reason to believe, that they are such as will enable me to obtain, at least, those marks of confidence which are due to my situation.

"I have the honour to observe to you, sir, that I am going with troops, of whose destination I know nothing but by public report; neither am I acquainted with their means of subsistence, nor, in the smallest degree, with the rules by which I am to regulate my conduct. What will be necessary, with regard to ammunition, with which I am not, to my knowledge, provided, and with regard to the support of those with whom I am to act; the means by which I am to carry on my correspondence with you in a distant situation; and from whom I am, in all cases, to receive orders; these are points on which I request you to give me such instructions as will serve as a basis for my conduct.

"I had the honour also to request that you would let me have an officer *from the department of inspection*. If you send me such a person, pray chuse a man who speaks both languages, that he may, on occasion, assist me in the translation of your letters; and that your orders may only be known to an officer chosen by government. I have the honour to be, with respect,

"Your very humble servant,

"COUNT CHARLES DE SOMBREUIL."

From the COUNT DE SOMBREUIL to the Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM, dated Aurai, July the 22d, 1793, received by the Hands of his Servant, who remained with him till the Hour of his Death.

"SIR,

"The letter which I have written to sir John Warren will give you every information in my power to afford, as well on my present situation, as on past events; I will not remind you of the letter which I wrote you from Portsmouth, as you doubtless feel the force of the remarks which I there made: you must be sensible how much my heart has to suffer in these last moments; independently of the regret which I experience for the fate of my companions, you know what sacrifices an order so prompt obliged me to make.

"I request you, sir, to be so kind as to give to the bearer, a faithful man, and who has never abandoned me (and whom the losses I have sustained incapacitate me from rewarding) the sum of five hundred Louis, to be shared with my other servant. This request will not appear indiscreet, as I have lost several government securities to a greater amount."

"I also recommend to you, sir, the two persons about whom I spoke to you, before I left London.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"COUNT CHARLES DE SOMBREUIL."

"To Mr. WINDHAM, Secretary at War."

referred

referred him rather to what was passing in his mind, than to what he had committed to paper; there was, however, no knowing what he meant, nor did he perhaps know himself. The subsidiary letter certainly had a reference to some painful circumstances interesting to his private feelings, and referred to the uncertain situation in which he was going. The count was desirous that the nature of his command should be ascertained; and that was the object of the letter; but in a public view it had, he contended, no importance whatever. He stated, that so far from having sent away this gallant man upon short notice, he had, upon knowing of his intended marriage, advised him to defer his departure, partly hoping that the expedition might be delayed, partly from the conviction, that, should he be absent on that expedition, he would be ready and ardent for any other. But to this the heroic gallantry of the count would not listen. As he was only going to carry out a body of troops from the Elbe, he would know at the place of destination what he was to do, as all subordinate officers do; and that would be sufficient. The letter did not, he asserted, justify the accusation brought against him; and he charged gentlemen on the other side of the house with having supposed it lost, when they so earnestly moved for its production. This charge was,

however, solemnly denied by Mr. Fox.

General Smith contended that the letter concerned the public service, and only that, excepting the character of count de Sombreuil, who, anxious for the justification of his conduct, had made the publication of it his dying request. The general expatiated upon the ignorance under which the count had acted, and contended, that, had he known that the command was to be trusted to Puissaye, a man whom many officers would think it a disgrace to serve under, he never would have gone upon this shameful expedition. The desire which the count had evinced to vindicate himself from having had a share in the expedition, was also insisted upon by Mr. Fox, who considered the emigrants as the chief advisers of it; but thought their situation no excuse for the rashness and folly of it, which was degrading to the understandings of British ministers. He thought the secretary at war was bound to publish the letter to which the count referred, as exculpatory of his being concerned in planning this calamitous expedition; and that if the Quiberon expedition should become the object of a general discussion, this paper would throw considerable light upon the subject. After some further debate upon this motion, it was evaded by the order of the day, which was again moved for by Mr. Pitt.

C H A P. VI.

Discussion in the House of Lords on the general Conduct of Administration. Mr. Grey's Motion in the Commons for the Impeachment of Ministers. Debate on the Sardinian Subsidy. Lord Guildford's Motion on the Conduct of Ministers. Mr. Fox's Motion on the same Subject.

ON the second of May the marquis of Lansdowne, who had previously moved for several government papers, entered into a discussion in the house of lords on the conduct of administration. His lordship said, that, from the improbability of every exertion he could make producing a change of system, he had hesitated whether he should ever again trouble the house; but that he had been deterred by the necessity he should then have felt himself under of explaining the grounds on which he acted, and had been influenced by circumstances which, if disclosed, might tend to raise discontent, which he professed himself anxious to avoid. On the 15th December 1779, and on the 8th February 1780, his lordship said, he had proposed two motions, in order to suggest that system of public operations, with which it was his wish that the resolutions then to be brought forward should be followed. In this system he had been supported by many of the present administration, who appeared to have since abandoned it. His wish, therefore, was to afford them an opportunity of shewing whether they still adhered to their former resolution, "that the influence of the crown was encreased, is encreasing, and ought to be diminished;" or, if they had apostatized, that the public should be in possession of documents upon which to form an impartial estimate of their character. It was not, he

said, his wish to draw the attention of the house to all the papers on the table: the first to which he should direct their attention was that for the consolidation of the different boards into one: this would have abolished fifteen out of twenty-five places, and occasioned a considerable diminution of influence. This, therefore, it was his great surprize to see, had never been acted upon. The next paper to which he should call their attention, was the 9th report concerning the pay of the army: this was justly stated in the report to be a scene of composition and decomposition, of fraud, ambiguity, and mystery. Why there should be complex and separate accounts for agency, cloathing, subsistence, &c. &c. which could only serve to accumulate expences upon the country, his lordship said, he could not see, except it was as a pretext for supporting a parcel of idle clerks by the sweat of a deserving soldiery, and to enable ministers undetected to apply the public money to purposes different from its original destination. The next report, his lordship said, to which he would advert, was the 11th, relating to the unfunded debt, the object of which was to acquaint the people with the real extent of the burthens they incurred in the course of a war, and to provide against the debt encreasing more rapidly than the means of payment. This regulation had, however, been neglected by the present ministers. In the

14th report, respecting the patent officers of the customs, they were divided into classes of illegal, useless, those who exercised their trust by deputies, and such as may be consolidated. To abolish these offices, was the intention of one of his resolutions. In the port of London there were, he said, 61 in number, enjoying salaries to the amount of 26,000*l.* a year. In the outports there were 157 persons of the same description, with salaries to the amount of 40,000*l.* His lordship stated several abuses which existed in these offices, and said that in many cases one person held two or three offices, which were intended as checks upon one another. Why the bill for the reform of patent offices had been suffered to sleep, he could not tell. In circumstances like the present, it was of the utmost importance to investigate and reform every abuse. Much reform, his lordship thought, might be made in the mint, and respecting the crown lands. The system of barracks, and the army in all its departments, his lordship considered as proofs of the encreased and encreasing influence of the crown. The commissioners of accounts had represented the extraordinaries of the army likewise as an evil which called for remedy in the loudest terms. Ministers might say, that in the papers on the table, there was no instance of money loosely, extravagantly, or corruptly squandered; but they were, in fact, so mysteriously drawn out, that it was impossible to understand them: upon the present system, any thing might be deemed extraordinaries. A great many sums were entered under the general title *for the public service*, and ~~ditto ditto~~ very frequently recur-

red; the accounts, on the whole, instead of being arranged and produced on the first day of the session, were obscure and kept back till they were reluctantly torn from ministers at that late period.

Another article in the long list of abuses was, his lordship stated, the appointment of a third secretary of state. But, however ministers had neglected the suggestions of the committee relative to the abolition of old offices and boards, they had scrupulously complied with their ideas respecting new ones. Of these, the transport-board, the treasury-board, and the victualling-board, were, he conceived, useless and unnecessary; as one active man would do more business than a board. After enumerating several abuses, his lordship observed, that time would fail him for mentioning all which had been introduced and sanctioned by the present administration; and he was tired with inspecting the red book, that register of corruption. Yet all this had taken place under the conduct of two noble lords, who came into office abetting the principle that the influence of the crown had encreased, was encreasing, and ought to be diminished. His lordship further deprecated the patronage obtained by the India bill—that of government police in the city of Westminster—and, above all, the unlimited credit upon the bank, which, from its magnitude, was sufficient to swallow up the rest. This, his lordship observed, had been voted to the minister in a bill repealing a salutary statute of William and Mary, which restricted the credit of government upon the bank, and which would unnoticed have passed the house, but for the vigilance of the earl of Lauderdale. By the repeal

of this act, the bank might stretch their credit to government at pleasure, and the minister, without consent of parliament, had an ample resource within his reach. His lordship professed that it was not his intention at that time to enter into any question of finance, as the papers were too voluminous to be gone through at a sitting; they opened, he said, however, a more dreadful picture of our situation than it was possible almost for the imagination to conceive. The marquis concluded by moving, that, perceiving no effectual steps taken to realize those measures of reform for which ministers at their entrance into office stood pledged, or those recommended by commissioners appointed by parliament, it was necessary to inquire into so extraordinary an omission, as well as whether any new offices have been created?—whether any old salaries had been increased on slight pretences?—whether any salaries had been granted for special purposes, and continued when the reason for them ceased?—whether any warrant for beneficial grants had been directed?—and, on the whole, whether the public expences had increased beyond the supplies annually granted by parliament? His lordship proceeded to censure the war as bloody and profuse beyond example, and our situation on the whole as calling for the most accurate investigation; and concluded with moving for an inquiry into the several abuses which he had pointed out.

Lord Grenville, in reply, said that he never could assent to the principal points which had been adduced; since, contrary to what had been stated, several bills for reform had been brought in, and received the sanction of parliament.

Though these reforms might be thought necessary by the commissioners at the time, they might not, he observed, apply to the present or future times. With respect to consolidating some of the public offices of revenue, if he was consulted, he should say the plan was impracticable, from the large increase of the revenue; nor were there any men whose abilities and alacrity entitled them more to public reward. As to the army extraordinary, many regulations had been made by Mr. Burke and colonel Barré, which had afforded much salutary reform. With respect to what had been urged respecting the mysterious mode of negotiating loans, and the lottery had been mentioned as one bad part of them, this was the first administration in which the lottery formed no part of those loans. It was next said, that the unfunded debt ought to be ascertained. Formerly, the navy, ordnance, and unfunded debt, used to lie over; but lately they had been laid upon the table of the house of commons within the year. As to patent offices, he observed, they were held by legal tenure, and could not be withdrawn without reasonable compensation; which would be a more considerable expence to the public than the continuance of the patentees in office. Such as could, would be abolished on their becoming vacant; and none but one had been renewed. His lordship warmly commended ministers for the care they had taken in auditing the public accounts. With respect to the crown lands, very much had been done by the person to whom they were entrusted. Excepting these, the consolidation of the revenue boards, and the arrangements in a new coinage, recommended in the reports,

ports, all the other objects had occupied the attention and been decided upon by parliament. With regard to barracks, the old system allowed barracks for 20,000 men in time of peace, and the new for only 15,000. The extraordinaries of the army had occupied the attention of the committee of 1780, and they had stated that the unfunded debt should be ascertained when it could be done; but very frequently in war it could not, particularly in the articles of provisions and stores; therefore a speedy audit of accounts, recommended by the commissioners, was the most essential step that could be taken. As to the appointment of a third secretary of state, it had been attended with great public utility, and he doubted not future advantages resulting from it! The transport board was, he contended, absolutely necessary in time of war. India he had always thought of the utmost importance; and he hoped the question, whether it was to be maintained or given up, would never be started. His lordship defended the Westminster police bill, and said that the minister possessed no power of desiring the bank to advance any sum wanted, as the governor and directors had a discretionary power.

The earl of Lauderdale forcibly seconded the arguments of the marquis of Lansdowne. He admitted that some reforms had taken place in the pay-office, but said great abuses still existed. There was a clause in a subsequent act of parliament, that all money issued from the treasury to the paymaster general should be paid into the bank of England on his account: yet 600,000*l.* had been lately issued by the first lord of the treasury to the paymaster of the forces, and it was treat-

ed as a trivial oversight. He thought any defence of the loans lately made, a libel upon those by whom they were made. His lordship ridiculed the improvements said to have taken place respecting the unfunded debt under the present administration. Exchequer bills had, he said, been issued at 5 per cent. interest this year; and he wished to know how they could be suffered to run to such discredit, that twenty-five shillings should be given to discount one for five days only. If such improvements had taken place, the house should not have been told of 12,000,000*l.* of navy debt floating since December, and extraordinaries besides to be provided to the amount of two millions for the army, and four for the navy. His lordship conceived the assertions made by lord Grenville, respecting barracks, to be entirely erroneous, and contended, from the statements on the table, that the whole amount of men for whom they were erected, was more than 31,000; and exclusive of Guernsey and Jersey, for Great Britain alone 24,000. He pointedly ridiculed the reason given for a third secretary of state, the increased business resulting from the war. If this axiom was adopted, the pay-office must be neglected, and the vast concerns of India, since these places were held by another secretary of state. The transport board was, he contended, highly expensive, and no improvement in point of dispatch.

Lord Auckland entered into a very elaborate statement of the difference of our prosperity in the years 1783 and 1795, to prove the great advantages on the side of the latter! To evince this, his lordship produced comparative accounts of the 3 per cent. consols. and India stock, and of the different value of

the imports and exports; of the revenues of the East India company above their charges, and of their sales; of British ships entered inwards, or cleared outwards; of the total number of ships belonging to the British empire; of the permanent taxes, the navy debt, and the bank advances; of the floating debt, and the sinking fund. His lordship closed his comparative account, by stating the amount of revenue (including the land and malt tax) *below* the computed expenditure on a peace establishment of fifteen millions in 1783, 2,000,000*l.* and the same *above* the computed expenditure, on a similar peace establishment, with the addition of increased charges for the debt incurred by the present war, 1795, 3,400,000*l.* Comparing this excess with the deficiency of 1783, the difference of revenue in our favour at present, would, he observed, amount to 5,400,000*l.* The motion was further resisted by earl Spencer, lord Hawkesbury, and the lord chancellor; and supported by the earls of Moira and Lauderdale, the latter of whom observed, that as the noble mover of the motion had declined at present entering into our financial situation, he should not then reply to the statement which had been produced; but pledged himself to prove, that, instead of an estimate so flattering, a very gloomy deficiency would be found, and gave notice of a motion grounded upon the papers then upon the table. Lord Guildford, at the same time, gave notice of a motion upon the state of the nation. On a division of the house, there appeared for the marquis of Lansdowne's motion, 12, against it, 104.

A very weighty and well supported accusation was brought against ministers in the house of

commons, on the 6th of May, by Mr. Grey, on which he grounded a motion for their impeachment. In a very able exordium, he observed that the power of the purse was the best security for the liberties of the people; and this the house could not allow to be incroached upon, without betraying a most sacred trust, and violating a most valuable privilege. This duty was still more important from the magnitude of expence which they had to superintend. It was, he stated, his intention to confine his motion to three plain and simple considerations, 1st. that ministers had violated the express stipulations of the appropriation act, by applying grants to other services than those for which they were voted; 2dly, that they had presented false accounts to the house to conceal this infraction; and, 3dly, that they had violated another law for regulating the office of paymaster general of the forces. He desired the house to attend, that there was an act passed every session, after the grants for the year were made, appropriating certain sums to certain purposes respecting the different articles in the army. By a paper on the table, he would, however, shew that this act had in many instances been violated. By an account laid before the house, April 21st, it appeared that the money issued for clothing the army, was not so applied; and that there was due to several colonels, &c. 644,106*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for net off-reckonings and cloathing for the years 1794 and 1795; and the sum of 146,900*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* to general and staff-officers for 1793, 1794, and 1795; and the sum of 34,313*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* to governors and lieutenant-governors for 1794 and 1795; though these sums were expressly

expressly appropriated by act of parliament. It also appeared that the sum of 31,056l. os. 3d. due to the general and staff officers for 1794, was paid out of the grants for 1796. If the necessity for such a glaring violation of law existed, ministers were bound to come to parliament for an act of indemnity as speedily as possible, and to state the reasons for such a necessity. On the contrary, however, how had they acted? They had endeavoured to conceal the infraction of the law by a false account, and thus encreased instead of diminishing the crime. In 1711, by a resolution of the house of commons, a practice of this nature was reprobated as an invasion of the rights of the house; but had it been otherwise, precedent could certainly be of no avail, as the act of appropriation was irreconcilable with the authority of a practice it was expressly intended to prevent. Admitting even that extraordinaries were unavoidable, they were to be qualified by the degrees in which they were necessary. Might not the minister, with a vote of credit amounting to 2,500,000l. have made such an estimate for the demands of public service as would leave little to be answered by extraordinary expences? In the wide and continental war in the reign of queen Anne, and conducted by a person not distinguished for œconomy, the extraordinaries scarcely exceeded 200,000l. A person of high credit (Mr. Hatsell) had, in his book of precedents, observed, that during the American war nothing could exceed the negligence of the house in not limiting the sums charged as extraordinaries; and still higher authority censured the practice, and the committee appointed to investigate the public accounts.

The practice of charging extravagant sums on this head had been also arraigned by the present minister with the utmost severity at the end of the American war: yet his own extravagance far surpassed that. It was said, he observed, that money must sometimes be taken from the estimated services, to be applied to urgent services; but this justification went only thus far, that when money was so diverted, it was necessary to come forward and apply, to the arrears incurred, the extraordinaries of the next year. In the present instance, however, the deviation had not been so far atoned for. By papers upon the table, it appeared, that to August 21st, 1796, for the quarter preceding, eight millions of the grants of the current year had been expended, and still these arrears remained due. Every argument in favour of this infraction of an act purposely made to restrain the minister equally applied in 1782, when the measure was so strongly condemned by him. The defence of ministers for the misapplication of the sums appropriated by parliament, was not he said, valid *upon their own* principles: he therefore submitted to the house six resolutions founded upon the reasonings and facts he had already adduced. The next part of his resolutions, Mr. Grey said, regarded the application of sums for the service of 1796, to the arrears of services in 1794 and 1795. A resolution was passed in 1784, the substance of which was, "that, should a dissolution of parliament take place before the passing of the act of appropriation, the house resolved, that any minister misapplying the funds then granted, should be guilty of a high misdemeanor." The application of the

grants of 1796 to retrospective services fell under this resolution, and had been followed up with still further violations of the law. Mr. Grey's 7th resolution, therefore, was founded upon these observations, and he proceeded to call the attention of the house to the act passed in 1782, in pursuance of a plan of reform, for regulating the office of paymaster-general of the forces. This, he observed, had been repealed from some defect in its construction, and a new one passed under the present minister, intended to remedy the evils arising from balances remaining in the hands of the paymaster-general, and to secure the regular payment of the army. This had been openly violated. In the first account of the application of the vote of credit of 1796, the sum of 430,000*l.* was issued to the paymaster-general, of which a balance of 83,300*l.* was actually now in his hands, contrary to the assurance which had on a former night been given to the house. With regard to the accumulation of balance in the hands of the paymaster-general, the act provided that the sums for the cloathing of the army should be issued periodically; but by the account on the table, from midsummer 1794 to December 1795, no money had been issued for this service; and part of the arrears were discharged from the supplies for the current year; yet no attempt had been made to account for the application of the sum originally diverted. Upon these facts Mr. Grey grounded four more resolutions, and proceeded to consider the disposition paper. This document, he observed, had originated in the extravagant reign of Charles II. and had been established at the Revolution as a real account for the information of par-

liament, how the supplies were employed. This paper he now arraigned as completely false. It stated, that the sums voted for the army, &c. had been issued and applied, where none had been issued, and when that branch of the service was still in arrear. It might be said, this was only a form, and that under this form the paymaster-general received from the treasury the sums required. But would the house suffer the minister to apply the public money as he thought proper, in defiance of solemn enactments of the legislature? On these topics, four other resolutions were founded by Mr. Grey, amounting in all to 15, the last of which stated that "in the instances mentioned, his majesty's ministers had been guilty of presenting false accounts, calculated to mislead the judgment of the house, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a gross misapplication of the public money."

Mr. Pitt observed, that the first resolution stated, that at all times, and under all circumstances, it was the indispensable duty of the house vigilantly to superintend the expenditure of the public money, and to inquire into the application of the grants. That it was the duty of parliament strictly to enforce the application of it to the letter of the act, required, he said, a retrospective authority, which the house had not the means of enforcing. The act of appropriation, he agreed, applied, in binding and specific terms, to the regulation of the payment of the navy and army services. He admitted, also, that ministers did not attend to the minute sub-divisions mentioned in the act of appropriation; they only generally took care that no more should be issued for the army out of the supplies

supplies during the year, than the amount of the sum for which credit had been given. It should be also recollected, that the act had been precisely in the same form since the reign of George I. But admitting the breaches of the act in certain instances, did it follow that ministers deserved the imputation of criminality, and the censure of the house? It was certainly easy to make a charge upon a deviation from the letter of an act: but it was right in the first place to ask, whether the deviation was or was not necessary? whether it was unprecedented or founded on practice? and whether it was clandestine, and done with an intent to deceive, or sanctioned by the decisions of the house? Extraordinaries were allowed by all to be necessary, and certainly never more so than in a war like the present. How were they to be paid for but by withholding some of the payments of the services regularly voted? This was the whole of the subject, as far as principle was concerned. Since the reigns of William and of Anne, nay even in times of peace, there had not been one year in which extraordinaries had not been paid, and the appropriation act consequently violated. Considering the variety of operations to which the views of ministers must be directed in a war like the present, and the necessary changes which must take place, it would ill accord with the public service to bind them down to the strict letter of the act. "So much for guards, garrisons, &c." passed when it was impossible to judge precisely of the proper limitations. He was willing to allow, that the practice formerly existed in sums far short of the present, but not so small as had been stated. In the reign of queen Anne,

between 300,000 and 400,000l. had been incurred; and the difference of the value of money then and now ought to be considered. Extraordinaries were also incurred in the years 1740 and 1741, in the German and in the American wars. In the administration of Mr. Pelham, the expences were paid in a way different from the act of appropriation. In that of lord Wilmington, 1743, a censure was moved against the practice, which was negatived by a great majority. If any censure lay in this case, it was against parliament, not against ministers, who merely carried into effect practices for the service of the country which had been sanctioned by parliament, not only in the above instances, nor even only tacitly and indirectly, but by the report of the committee in 1782, which stated the practice of extraordinaries as a grievance to the house. Even the act of appropriation itself afforded a vindication of the practice, since part of it was to make good several millions of extraordinaries. The practice was further recognized by the pay-office act, and by a transaction in 1782, when the house thought it necessary to vote a sum upon the army account, to give the paymaster a credit, to entitle the minister during the recess to reserve it on account of extraordinaries, and to encrease the credit of the army beyond what was given for the regular service. He admitted that the successful and undeniable defence was the necessity of the case: yet, there were different ways in which the practice of extraordinaries had been recognized. In 1786 and 1791, so far was parliament from shutting their eyes to the extraordinaries, that, in each of these committees, there was an estimate of their probable

bable amount—the one of 260,000*l.* the other of 280,000*l.* arising out of them, and not provided for by parliament; but not one word against the principle. The present ministers, he contended, not only adopted in this instance every beneficial institution of Mr. Grenville, but the measures of colonel Barre. One of the charges against himself, he observed, was, that he had constantly proposed a vote of credit to a greater amount than had been hitherto voted: what was that but a compliance with the regulations of colonel Barre, to endeavour, as there was foreseen a necessity for extraordinaries to a large amount, to estimate the probable amount? Bills of exchange, as they were guided by the local regulations of the places they were drawn at, could not be estimated with precision. Consequently, the charge of not proposing full estimates amounted only to having failed where no man in his senses could pretend to accuracy. That nothing was kept back from the public, he argued, from the vote of credit, which he had pressed to an unexampled extent. Had he gone beyond a probable estimate, there must have been a dead fund provided, greatly to the injury of the public. He lamented, that, partly from the fluctuation in the prices of different articles,—partly from the impossibility of foreseeing many necessary expences,—and partly from the errors in his calculation,—large and heavy extraordinaries were still left. From several circumstances besides the greater extent of the present war compared with the American, and the increased dearness of provisions, there was, he contended, a balance in favour of the present war, and against the American, of 4,500,000*l.*

incurred in extraordinaries. The total amount of the deficiency of the navy and army, and of the unprovided of the ordnance, amounted in the three years of the present war to sixteen or seventeen millions; and in the American war the deficiency amounted to 23,000,000*l.* With respect to the issuing of bills by the paymaster-general, the warrant was strictly conformable to the letter and spirit of the act of parliament. The bank was to keep open a cash account with the paymaster-general; and it was generally understood that the bank would not charge itself with any thing but cash. When, therefore, the exchequer bills were issued by warrant, and came into the bank, they acquainted the paymaster that they could not receive them as cash; the bills were therefore disposed of by him, not out of choice, but necessity. Since that, the bank had agreed to receive them as cash. It had, he observed, been objected, that when the memorials for payment were presented, the treasury had not, according to the statute, complied with the demand. At that time, however, there was no money in the treasury, nor was it possible to make a punctual provision for sums which could not be previously ascertained, and at a time which could not exactly be foreseen, without taking from the establishment, or the sums voted on estimate, those sums which it became absolutely indispensable to apply for that purpose. It seemed but just upon consideration, that if any class were compelled to suffer any temporary inconvenience, it should fall upon those best able to support it. Officers on the staff could not be supposed to want those sums which were absolutely necessary for

for the other classes. It was, Mr. Pitt further stated, impossible to ascertain or meet the public expences by ways and means, however large, as the house had neither the power nor judgment to form an estimate of their amount, — to say what would be the state of the consolidated fund, — what the bank would agree to advance, — or what the loan would produce. Was it, then, any reproach to the treasury not to foresee impossibilities; — to ascertain ways and means which were in their nature unascertainable? The application of the vote of credit to past services was, he contended, just and necessary. Was it meant, he asked, that the army money was not to be used for extraordinaries, and that the exchequer bills were to be paid to a great loss for the purpose of coming within the act of parliament? This, he contended, would be a material disadvantage to the public. He vindicated the disposition paper, as not being in the least more liable to the charge of deceiving parliament than any paper of the same nature since the accession. It had, he stated, been laid upon the table, as a mere matter of course. It was an account of the sums expended for the public service in 1795 to March 1796. It was liable to be taken in two senses: first, with regard to the *items* respectively applied, and a distinct statement of the various heads of service, such as navy, ordnance, &c. and it was true it took notice of every *item* of expence, and drew a total of the whole, under the column of sums granted, and then gave the sums granted, and the sums paid; but in the present instance, instead of any sums being annexed to the *items*, there were only opposite perfect blanks,

Mr. Fox contended, that whoever had heard the defence set up without hearing the accusation, must have thought that the latter was against having incurred any extraordinaries at all; not that they had been incurred improvidently, or had been with-held improperly from the house; or, when incurred and provided for, the money voted for them had not been applied to their discharge. Arguing generally, it was, no doubt, certain, that when necessity demanded, the act of appropriation must be dispensed with; and this sort of argument would apply to any other law; inevitable necessity being an answer to every thing. The case which had been alluded to, and which was debated in 1743 or 1744, when the house had inquired into the disposition of 40,000*l.* only proved, that 145 members of the house thought that the slightest deviation from the appropriation was deserving of censure. But the accusation here was, not that the payment of a particular bill should not be made when it became necessary for the service, but that the extraordinaries had been long with-held from the house. There was, he contended, a material difference between the situation of ministers in the American war and now; it was then totally impossible to put an end to extraordinaries. So far, however, was what had been advanced (*viz.* that the whole of our extraordinaries in three years amounted only to 4,000,000*l.*) from being true, that they exceeded this even in the present year. In the calculation that had been made to prove that the extraordinaries of the American war were greater than the present, deductions, Mr. Fox said, had been made, which had not been allowed in the calculations

lations for lord North; and in illustration of this he stated the sums. The great matter to be explained, he observed, was, why were the sums, voted by the house for extraordinary purposes, not applied to their original destination? Why were they delayed after they were provided for? Why was the payment for the cloathing of the army so long delayed? That the money so voted was applied necessarily to other purposes, was no reason for delaying the payment one hour after the vote for the next supply which included all these allowances, and made up all these deficiencies. The minister answered this, he said, by the avowal of a system which tended to bring our finances into the greatest confusion, that new votes for old demands should, at the discretion of the executive government, be applied to the discharge of still newer demands: so that, to the uncertainty of the application of money there would be no end. The minister ought in future to declare, that though he called for money for a described purpose, he meant to apply it to another. He heartily wished for a system, by which they might understand what was doing, and, if necessary, that the house might vote occasionally so much for the deficiency of supply of each preceding year. It would not be a more substantial violation of the law than the present practice, and certainly would be more intelligible to the public. Without some alteration in the system, neither the house of commons nor the public could ever know that money was applied to the purposes to which the law destined it. The paymaster's act, he must, he said, still contend, had been positively and unnecessarily violated. If the bank

would not receive exchequer bills, why did not government issue money in another way for the purpose for which these bills were issued? Had no arrangement been made with the bank, to what a situation would they have been reduced! Mr. Fox very ably argued against the infraction of the appropriation act, and ridiculed the idea of the conditions of it being stated as impossible to be observed by the very person who had had a share in framing it. The act seemed to be left as a monument of the inefficacy of parliament—a monument of the motives of a man who merely intended to gain a little popularity. Mr. Fox animadverted with much force upon the fatal impressions left upon the minds of the people by measures of this nature. He severely censured the infringement of the paymaster's act, respecting which he asserted no excuse could be offered, as there was no precedent for the breach. It was, therefore, according even to the statement of ministers, knowingly and unnecessarily set aside, and virtually made a sheet of waste paper. Mr. Steele vindicated the proceedings of ministers, and proposed the previous question; which was carried by a majority of 171. Ayes 209, noes 38.

Previous to the above discussion, the report of the committee of supply upon the resolution for granting a subsidy of 200,000*l.* to his Sardinian majesty, was presented to the house, on the 3d of May. Mr. Fox observed, that, from a material change of circumstances, this subsidy did not stand upon the same ground as formerly. It was then understood that he was to co-operate with the allies against France:—he had now manifested a desire for peace. If it was our object to induce

induce him to continue the war, we ought to know whether he conceived himself bound not to make peace without our consent. If he was not bound, it was then a question how far ministers had consented to his attempt to procure a separate peace. It was further necessary to have a previous knowledge, whether he would not be compelled to such a measure, and the more from the unfortunate experience in other subsidiary treaties. Mr. Pitt thought the house bound to accede to the measure, both in point of prudence and honour, from the uniform honour and fidelity of the Sardinian monarch. He denied that this monarch had ever manifested a desire for a separate peace, and affirmed that he had merely in a moment of impending danger stated to the enemy that he would enter into an armistice in conjunction with the emperor, but upon no other conditions. To this, however, the emperor had not acceded, and the negotiation finished. During this intercourse, Mr. Pitt stated, the enemy had acquainted his Sardinian majesty that they would make a separate peace with him, provided he would cede their conquests in his dominions, and unite with them. This, however, with a magnanimity which could never be too highly praised, he had refused.

Mr. Francis observed that it was not necessary to consider how Sardinia had acted four months ago, but what her situation and probable mode of acting now was. Upon the recent successes of the French in Lombardy, must the mode of action of his Sardinian majesty be founded. If the determinations of his Sardinian majesty were founded, as had been stated, upon the pressure of the enemy, it

was reasonable to conclude that he would consider the emergency, more than his magnanimity. He ridiculed the idea of confiding in the magnanimity of the king of Sardinia in such an exigence, and appealed to history for the character of the house of Savoy, which had changed sides as often as its interest or inclination prevailed.

It was remarked by the secretary at war, and by Mr. Pitt, that the vote of the present evening only enabled his majesty to grant the subsidy if necessary; and the second reading was agreed to without a division.

In a succeeding debate on this subject, Mr. Jekyll, after noticing the rapid successes of the French in Italy, inquired whether the money voted as a subsidy to the king of Sardinia was to be paid to him on that score. He thought it idle to call that a subsidy, of which co-operation was not the fruit. If the money voted by parliament was an eleemosynary gift, the house ought to know it; and the people who were drained of such immense sums for foreign princes, who had one by one deserted them, should know in what manner this was to be applied. Mr. Pitt, in reply, stated that it could not be supposed, whatever was the final state of events, that the subsidy would be continued after the secession of his Sardinian majesty; but, upon being further pressed by Mr. Jekyll to state whether the subsidy would be withheld till the reports respecting the king of Sardinia were authenticated, declined a reply, and moved for the order of the day.

On the 10th of May, a very important motion was brought forward in both houses of parliament, respecting a change of system in regard to external politics. That

in

in the house of lords was moved by the earl of Guildford, who noticed the public embarrassment in consequence of the war, and the manner in which it had been conducted, and the duty and necessity of attending to the conduct of ministers. The system which had produced so much misery to the country, ought, he observed, to be completely done away, and a new one adopted, before any benefit could be expected. Little hopes of prosperity could indeed arise, till ministers were persuaded they ought to undo all they had done, and retract every step they had taken in this absurd and ruinous contest. While it was agreed that peace was necessary to our existence, it was melancholy that we had so little chance of obtaining one that was safe and honourable, while the same men were allowed to pursue the same system. Having, the last session, attempted unsuccessfully to convince the house of this, he lamented the necessity of advancing stale and hackneyed topics, such as the conduct of the war,—the incurring it when it might have been avoided, by the treatment of M. Chauvelin,—the neglect to make peace after re-taking the greatest part of Austrian Flanders, and when we had Valenciennes in our own hands. His lordship ably discussed these topics,—the different pretexts for entering into the war,—and the loss to the country of 50,000 lives, and above 50 millions of money. The existence of a republic in France was, he said, urged as inconsistent with the safety of Britain. When Holland was protected, and the Netherlands restored, surely every proper aid was granted that Great Britain pretended to interfere for. But wild thoughts, and heated imaginations, had then led ministers

to think of not making peace till they reached the gates of Paris. The defeats and disgraces that ensued were well known,—the proud confederacy against France dissolved,—and whether we were duped by our allies, or whether we deceived them, was still a question. His lordship reprobated the encouragement given by this country to the war in La Vendée, and its fatal effects upon the West-India expedition. If the change of government in France was to prevent peace, he thought this prevention might last for ever. He took a review of the effects of the war on our internal situation,—the legal restrictions to which it had given rise in the *Habeas Corpus* and Alien bills,—the dreadful effect of the war on our finances already,—the fatal consequence of the expences of another campaign,—and the injury to trade. He censured the long delay between his majesty's message and any attempt to treat for peace, and the mode of treating with Mr. Barthelemi as an awkward attempt. The whole, he said, shewed that it had been the latent motive of ministers all along to deceive parliament, and delude Europe. The resources of the country were, he thought, consolatory, but they might certainly be pushed too far; and warned ministers of the great evils of an unlimited export of money. His lordship concluded by desiring his motion to be read, which was for an address to his majesty, stating the opinion of the house respecting the conduct of ministers in the present war, and ascribing the embarrassments of the nation to their mismanagement; and urging the probability of their continuance and increase, if the same principle should still prevail in the British councils—reminding his
majesty

majesty of the unparalleled prosperity of the country at the commencement of the war, and adverting to the dignity and advantage which might have resulted to the nation from mediating between instead of joining the belligerent powers. The address proceeded to notice the flimsy pretexts which had been pleaded by ministers for entering into the war; their entire rejection of every proposal for an amicable adjustment of differences by negotiation; and in answer to the plea, that the French were the first to declare war, remarked that it was impossible to deny, that the power which shuts up the channel of negotiation must be the real aggressor in war; and to this bar to negotiation, the rupture which followed might be attributed, — that the pretences under which ministers then haughtily refused to communicate, have since been exposed by their submitting to a similar intercourse with the French government, — that the misguided policy which had rendered the war inevitable, appeared to have actuated ministers to continue it at all hazards, — and that their obstinacy in its continuance was not more remarkable than their versatility in the pretexts for its justification. The strength, the weakness, the successes, the mischances of the enemy, or of the allies, had been all urged as motives for continuing the war. The original objects attained, new ones were instituted, — the overtures made by the enemy, even when the circumstances of France were eminently favourable to his majesty and the allies, were rejected unheard, though there was every reason to hope that a negotiation, if then commenced, might have terminated in an honourable peace. — It further insisted that ministers had persisted in a war which could scarce have any remaining object but that of imposing upon France a government disapproved by the inhabitants of that country; yet, unable to frame a wise system of policy, they rejected the advantages that belonged to their own unfortunate scheme. Their design to interpose in the internal government of France was too manifest not to provoke the national zeal of that people; but their projects were too equivocal to attract the confidence, or procure the co-operation of even the disaffected French. — That the house begged leave to represent to his majesty, that many opportunities for a favourable pacification had been lost by ministers, and that from this neglect (of which the address produced several instances) the progress of hostilities had only served to establish the evils which might have been avoided by negotiation, but which were now confirmed by the events of war, and for the prevention of which it was avowedly undertaken. — That the house had felt the sincerest satisfaction from the message which had given them the hopes of a negotiation for peace; but now experienced great sorrow from observing, that three months had elapsed before any overtures had been made to this effect; and that, when taken, ministers, so far from conciliating the French, studiously avoided every acknowledgment of the republic, and the minister through whom the overture was made, was instructed to declare that he had no authority to enter into any discussion of the terms of the proposed treaty. — That the manner in which it was broken off afforded a very unfavourable comment on the reluctance of ministers to enter into it,

it, and was calculated to make a bad impression respecting their sincerity on the people of France; that, on a review of many instances of gross misconduct, proceeding from the same pernicious principles, the house thought itself bound in duty to his majesty, and their constituents, to declare that they saw no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a system radically different from that which had produced the present calamities. The address concluded with a very spirited philippic against the conduct of ministers.

The motion was warmly objected to, not only on account of the nature of the business, but of the great variety of matter it contained, by the lords Sydney, Carlisle, Carnarvon, and Mulgrave. Lord Hawkesbury recapitulated the arguments in favour of the war being unavoidable on our part, and provoked by the wanton aggression of the enemy. He denied that any disposition to make peace had been shewn on the part of France after the surrender of Valenciennes; he dwelt upon the solicitude shewn by the French directory to avoid the title of king in their answer to the ambassador of the Spanish monarch. With respect to the negotiation which had been so much reprobated, he said, the only possible way of negotiating under such circumstances was, to authorize Mr. Wickham merely to put the only questions which could be put to a powerful enemy: "Are you willing to treat for peace on fair and honourable terms? and what are the terms? Will you consent to a congress for the negotiation of the pacificatory terms?"—and "Is there any other mode you like better?" Mr. Barthlemi was, his lordship stated, a

man of such refined address, so well fitted for the diplomatic art, that he would have wormed out of Mr. Wickham all his purposes without in the least committing himself, and it would have been made a handle against negotiating. The answer of the directory clearly evinced they had no real desire for peace: the only way left, therefore, was a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The duke of Grafton supported the motion; reprobated the principle and conduct of the war, and thought peace would not be obtained under the present administration, as they had manifestly wished the utter destruction of the French republic; and therefore, were they even to obtain peace, the people would not be brought to believe otherwise than that it might have been concluded on more advantageous terms by less obnoxious men. His grace adverted to the close of the American war, when the attorney and solicitor general had set a precedent for unsaying what had been said, and undoing what had been done, when the retraction was of use to the country. He lamented the strides, which he thought endangered the constitution and the monarchy itself; the introduction of a military government, which threatened annihilation to the liberties of the people; and the arbitrary controul that ministers had obtained by the prevention of remonstrances to the throne.

The motion was further resisted by the lord president, and earl Fitzwilliam, and replied to, in an animated speech, by lord Grenville. He regarded it, he said, in the light of a pamphlet, intended not to confine its operation to that house, but meant for the public. His lordship justified the war in every stage, and vindicated

vindicated the conduct of ministers in every point on which they were arraigned. The conduct of the French rendered war unavoidable; and, with respect to concluding peace when Holland and the Netherlands were safe, that was under the tyranny of Robespierre. He disclaimed the idea of our only safety consisting in a *bellum ad intercessionem*, but thought the destruction of the republic an event favourable to the interests of both countries: this was not, however, necessary to a peace. His lordship noticed the fluctuations in the French government, which prevented a confidence in their stability even at present, and dwelt upon the dishonour of making any terms separate from our allies. Mr. Wickham was, his lordship said, certainly not authorized to negotiate, nor was there an instance of a person thus authorized in the first instance. He contended for the entire ability of the present ministers to conclude a peace: the parallel, respecting unsaying what had been said, was carried further than it would go; and the answer given by Mr. Barthlemi to the note of Mr. Wickham, discovered that the present orators of the republic retained the ambitious pretensions of their predecessors. The intention of ministers to re-establish the old French monarchy was denied by the earl of Mansfield, who, however, thought that measure not only justifiable in this country, but the most calculated for the happiness of France and of all Europe.

The motion was ably vindicated by the marquis of Lansdowne, who avowed that he had frequently witnessed a variety of motions open to the same objections. No interest peculiarly British, his lordship said, called upon us to continue the
1796.

war, since we were already in possession of nearly all that British avidity could desire; and what was there upon the continent to induce us to persevere? "The good faith of our allies, and the punctual discharge of our engagements," was a language that cost us many millions, for which we had little or no return. National honour could not indeed be maintained too high: but what security of reciprocity had we? His lordship entered into a review of the situation of Austria, to shew the probability of the emperor being compelled to a separate peace. Perseverance in war was, indeed, likely to be ruinous both to that country and this. Another motive stated by his lordship for the necessity of peace, was, that it both were driven to extremities, the relative situation of the two countries would be, that the price of labour in the one would probably be free from imposition, and, in the other, loaded with such a mass of taxes, as must ruin comparatively both trade and manufactures. The principles that the war had been intended to prevent the dissemination of, were, his lordship contended, much more widely diffused by that very measure, and, in fact, were in no place more the objects of general attention, if report might be relied on, than in the electorate of Hanover. With respect to the practicability of obtaining peace, he strongly suspected that there must have been many openings, not probably in the way of official questions and answers, which might certainly have led to so desirable an event, had they met with a corresponding inclination on our part. That this inclination had, as was stated, been manifested by the note of Mr.

K

Wick-

Wickham to M. Barthelemi, he did not agree to; and, in contradiction to this being the general mode of negotiation, he quoted the negotiations which ended in the peace of 1763 and of 1782, both of which were conducted in a mode diametrically opposite. It was difficult to judge of the sincerity of men, and painful to doubt it; but, placing himself in the situation of the French, he should not have thought ministers sincere: and this might account for their answer.

Lord Lauderdale observed that the war had completely failed in the two objects for which it was declared to be undertaken, — the safety of our allies, and the prevention of French principles. He insisted much upon the equivocal appearance of the late negotiation, and observed, that if the republic of France had evinced an enmity to monarchical government by avoiding the mention of the word king, the government of England had with equal care, in the late pretended negotiation, avoided any recognition of the republic, or even the mention of its name. In inveighing against ministers, his lordship severely animadverted upon their treatment of admiral Cornwallis. The court martial against him he considered as capriciously and unnecessarily held; and the acquittal of the admiral as a disgrace to the board of admiralty. His lordship pointedly ridiculed the idea of ministers having quietly abandoned their old ground of objection to negotiate on the score of the rapid succession of rulers in France, and the instability of that government, and having expressed a desire to treat with one of the duration of *five months*. With respect to the length of the motion,

to which ministers objected, for that they might thank themselves. It was a long and black catalogue of their absurdities; and the matters to which it pointed were too important to be abridged.

The lord chancellor strongly objected to the motion, and thought it would have been more consistent with common sense, and answered party purposes perhaps more effectually, to have petitioned his majesty to change ministers so incapable and incorrigibly obstinate. His lordship strongly insisted upon the advantages we had gained in the war, and the flourishing state of our resources! The motion went, he observed, to condemn that very conduct, and those very measures, to the propriety of which the house had so often assented. This was for their lordships to pass a vote of censure on themselves. On a division of the house, there appeared, for the question 10, against it 110.

The same motion, which had been introduced into the house of lords by the earl of Guildford, was brought forward on the same day by Mr. Fox in the house of commons. He began by stating, that, after the disappointments he had incurred in his different endeavours to stop the destructive career of ministers, he should not again have addressed the house, except in expressing his solemn protest against the measures pursued, had not several events occurred during the last year, to alter the sentiments of those by whom he was opposed. The event of the greatest importance was the negotiation at Basle, by the event of which it was ascertained that there was no immediate prospect of peace, and that it was not in the power of those entrusted with the administration of public affairs,

affairs, to obtain terms from the enemy which they could offer to the nation. It could not, therefore, be disputed, that our situation was worse than when, whether by conquest or concession, we had a prospect of peace. Of the circumstances, Mr. Fox said, which reduced us to this situation, he proposed to enter into a detail. Whatever might be urged concerning its not being our business to inquire into the causes of the evil, but to discover and apply the remedy, he would contend that the true way of getting out of difficulty, was to review the causes by which it was produced, and thence to form plans for our deliverance. The corollary of this proposition was, that the house should retrace the steps taken in the present war, and see, whether much of its fatality was not to be ascribed to our own system. He proposed to look retrospectively instead of prospectively. Mr. Fox, in defence of his desire to inquire whether the principles acted upon had not been fundamentally wrong, quoted the argument of Demosthenes; when, speaking of the Athenians, he compared their calamities with the mismanagement of their rulers, and contended that their misfortunes so far from being a cause of despair, were a ground of hope. "If," said he, "they had fallen into these misfortunes by natural and irremediable causes, there might be reason for despair; but if they are the fruits of misconduct, it may be possible by wisdom and prudence to repair the evil." This argument, he thought, applied exactly to us, and there was ground for presumption that the change in our situation in four years had been owing to the con-

duct of those who had the charge of public affairs.

Mr. Fox then reverted to our situation at the opening of the budget in 1792, three years after the French revolution, when the minister stated to the house every circumstance which could prove the utmost national prosperity. He then (said Mr. Fox) admitted, that fifteen years of peace was, perhaps, *rather* too much to expect, but we had as rational hopes of continued tranquillity as had ever existed in the history of modern times. This was full two years after the first revolution; — after the national assembly had compelled the king to come to Paris, which was said to be his goal; — after the national assembly had annihilated the titles, and destroyed the feudal tenures of the nobility; — after it had confiscated the church lands, banished part of the clergy, and compelled the rest to take an oath contrary in many instances to the dictates of their consciences. Even after the flight of the king, all these circumstances were insufficient to cloud the prospect of perhaps a fifteen years' peace. That ministers further saw no probability of a rupture, was to be inferred from our not at first taking any part in the disputes between France and Austria, by whom hostilities had then commenced, and from the measure of funding the four per cents. Thus ended the session of 1792; in the summer vacation of that year, a republic was substituted for a monarchy in France; an act which, however unjust and impolitic in those by whom it was perpetrated, Great Britain as a nation had certainly no concern with. All the events that could be supposed to have influence by ex-

ample upon the constitution of England, had already happened. To the changes that had taken place, those already stated jacobin principles were in full force prior to this event. If then the principles established before the 10th of August were calculated to give ministers confidence in the continuance of tranquillity, the change of that day could not destroy it. Mr. Fox ridiculed the concern expressed for the monarchy of France, whose restless ambition had occasioned the public debt and the national burdens of this country. He thought there was a time, before the war broke out with Austria, when this country might have exercised with effect the dignified office of a mediator, to which it was called by the events of the preceding year. The event to which he principally referred, Mr. Fox said, was the treaty of Pilnitz, by which Russia and Prussia avowed their intention of interfering in the internal affairs of France, if they were supported by the other European powers: this certainly was an aggression against France. This treaty was, he believed, only a menace which the parties did not mean to carry into effect: but that did not alter its effect upon France. This Mr. Fox inferred from the situation of the different courts of Europe, which were so circumstanced that no two of them could act but by general consent.

The dreadful massacres of Paris, which Mr. Fox very feelingly deplored, did not, however, he contended, make any difference in our relative situation: they exactly resembled massacres in former periods, in which Great Britain was more nearly affected, but in which she did not interpose. The invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, which took place in October, was foreseen

in April; would it not then have been wise in this country to have mediated between the two powers, and prevented the invasion? The more the aggrandisement of France was to be dreaded, the greater was the reason for exercising the office of a mediator before the war commenced. Soon after this, Mr. Fox said, the recall of lord Gower from Paris took away every means of explanation and conciliation; monsieur Chauvelin was indeed permitted to continue here, but in a dubious character, and not treated in a way to favour conciliation, which brought him to the immediate causes of the war: these, Mr. Fox said, had generally been reduced to three; first, the way in which certain individuals belonging to the corresponding society were received by the French government: secondly, the decree of the 19th of November: and thirdly, the claims set up against the monopoly held by the Dutch of the navigation of the Scheldt. Respecting the first, no complaint was made, no dissatisfaction stated. Respecting the decree, was it ever complained of? was its revocation, or any explanation of it, ever demanded? This was a circumstance so nearly connected with the existence of government, that he knew not how to separate them. A refusal was made to recognise the government of France; and then all conciliation was at an end. The moment that all means of explanation were withdrawn by the recall of lord Gower, a virtual declaration of war was made; yet, through M. Chauvelin, the French had manifested a strong desire for explanation. All writers on the laws of war, Mr. Fox said, agreed that an insult, an outrage, or even an aggression, was not a legitimate cause of war, unless an explanation is refused. Was there,

there, he asked, a man who believed that if a negotiation had been entered into upon the opening of the Scheldt, matters might not have been arranged? the Dutch did not, however, at the time, think the Scheldt worth disputing about, and, in fact, so little cared for the assistance we forced upon them, that Holland was not conquered by the arms of France, but by the Dutch themselves. It was a reason given against recognising the French republic, that it would offend our allies; would, Mr. Fox asked, our ally of Prussia after swallowing so much of the treasure of this country, have deserted us one day sooner? Had we recognised it, we might equally at this time have availed ourselves of the assistance of Austria.

Mr. Fox next proceeded to a comprehensive statement of the different transactions of the war. Soon after our taking the field, the French were driven from Austria, and Holland was safe, and M. Maret was sent to this country with proposals for peace. These were, however, refused, because ministers had deserted the system of neutrality, and no longer confining their views to the safety of their allies, but infatuated with success, began to seek indemnity. Mr. Fox pointedly censured the want of a determined object, which had appeared on our side in the war; and the contradictory circumstances which this had occasioned. The emperor was taking towns in Alsace in the name of the king of Hungary, while we were taking Valenciennes for the emperor, proclaiming the constitution of 1791 at Toulon, in the name of Louis XVII., and taking possession of Martinique, and summoning Dunkirk for the king of Great Britain. Mr. Fox stated the horrid treatment received by M. La Fayette,

the friend of the very monarch for whom ministers professed to have taken up arms, and the inhospitality practised to M. Lameth: the behaviour of the allies to Dumouriez was, he stated, equally impolitic. It had, he observed, been stated that the sole object of Great Britain was to procure a just and honourable peace, and that this was the object of the consideration of the allies. Why was not that object attempted before the desertion of Prussia and Spain? Their secession might easily have been foreseen, and ought to have been provided against. Mr. Fox entered with his usual ability into the power of the French to preserve peace, but ridiculed the plea of not seeking it till the establishment of a regular government, when they had settled themselves in a permanent government, ascertained the extent and boundaries of their conquests, and given to the territory of other nations the very inherent quality of their own department. He very ably argued against what had so frequently been advanced respecting the decayed resources of France. Whatever had been said, at this time they appeared irresistible. Mr. Fox censured the delay which had arisen between the speech from the throne and any attempt at negotiation. The time for it was, he observed, favourable, as it was in the interval of a campaign. The delay did not however seem to have arisen from a wish to consult with the allies, since it did not appear that they either sanctioned or disapproved the negotiation. He could not, he said, on the whole face of the transaction, putting himself in the place of the French, have thought ministers sincere. The pretence set up by the French, that they cannot give up any territories which have been con-

solidated with the republic, was, he thought, unjust; but it was a circumstance that doubled his indignation against ministers who had brought us into this lamentable situation. A complete change of his majesty's councils was, he thought, necessary, and to bring the counsellors to see the errors of their past conduct. Should the present ministers prove an exception to the rule that no minister who commenced and carried on a war ever made an advantageous peace, they should shew a conviction of their past errors, and renounce the principles on which they have acted, before they can hope to put an end with honour and safety to a war so conducted. We had, he said, completely failed in all the objects for which it was undertaken. Holland was lost, the king of France exiled, and the power and aggrandisement of the republic greater than ever. Of our allies, the king of Prussia has been injured the least; Spain had been forced to make peace; and Sardinia, the very pattern of fidelity, proves also to be an example of misfortune. Russia had indeed suffered nothing: her object was to plunder Poland, in which she had been collaterally supported by England. This, he observed, was a mortal blow to another professed object in the war, the preservation of the balance of power. If the country was now to be saved, it was, he said, necessary to retrace our steps: all other remedies were mere palliatives, and he therefore recommended a complete change of system.

It was observed by the chancellor of the exchequer, that, whatever was our present situation, "it was certainly wiser not to fix our attention on the *past*," but to look to what can and still remains to be done.

With respect to the origin of the war, Mr. Pitt insisted upon the aggression lying on the side of the French, and that this was the general opinion of all candid and impartial men. Instead of the retrospects which had been entered into, it would have been more becoming in a friend to his country to have pointed out the line of conduct which it would be right to pursue; not that he wished, Mr. Pitt said, to evade a retrospect, but because he felt it of more importance to call the attention of the house to the actual state of things which appeared to have been entirely overlooked. The conclusion to which the speech just delivered went, was to record a confession and retraction of our past errors, that we are embarked in a contest in which we wantonly and unjustly engaged, though the defence was in fact such as our dearest interests called for, and such as a regard to justice and to every moral principle legitimated and sanctified. Would the house then rescind all the resolutions it had come to since the commencement of the war? Every proper measure for the attainment of peace must, he stated, have been put in practice by him, not only from motives of public duty, but of the personal ease, and to effect the favourite object he had in view, that of redeeming the public debt, and the 4 per cents. With respect to our having withheld from proposing a mediation, the attempt would have been hazardous, and would only have exposed us to difficulties and disputes, if we were determined, as we ought to be, to enforce that mediation on the parties who refused to admit it. What, he asked, was the great use intended to be made of peace if so procured? Was it fit that we should

should go to war to prevent the partition of Poland, which, however wrong, certainly had no effect in destroying the balance of Europe? The attempt to prevent the partition of Turkey, which at that time was so much inveighed against, was, he said, to prevent the partition of Poland. Reverting to the provocations from France, Mr. Pitt noticed the offensive decree of the 19th of November, and the welcome reception met with in France by seditious persons from this country. The whole conduct of the French towards the people of Holland was, he contended, in direct opposition to their former declarations. The allowed continuance of M. Chauvelin here as long as the king had a shadow of power, and the communication afterwards between the British minister at the Hague and general Dumouriez, afforded many opportunities for conciliation, which were neglected by them, and succeeded by an open declaration of war. With respect to what had been urged of our averiness to treat for peace under both prosperous and adverse circumstances, he would ask whether it was reasonable, when a just hope was entertained of increasing our advantages, to risk the opportunity which those advantages would procure of making better terms; or was it reasonable, when we experienced great and deplorable misfortunes, to entertain a just apprehension of obtaining a permanent and honourable peace, on fair conditions? He allowed we had met with serious and bitter misfortunes in the war, but we had, he contended, considerably by a continu-

considerably by a continu-
contest, by the exhaustion
and the finances of the
the capture of her foreign
and the destruction of
With respect to the ob-

ject of the war, he denied that a restoration of the abuses of the old government in France formed any part of the plan of ministers, though they certainly wished to have one to treat with, in which there should be no jacobin principles. It would certainly, he stated, have been very imprudent in ministers to have sued for peace after the campaign of 1794, the unfortunate event of which turned against us upon as narrow a point as, he believed, ever occurred. Instead of ministers giving way to alarm at this period, they had sent out expeditions to capture the Dutch settlements, which we might either restore to the stadtholder if he was restored, or retain for ourselves. Had terms been then offered, would they have been better than at present? It would certainly have been advantageous to have prevailed upon Spain and Prussia to continue the war till the enemy was brought to terms; but before any blame could attach to ministers upon this ground, it would be necessary to shew, that, prior to their defection, terms were proposed to us which we rejected. The cabinet of Great Britain had certainly no share in the treatment of M. La Fayette, nor were ministers warranted in interfering with our allies on the subject. Without entering into an extended detail of the comparative situation of the English and French finances, Mr. Pitt stated that the derangement of the French armies at the latter end of the last campaign, the exhausted state of their magazines and stores, and their ultimate retreat before the allied powers, furnished a convincing proof that the rapid decline of their finances began to affect in the greatest degree their military operations. With respect to the argument

K 4 drawn

drawn from the distance of time between his majesty's speech and the subsequent declaration to parliament, relative to a want of sincerity in the message delivered to the French minister at Basle, neither the message nor declaration professed any intention in the British government to be the first in making pacific proposals. Neither could any argument of this nature be drawn from our not having acted in concert with the allies respecting the proposals for negotiation. A ready intercourse could not at that time be held with them: but this step was not taken without previous communication. As to no acknowledgment being made of the republic, that was a circumstance which the French did not think necessary, since the directory had answered the note without adverting to it. They must, indeed, have been aware that the proposal to treat implied a recognition. Denmark had not recognized it till the present year. To have proposed terms to the enemy before the assurance of their willingness to treat, would, he thought, have been absurd. As to not having empowered the minister at Basle to negotiate, was it ever known that the person employed to sound the disposition of a belligerent party was considered as a proper minister for discussing all the relative interests, and concluding a treaty? Mr. Pitt strongly insisted upon several other topics, to prove the sincerity of ministers in the negotiation. So far from the enemy rising in their demands on account of their belief of the insincerity of ministers, Mr. Pitt observed, that if they really believed this, their policy would have lain in making just and moderate demands; which, if rejected, would prove that want of candour, and that appetite

for war, which had been attributed to ministers. With respect to the abrupt close of the negotiation, and the open communication of the result, the terms proposed by the enemy cut short all further treaty, and the communication of the result would have at least the important consequence of dividing the opinions of France, and uniting those of England.

Mr. Fox, in reply, asked whether the infamous partition of Poland was, in any respect, to be compared with the circumstances of Turkey, at the moment spoken of: the Turks, after unprovoked aggression, were humbled by the power of the empress; and he had, he said, then reprobated the idea of the arrogant interference of this country, to prevent her from obtaining a just indemnification. The principle advanced, that, no matter for the injustice, since the balance of power remains the same, was, he said, terrible. The effect of the motion was not, he contended, humiliating for the country, but for ministers. He thought, that if the minister would reason from effect to cause, he would find that the French finances were not deranged to the degree supposed, or that they were now re-established. The defence which had been set up of the sincerity of ministers, was, he contended, the best defence of the conduct of the French. Was it to be expected that any regard would be paid to a man who had no authority from the allies with whom we were connected, no authority to make specific proposals? or would the correspondence with Mr. Wickham, which was of a private nature, or any private communication, have been published, had the desire of pacification been sincere? He still considered the recognition of the

the French republic as of the last importance, and much more necessary as a preliminary of peace than the conditional recognition of America during the last war. Since the French had bestowed upon the various republics of Genoa, Venice, &c.

their titles of magnific, doge, &c. &c. they had been on better terms with those states. They had therefore felt from his conduct, that the minister had no serious inclination for peace. On a division for the motion, the ayes were 42, noes 216.

CHAP. VII.

Finances. Mr. Grey's Motion on that Subject. Mr. Pitt's second Budget. Debates on the new Tax Bills. Discussion on the Finances in the House of Peers, by Lords Moira, Grenville, &c. The Earl of Lauderdale's Speech and Motion on the same Subject. Discussion on the Game Laws. The Slave Trade. Bill for rendering permanent the Westminster Police Establishment. Bill introduced for the Relief of the Quakers. Curates' Act. Bill for Relief of insolvent Debtors thrown out. Colonel Cawthorne expelled the House. Dissolution of the Parliament. Its Character.

IN the course of the session, the state of the national finances was very amply discussed; and several alarming facts were brought before the eye of the public. Melancholy experience has since given a sanction to some observations which were at first esteemed as the unsubstantial visions of speculative men; there is, however, much reason to fear that the subject has not even yet been sufficiently investigated, and that from this small but black and portentous cloud in the political atmosphere, a storm will rise, which eventually may overwhelm in ruins the constitution and the empire of Britain.

As early as the 19th of February, Mr. Grey moved in the house of commons for papers relative to the finances; and, on the 10th of March, brought forward a motion on the subject. He observed that it was of the utmost importance to the house to know the real situation of the country; whether we continued to prosecute the present ruinous war, or looked forwards to that most desirable event, a speedy

peace: was that event even arrived, the most rigid œconomy was necessary to us. In order to secure the permanency of peace, a very large naval force would be necessary, not only as France would probably attend with great diligence to the improvement of her marine, but as Russia, ever active, ambitious, and increasing, had incessant views of aggrandisement. On taking the estimate of the three preceding years of the war, we had added 77 millions to the capital of our funded debt; to provide for the interest of which, taxes, in addition to those already laid on, must be imposed to the amount of 2,600,000*l.* This debt, compared with the service performed while it was accumulating, was so enormous as to demand the scrupulous investigation of the house. The present war, either in extent or importance, was far from equal to that under king William.—(Our religion and constitution were then at stake; our all was then equally in peril; and our exertions to preserve it equally varied and extensive. "Let us," he said, "compare the

the present expences with what was then expended, and with the expences of the American war; and it will appear that the present expences exceed those to a degree that will astonish the house, though the profusion prevailing at that time is well known." He proceeded to shew that we were in that war matched with nearly all Europe, besides the vast and distant continent of America. There we had an army of 40,000 men, whilst we supported a vigorous war in the East and West Indies, and at Gibraltar braved the united forces of France and Spain. Yet in six years of that war, conducted as it was with acknowledged prodigality and lavish profusion, we had incurred only a debt of sixty-three millions. He might, he said, be told, that a war like the present called for great expences; and this he allowed: but such expences called for a comparison between the service and amount of the debt, with those of former wars. In the last three years there had been (speaking in round numbers to avoid confusion) incurred a debt for the navy of *fifteen millions two hundred thousand pounds*; for the army, *seventeen millions six hundred thousand pounds*; for the ordnance, *two millions six hundred thousand pounds*. These sums were all voted upon estimate; the real expence was much greater. In addition to this, enormous sums of money had been expended *without the consent of parliament*. The first article to which he called the attention of the house was the navy. In 1782, the speech from the throne, for which the present minister, as he then held his present situation, must be considered as responsible, stated the desire, that an establishment should be made with respect to future debt, which shall

improve the mode of payment; and recommends to their attention the navy and the ordnance, the discount upon navy bills having proved them a ruinous expedient. This had been confirmed in 1783, when the minister had asked for a loan of *four millions eight hundred thousand pounds*; and said he had made ample provision for an extensive scale of expence.

At the beginning of this war the minister had pledged himself, as far as he was able, to keep down the extraordinaries of the navy, and to prevent the accumulation of unfunded debt, as it had been suffered to accumulate in preceding wars. By the accounts on the table, the navy debt was stated at 10,788,000*l.* to this must be added other sums, and it would appear that the excess of expenditure beyond the votes would amount to 13,700,000*l.* With all this, Mr. Grey contended, that the British trade had been more subject to depredation in the present contest than in any other; and that, with respect to the army, we were not in a better situation. The extraordinary expence for this branch of service, above the estimate, exceeded 9,000,000*l.* and the vote of credit was more than double that of any former period: the whole sum expended under this head, not specifically voted for that purpose, amounted, he said, in reality, to upwards of 14,000,000*l.* over which parliament had no controul; for the items had not been previously submitted to it. This system, he observed, had been strongly reprobated under lord North, and that in a committee of which the present minister was a member. He was ready to admit that the increased expences of wars would be in proportion to the increase on other expences; but no advance had taken place

place which could justify the difference of expenditure between this and former wars. In the war of king William, which lasted nine years, the amount was 1,200,000*l.* In queen Ann's war, which lasted eleven years, it was 2,000,000*l.* together they did not amount to one half of the extraordinaries of the present year. Yet even in William's time, a jealous house of commons had investigated public expences. And what was *our* comfort under this expence? not even a single victory. Nor was it true that there was vast difference in the necessary expences: many then were precisely the same as now, and many now were added which were unnecessary. The extraordinaries and the votes of credit in the years 1778, 1779, and 1780, did not amount to within 3,200,000*l.* of the present. Let us compare too the services performed in the American war and now. We had then an army of 40,000 men acting offensively: we acted vigorously in the West Indies: our success at Gibraltar was brilliant. What were the victories of our armies last year? We had a continental army which came home without achieving any thing. We had an army at Isle Dieu and Quiberon: in the West Indies had we an army even to act upon the defensive? In the ordnance, we are told, there had been a great reform and reduction of expence: for this service 2,608,000*l.* was voted on estimate; and from the accounts, the extraordinaries amounted to 2,964,000*l.* To this deficiency every observation made upon the army and navy would apply with equal propriety. This mode of increasing public expenditure was unconstitutional, condemned by parliament, recommended in

the king's speech to be altered, and condemned by the minister, by his repeated promises that he never would yield to such a system; yet this system, so reproached and condemned, was increased every year by that very minister. The total of sums expended without the consent of parliament, he stated at 31,280,000*l.* and with the sums voted by parliament amounted to 66,800,000*l.* funded in the three and four per cents. and spent in three years in the present war of discomfiture, defeat, and disgrace. Besides the unconstitutional mode of obtaining money without the consent of parliament, already mentioned, there were other unconstitutional practices on the part of the executive government: a principal one was the erection of barracks. It was alarming enough to raise money for any purpose without the consent of parliament; but when that practice was growing into a habit, and made use of to invade the rights and privileges of the people, it was not only a breach of duty in a minister to incur such expence, but a still greater breach of duty in that house to suffer it. Since 1790, 1,100,000*l.* had been expended for barracks. This was, however, not the whole; and he had consequently asked for the expence intended to be incurred, and a something to that effect had been laid before the house; and he wished to know whether a greater insult could be offered to it than that of calling upon them for 227,850*l.* more to be advanced on this account? After recapitulating what had been advanced on a former occasion respecting barracks, Mr. Grey observed; that the opinions of our best writers were clearly against their erection, and that they were with propriety termed by judge Black-

Blackstone "inland fortresses." — With respect both to national œconomy and national liberty, they were in the highest degree reprehensible. The conduct of government in the transport service was severely censured by Mr. Grey. Comptrollers, he stated, had been appointed, to go through a part of the fatigue of office; a new board was instituted for this purpose, in which he had been informed there were five commissioners, at 1000*l.* *per annum* each. The debt of the navy, on account of the transport service, he stated at 2,444,000*l.* This, in lord North's administration, had been thought an extravagant estimate for building 70 ships of the line. Yet our trade, notwithstanding these enormous charges, had been ill protected; and when complaints had been made, they were sent from office to office, till those who complained discovered they could have no redress. Admiral Christian was deprived of the means of sailing in the beginning of October, for want of readiness in the ordnance transports. He applied to the secretary at war—he was referred to the transport-office—and then to another department. The minister, he observed, had on a former night unwarily admitted that the vote of credit of this year was to be considered as applicable, in common with other votes for specific purposes, to the current service of the year. This, he contended, was a misapplication and violation of a vote of credit, which was intended to supply unforeseen services. There was still, however, a more forcible objection to the conduct of ministers in raising money. It arose out of the contents of papers, which stated the amount of sums advanced from time to time by the

bank, and outstanding. Money advanced to government by the bank might undoubtedly, he said, receive a parliamentary sanction; but it was a mode of raising money, which had from time to time been limited by the just and constitutional jealousy of parliament. When parliament recognized the establishment of the bank, they did so upon public principles, and purely for the sake of public utility. No maxim was better understood in the house, than "that no advance shall be made to government by the bank in anticipation of the revenue." This prevented the minister from having a command of money without the consent of parliament, and provided that a sufficiency should always remain in the bank to answer those commercial dealings for the sake of which it was instituted. These salutary provisions had never been so much infringed as by the present minister; and his practice had been greatly distressing to the commercial part of the country. He seriously believed this to be the cause of the inability of the bank to assist as usual the commercial credit. December the 31st, 1792, they were in advance to government 11,643,000*l.* and were in advance also upon two votes of credit. The sums stated had been advanced on bills of exchange from the treasury, authorized by a late act of parliament. This practice had been provided against by the act of Will. and Mary; but when a bill upon a vote of credit a few sessions ago passed through the house, a clause was somehow or other surreptitiously introduced, to do away the salutary effects of that act. This was, he contended, an unconstitutional mode of raising money, and noticed, that last year a loan of unusual magnitude.

tude had been raised; — that in September the minister had entered into a negotiation which, in a mercantile house, would have been considered as an act of bankruptcy; — in October had been obliged to meet parliament for a new loan; — and in February had demanded a vote of credit to pay off arrears. While the minister contended that there were only five millions of the navy debt to be funded, ten millions of it were actually floating, seven millions of which ought at least to have been funded. The vote of credit of 2,500,000l. ought to have been provided for. The interest also on exchequer bills was 260,000l. and for the management of the bank in the loan 329,000l. The stoppage of the distilleries could not be less than 600,000l. together with what was to be taken from grants for 1796. The whole would amount to 14,500,000l. which was the least we could expect of service remaining to be provided for. Instead of what was constitutional and what was expected, it would be found upon inquiry, that money was voted and not applied to the services for which it was specifically voted; nay, the provisions of an act of parliament had been infringed. The disposition paper did not give the house an account it could depend upon. The money for paying and cloathing the militia, which had been voted, and ought to have been issued at Midsummer 1794, was now in arrear. He understood, that 8000l. a year was paid to one agent for money advanced to government, and that money was due to staff-officers for duty on the continent. After a series of accurate details, Mr. Grey contended that our peace establishment could not be less than 21,000,000l. a year; — that our

present income could not possibly produce more than 19,500,000l. — that, therefore, should our debt be no further increased, we should have to provide annually by taxes 2,500,000l. more than we pay already. Mr. Grey called upon the house, by the most powerful arguments, to enter into the inquiry he was about to propose, and to “dread the overgrowing influence of a minister, whose conduct was hostile to the principles of our constitution, and whose influence it was their duty to destroy.

*Non hydra scisso corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem.”*

He concluded by moving that the whole house should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the state of the nation.

Mr. Jenkinson contended, in reply, that the present posture of affairs afforded no ground for such an inquiry, and that, without such as were peculiarly strong and substantial, there were many objections to one being instituted. With respect to the comparative expence with other wars, every war was more expensive than the war preceding it; and, according to the wealth, prosperity, and extent of the nation, this was an inevitable consequence. If, at present, the prices of provisions, &c. were nearly doubled to individuals, must they not be equally so to government? Must not our expences and exertions also keep pace with those of the enemy? If the war was just and necessary, — which he should always maintain, since it had been sanctioned by parliament, — then he did not see why the expence of the war, which was also sanctioned by parliament, should be a sufficient ground for inquiry!!! The statements of Mr. Grey respecting the American

American war were, he contended, erroneous, and the expences of France exceeded ours by several millions. The four last years of that war, the money borrowed, together with the unfunded debt, amounted to 64,500,000*l.* and estimating the expences of the present

war at 51,000,000*l.* there was a balance in favour of the present argument, of 13,500,000*l.* The revenues of the country were stated by Mr. Jenkinson as in the most flourishing state: and, with respect to its commerce, he said,

The exports, taking the three last years of peace, the greatest period of commerce the country ever knew before, the average of each year was

£.22,585,332

The average of the last three years of the present war,

24,453,338

So that the exports of the war exceeded those of the best years of peace; annually,

1,868,000

Exports of the average of the three best years of peace as before,

19,286,000

Average of the three last years war,

20,964,333

The excess of the war over peace,

1,678,333

The money borrowed during this war, in proportion to that borrowed in the American war, was at an advantage of one and a half per cent. in favour of this country. At the close of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, the funded debt was eighty millions; at the end of the next war it was 140 millions; which, if the present plan of funding one per cent. had been in practice, would not have been in existence at this time. This appropriation of a million annually was calculated to preserve individual liberty, the constitution, and the very existence of the country; and the plan of paying off the national debt produced a saving to the nation sufficient to pay the interest of the debt incurred in the prosecution of this just and necessary war. The funded system adopted by the present minister would certainly leave a balance in our favour, however great might be the expences of the war. The exertions of ministers, he contended, were fully proportioned to their

expences. In the American war there were 314 ships in commission; now there were 368, and those larger; and our troops, amounting to 217,206, were far more considerable than in any former war; our exertions were greater than had ever before been experienced, and the expence of subsidies not at all too much, considering the benefit to be derived from them. There was, indeed, a large unfunded debt; but that was provided for in the ways and means of the year. Considering the different quarters in which the war was carried on, it was impossible to present more satisfactory estimates: this, and the complication of estimates, fully justified raising sums without the authority of parliament! Mr. Jenkinson strongly defended the system of barracks, as proper to be carried to its utmost extent. With respect to what we had gained in the war, he adverted to the distressed state of the French navy, the acquisitions in the East Indies, the Cape of Good

Good Hope, the Dutch settlements, St. Domingo, Martinique, and Corfica. He contended, that, instead of our having degenerated from the constitutional jealousy of our ancestors, a larger confidence had been given to ministers under George I. and II. than at present. A million and a half had been raised for secret-service-money for ten years, and no proceedings passed upon it; and afterwards, when parliament required an account of it, the ministers advised the king to refuse it. Mr. Jenkinson concluded by moving the order of the day.

The arguments of Mr. Grey were ably seconded by Mr. Curwen, who insisted upon the propriety of an inquiry into the expenditure of public money for the satisfaction of the public at large, by whom that money was raised. The acquisitions to the country, which had been so much insisted upon, he was far from considering as advantageous to us, as he was entirely of opinion that colonization tended to weaken a country, and would finally terminate in ruin. The result of an inquiry into the waste of men and money in our different expeditions, would fully prove that these had been no advantage to the country. After entering at large into what appeared to him to have been the misconduct of ministers, he thought, that, should they persist, they would compel the people to speak for themselves, not from any love of French principles, but from the burthens under which they groaned. The inquiry was further supported by Mr. M. Robinson and Mr. Martin. It was opposed by Mr. Steele, Mr. M. Montague, and Sir G. Page Turner, who elegantly observed, that it was not our business to confess our poverty, nor to

spoil our own trade by crying *sinking ship*. Mr. Steele admitted that the expences had exceeded the estimates, though not to the extent which had been stated. The navy estimates, in the three years of the war, were about 15,000,000*l.* the debt, during the same period, was about 13,000,000*l.* but this could not be said to be incurred without parliamentary sanction. The sum usually allowed *per man*, since the revolution, had not for some time, even in peace, been found sufficient. The minister, therefore, after the first year of the war, had stated this debt, and had since continued to do so, together with the means for discharging it. The whole of it, except one million and a half, had already been provided for; and the house, by its proceedings upon this statement, had fully sanctioned the transaction. The real amount of the extraordinaries of the army was, he contended, only 7,500,000*l.* Whatever disregard to the appropriation act had been charged to the present minister, the same practice had been constantly in use in 1782, and for years antecedent to the passing of that act. The provision of the present year, for the re-payment of 2,600,000*l.* to the army service of 1795, with the addition of the further extraordinaries to be voted, he was ready to pledge himself, would be more than sufficient to pay the army without leaving sixpence in arrear. Large arrears had indeed been due to the staff; but there only remained 1900*l.* unpaid for 1793, and 16,000*l.* for 1794. Though he admitted it had not been usual to pass a vote of credit so early, yet it had been applied six months previous to the grant. In regard to barracks, 610,000*l.* had been expended, and 150,000*l.* more was necessary

necessary for their completion; in this were included beer, forage, &c. Of the six millions issued for the discharge of the unfunded debt, five millions and a half were in circulation before the war. On comparison of this with any former war except 1778, there would, he said, be found little difference in the expence.

Mr. Grey, in reply, enforced his former arguments, and thought much of what had been urged was irrelevant to the subject. With respect to the provision said to be made for the navy debt, he observed that there had been no explanation in what it consisted. No permanent taxes had been provided. The lottery, he observed, was a fund in its nature so unfixed, that it could not be regarded as available for more than incidental claims and emergencies. This sum of five millions was, therefore, he contended, a part of the unfunded navy debt, and his statement perfectly accurate. With respect to the army, the statements, he admitted, were nearly just; but there was a saving of 1,500,000*l.* which, applied to the army debt, formed a deduction from it to that extent. Admitting this as a proper deduction, there remained a debt of seven millions and a half, consequently an excess of two millions and a half above the debt in the American war. But this deduction could not be made; for, were the arrears paid, the debt would be according to his statement. A vote of credit was not, as had been stated, an authority to raise a sum which might be applied at the discretion of ministers. The act stated that it was for the ensuing year, and for prospective unprovided services; nor would he admit of a construction which violated both

the letter and spirit of the act. An application contrary to the enactment of a bill was a fraud and a falsehood. The act of appropriation expressly directed the application of sums to particular services, to which ministers paid no respect. A resolution of the house, May 15th, 1711, strongly expressed disapprobation of 6000*l.* having been taken from the navy fund by the minister, to supply the army; and stated such a diversion of the public money as lessening the credit of the navy. What ought, then, to be the dissatisfaction of the house, to behold a system of uniform violation of every act of appropriation, and to an extent the most alarming? Other acts were also violated. From the disposition paper, it appeared that certain sums had been issued for particular services, while it was notorious those very services were unpaid. This was the case with the money for cloathing the army, in which a balance of 16,000*l.* was due from midsummer 1794. With respect to the bank, nothing had been said. His original statement respecting barracks was, he contended, just; and 22 millions of permanent revenue would be necessary to provide for the interest of the national debt with the accumulated expences occasioned by the war. On a division for the order of the day, moved by Mr. Jenkinson, the ayes were 207, noes 45.

Notwithstanding the ruinous state in which the finances of the country were evidently involved, in the month of April two strange though not unexpected political phænomena presented themselves, to alarm the thinking part of the British senate: these were a second budget, and a second loan, in the same session.

The

The chancellor of the exchequer on the 18th of that month brought forward his second budget. He proposed that measure, he said, with a considerable portion of anxiety and solicitude; and after revolving it in his mind with care and deliberation, he approached it with a sincere and rooted confidence in the resources of the country, which he believed to be sufficiently abundant to disappoint the proud and presumptuous expectations which France had founded upon a contrary supposition. He divided the general discussion which he submitted to the consideration of the house of commons, into three distinct heads:—

First, the substitution of such new ways and means as he should suggest in lieu of those proposed before Christmas, which, after due inquiry, he had thought it policy to relinquish:

Second, the statement of such services as had not been foreseen in providing for the services of the year, and in proposing to the committee the means of meeting those services:

Third, the measures that he thought it would be advisable to adopt, in order to remove the distress occasioned by the temporary demand for money, and in order to give facility to commercial credit.

Under the first head Mr. Pitt observed, that, in stating the ways and means in December, he had mentioned his intentions of providing taxes for a calculated yearly revenue of 1,120,000*l.* of which £.135,000 was to arise from a certain tax on printed cottons and calicoes; but it had been since thought advisable to withdraw it. As a substitute to the amount of the greatest part of the deficiency occasioned by the withdrawing of this tax, he should propose a tax on dogs;

a measure first brought forward by Mr. Dent, which he calculated to produce 100,000*l.* a year. This sum, deducted from the amount of the deficiency arising from his relinquishing the proposed tax on printed cottons, left 35,000*l.* for which he proposed to provide after the following manner: The duty on hats had been found to decline yearly in its produce since its first institution, on account of the facility of evading it. He therefore proposed a mode of collecting it, as simple as it was likely to be effectual, which was, that, instead of being collected by a stamped paper, which was easily separated from the hat, it should be collected by a stamp upon the lining of the hat, in a way which would make it impossible for the wearer not to know whether he had or had not paid the duty. This regulation he estimated to produce 40,000*l.* per annum more than the old mode of collecting that duty; which, added to the dog tax, would produce 140,000*l.* This sum was more than sufficient, he observed, to supply the deficiency occasioned by abandoning the tax on cottons.

For the sake of uniformity, we shall here state the remaining tax which the minister this day proposed, viz. a new duty on wine. He contended, that, supposing the new duty which he was about to impose should contribute towards the diminution in the consumption of wine, it would naturally lead to an increase in the consumption of other liquors, which might be more beneficial to the country in other respects, and perhaps equally productive to the revenue. As to the danger of a decrease in the consumption, he felt no anxiety on that account, because he found that the last tax, instead of operating to

promote that decrease, had, on the contrary, been attended with an increased consumption of that article. He proposed to the house a tax which would make an addition of sixpence a bottle to the consumer. This would amount to 20l. per tun, exactly the same as the former tax, and would produce annually 600,000l. As he wished for a sum of ready money to pay the bank their share of the navy debt, &c. he should make it attach, like the former tax, immediately on the vender according to his stock in hand, which he calculated to produce between 350,000l. and 360,000l. From 900,000l. to 1,000,000l. would therefore be the produce of the present year towards the sum permanently necessary to defray the sum borrowed; a considerable portion would not be paid in the present year, particularly on extraordinaries; there would therefore be a large surplus of cash in the present year, applicable to the purposes hereafter to be mentioned.

Upon the subject of a *scarcity of money*, the chancellor of the exchequer allowed there had existed an inconvenience from the increased demand. This scarcity, he contended, was rather the result of the increased commerce of the country than of its decrease, and of the poverty of the nation. One of the causes of the present temporary scarcity was the support of our foreign allies, and our army extraordinaries: but there were other causes not connected with the difficulties of the country, but connected with its large growing resources and rich increasing prosperity!!! It was a well known fact to *deep and acute politicians*, that the circulating medium of a country must bear a certain proportion to the extent of

active capital, and to the extent of commercial speculation. The remedy he proposed for this scarcity of cash, was the funding of the unfunded debt, because, under such circumstances as the present, there would naturally be a considerable demand for discount at the bank, and the large unfunded debt would make it impossible in the bank to supply the merchants so much in advance, as they might do if the debt were funded. He therefore proposed the funding of 3,500,000l. of exchequer bills, for which an additional interest of two and a half per cent. would be to be provided, and also to find cash for the 500,000l. of navy bills held by the bank. The seven millions and a half, which he proposed to raise, would be applicable to assist the bank, whilst it provided for the different services incurring and incurred. He observed that the two objects of providing for the remaining service existing or foreseen, and for giving that relief necessary from the general state of credit, would produce an increase of interest of the annual sum of 575,000l. a year. It was therefore important, for the purpose of raising the just hopes of this country, and of diminishing the hopes of our enemies, that we should shew that our resources were equal to meet the service and all the exigencies of the present year.

The chancellor of the exchequer also stated to the committee the increased charges in the *army, ordnance,* and *navy*, which it might be necessary to provide for, and which had occurred since the statement of the budget at Christmas; as also the services which were not at that time foreseen, and the mode which he meant to propose for defraying them.

That

That mode, he said, was connected with another object, viz. that of giving relief to the general state of credit in the country, and to the demand for accommodation in the commercial world. The measure was to take out of the mar-

ket a great proportion of the paper constituting the unfunded debt, and by that means to relieve the bank from the advances which they had made, so as to enable them to allot a larger sum of money to commercial discounts.

Charges to be provided for, and which had occurred since the statement of the first budget.

Of services not provided for under the head of army extraordinary, which had occurred since the 31st of December

£.535,000

Of ordnance

200,000

The additional sum required for building barracks, estimated at

267,000

The sum for secret service, above the sum included in the last estimate, and including relief for the clergy of France.

100,000

And the sum which, in the last statement, the ways and means were short of the supply

177,000

These services made together

1,279,000

To which he added a sum which he felt would be necessary to make good the further army extraordinary up to the end of the year 1796

1,221,000

Making, in all, of new services above the statement opened in the month of December last for the services of the current year, the sum of

£.2,500,000

He next proceeded to the provision which it was necessary to make for the funding of such parts of the increase of the navy debt during the war, as had not been provided for in the course of the preceding years, and not to leave any which had not been provided for of that debt incurred since the commencement of the war, or rather since the first of December 1791.

The sum for which interest was found in the course of the year 1795, amounted to 3,594,000l. because it had been the custom always to make provision in the pre-

ceding year as far as may be calculated; to that must now be added 1,640,000l. of navy debt already incurred.

He next stated what debt it might be found necessary to incur, supposing the war to continue to the 31st of December 1796. He had mentioned it before Christmas as likely to amount to 2,500,000l. but as that debt had stretched out by the operation of unforeseen causes to the amount of above 1,600,000l. more than was then expected, the other additional expences of the present year he esti-

mated at 1,500,000l. which, in addition to the former computation of 2,500,000l, would produce a navy debt, up to the 31st of December 1796, of 4,000,000l; and he further remarked, that though he had stated a farther increase of the extraordinaries of the army to the amount of 1,200,000l. yet, if under all the circumstances a further increase of 800,000l. should be unexpectedly incurred, he begged to inform the committee that there were resources to provide for the whole amount.

He next observed, that, as it became necessary, under the present circumstances, to diminish the unfunded debt, by taking 3,500,000l. in exchequer bills out of the market, it became also necessary to borrow

that sum. Interest for this sum, to the amount of three and a half per cent. had been provided already; but in order to fund this debt, it was necessary to provide two and a half per cent. to make up the deficiency of the interest; this two and a half per cent. upon 3,500,000l. would amount to 87,500l.

There was one more contingent service which he mentioned as likely to occur in the present year: this was a probable allowance of 1,000,000 for bounties on corn to be imported. He told the committee that he had no doubt but that we might now look annually to the East India company for the 500,000l. which had been set down as the estimated participation of the public in their profits.

From the foregoing heads, the sum to be permanently charged upon the country was as follows:

The interest of the sum of 2,500,000l. of services added to those in his former statement, including the one per cent. towards the sinking fund, was	£.150,000
The difference of the interest on the navy debt unfunded was	98,400
Interest on the 4,000,000l. of navy debt	240,000
The difference of the interest on the sum of 3,500,000l. of exchequer bills above the rate of interest already provided for them	87,500
Making all together the annual sum to be provided for by taxes, of	575,900

And the amount of the money to be raised by loan in order to make the operation immediate for the benefit of the commercial world, and to be appropriated in the manner which he had stated, was this:

The amount of the extraordinary services for the year 1796, was	2,500,000
The sum of exchequer bills to be bought from the bank, or from the market, was	3,500,000
The sum of navy bills to be bought from the bank was	500,000
And the sum to be repaid the bank for the advance they had made in exchequer bills, on the security of the consolidated fund, was	1,000,000

Making together the sum to be borrowed by a new loan, of £.7,500,000

The

The chancellor of the exchequer stated to the committee the terms upon which he had been enabled to raise so large a sum of money as this second loan of seven millions and a half. These were as follow :

£.120 0 0	3 per cent. consols. at 67l. amounting to	£.80 8 0
25 0 0	3 per cent. reduced at 66l. - - -	16 10 0
5 6	Long annuities, which at $18\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase, amounted to - - -	5 1 9
		<hr/>
		£.101 19 9
		<hr/>

By this bargain, he said, the *bonus* was only 1l. 19s. 9d. the least, he believed, that had ever been given for any loan in this country.

To this was to be added half the usual discount, in consequence of the more rapid payment of instalments, which were all to be completed in half a year from the present time. The amount of the discount, which might be stated at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, or at the rate of about 1l. 7s. being added to the surplus, above the state of the funds, made, in the whole, a *bonus* of 3l. 6s. 9d. He contended that the facility with which this money was raised demonstrated the flourishing state of our resources, and the confidence of the monied men. He said, the imports and exports in the most flourishing year of peace in this country, in 1792, amounted to 29,509,000l. and in the year 1795, the third year of the war, they amounted to 27,270,000l. This, he said, went beyond the theoretical speculations of gentlemen on the other side of the house, and spoke the true state of the country to Europe and to the whole world. He pointed out the sinking fund as an increasing sum of gradual liquidation, which would save to the country a perpetual tax of 4,000,000l. for the expence of this

war, and convert it into an annuity that must be redeemed in 40 or 50 years. He could not, he said, resist the impulse he felt to shew that nothing should discourage us from *persevering in a war whose end was so laudable*, and which involved our dearest and most complicated interests. He did not mean to allude to a late transaction, the proposal of Mr. Wickham to the directory; but he was convinced, from the abject manner in which the resources of this country had been stated by gentlemen, that the enemy considered themselves warranted in keeping up their haughty tone, in dictating terms to this country. He pointed out the ruined state of the finances of France, and concluded by exclaiming, "The ultimate issue of the contest *must be glorious*, if we are not wanting to ourselves! We shall, by the blessing of providence, deliver ourselves from the worst of dangers, and at the same time transmit to posterity a most useful lesson, that a bankrupt, turbulent, and lawless nation, cannot measure itself with the spontaneous and well-regulated conduct of a *free* and loyal country!!!"

The subject of the second budget produced a long and ardent debate. Mr. Grey took the lead on the opposition side of the house.

He said, that if Mr. Pitt had come forward to state that by a diminution of the expence of the public service, an alleviation of the public burdens was become practicable, instead of coming forward with a budget for the *third time* in the space of fourteen months, then he might, with some degree of justice, have assumed the air of triumph with which that evening he had so vainly attempted to cover his inability and misconduct. On that day of humiliation to the country, the house had some reason to expect a confession of contrition becoming his situation. He had been obliged, however, to confess, if not in words, at least virtually and in effect, that formerly he had not *fairly* and *candidly* unfolded the true state of affairs; — to avow to that house of commons which had dismissed, without inquiry, every proposition that had been stated, every fact that had been maintained upon the subject of finance, that it was now necessary to adopt some measure to remedy the mischiefs which the folly of his conduct had occasioned, and to acquiesce in the existence of evils, which, but for the prudent conduct of others, might have produced the most fatal consequences.

The bank, by withdrawing their discounts, had forced him to the declarations he had just made, which ought to convince the house of their error, in having reposed such implicit confidence in his former statements. Mr. Grey then observed, that in some instances the arguments of the chancellor of the exchequer, respecting the flourishing state of our commerce, were fallacious. It was no uncommon practice, to prevent mistakes, for merchants to enter the goods which

they export, oftener than once; and when it was taken into consideration, also, that the amount of the exports was considerably increased by the expenditure of the war itself, his reasoning upon this head would not prove so satisfactory as the house at first might be apt to conclude. But, however that might be, an increased commerce afforded no excuse for an increased extravagance; nor would it ever supersede the necessity imposed upon that house of inquiring into the amount and the fairness of the burden to which their constituents were subjected.

Mr. Grey then proceeded to take notice of the expences incurred since the opening of the budget, and the means which had been proposed for defraying them. With regard to the tax on dogs, as a substitute for one on cottons, if it would produce 100,000l. a year, he had no objection to its taking effect. He was struck with surprise at the estimates for unprovided services, which had occurred since the last budget. The additional extraordinaries of the army were estimated at 535,000l. the demands for the ordnance at 200,000l. the expence of barracks at 267,000l. the deficiency of the civil list, arising from sums applied to secret services, at 100,000l. and the estimated deficiency of taxes at 177,000l. amounting in all to 1,279,000l. In February 1795, he said, the chancellor of the exchequer received a loan of unparalleled extent. In September he was obliged to have recourse to new and unusual modes of raising money. In December he came forward with a budget, in which he assured the house and the country that he had made abundant provision

son for all the expenses of the ensuing year. Since that time no unforeseen necessities had arisen, no new demands had occurred, to justify the imposition of fresh burdens upon the people. Mr. Grey then went into an examination of the statement which Mr. Pitt had given of the unfunded debt, in which he pointed out much fallacy and error. In 1794, he said, there was funded about 1,500,000*l.* and in 1795, 1,600,000*l.* and on the 31st of December last, there remained due for navy service, 12,335,000*l.* including 10,350,000*l.* incurred in the course of the last year: so that though the taxes proved as productive as was expected, there would be left unprovided for, instead of 1,640,000*l.* near 7,000,000*l.* This event, however, rested upon the supposition of the taxes answering the minister's expectation; which was much to be doubted. He urged that the expectations of the chancellor of the exchequer upon the produce of the wine tax were unwarrantably high; he thought that as much wine would not be consumed as before.

He next called upon the committee to go into an inquiry into the state of the finances, and said, that if the honourable gentleman, instead of fine speeches, would only furnish him with a few papers, he would pledge himself to shew, notwithstanding the enormous loan of twenty-five millions which had been voted that he had not pro-

for the outstanding
n re-stated what he
n a former occasion
ence establishment,
now be estimated
millions. "Now,
for a moment," said
he means we have
establishment. The

net produce of the taxes last year amounted to 15,735,876*l.* which, together with the land and malt, estimated at about 3,000,000*l.* will make out a standing annual revenue of 19,000,000*l.* still leaving 2,500,000*l.* a year to be provided for by annual permanent taxes."—He deprecated comparisons between the situation of this country and that of France, as infallibly leading to error, as a means which had deluded the people of this country into a contest, conducted without ability, and not to be terminated by the present ministers with honour. He concluded with pledging himself to the house, if they would go into a committee of inquiry, to prove that the interest of the public debt, to a great amount, still remained unprovided for.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied to several of the observations made by Mr. Grey. The latter had asserted that the navy debt incurred in 1795 amounted to near 10,000,000*l.* Mr. Pitt maintained, that instead of such increase, the sums incurred for that period amounted only to 6,000,000*l.* the interest of which had been provided for. The navy debt for 1796, the minister calculated at 4,000,000*l.* but Mr. Grey estimated it at double that sum. This was a proposition to which Mr. Pitt could not agree; but allowed there might be *some* variation in the navy debt, more or less, not, however, to an amount so great as 4,000,000*l.* He called the attention of the house to the prohibition of the distilleries, which occasioned a falling off, on an average, of one-third of the duties; but this accidental defalcation would be retrieved; and the duties, on the fair average of four years previous to the last year, were in a progressive state of improvement. Mr. Pitt

concluded with entering into a detail to shew that Mr. Grey had miscalculated the probable peace establishment, and vaguely asserted that there were resources sufficient to answer all future demands which could be foreseen.

Mr. Fox supported, with his usual ability, the same side of the question as Mr. Grey, and agreed with the generality of the exceptions taken by him to the statements of the chancellor of the exchequer. He said that much vehemence of language had been employed upon former occasions to shew to that house the desperate situation of the French finances. The minister had exclaimed, "Hear what the French say themselves, and see whether they are not in their last agony!" The house had been told "that the French were not on the verge but in the *gulph* of bankruptcy." God forbid, said Mr. Fox, that we should fight a country under the hope, and no other, that such a country was in the gulph of bankruptcy: nothing could be obtained from such a contest. By such folly we had added to the capital of our enormous debt from thirty to forty millions in the course of little more than a year. These very people of France who were in the gulph of bankruptcy a long time ago, had made it necessary for the minister to borrow 7,000,000*l.* more in the course of one session than he said he had occasion for when he brought forward the summary of the public expenditure. Mr. Fox took notice also of the arrears which government had incurred in various branches of the public service. He understood, that, even in the smallest pensions, government were in arrear. Even the miserable pittance which was

allowed to the French emigrants, who existed from day to day upon that pittance, and whom we had so scandalously deluded, was not punctually paid.

Mr. Alderman Newnham rose, not to oppose any part of the minister's speech, but to make some observations upon the loan. It was to all intents and purposes, and contrary to the approved system, a *shut up* and *close* loan; a competition had been, to his own knowledge, offered by fifteen or sixteen respectable houses in the city; and they had received no answer, nor any reason why their offers were not attended to. Messrs. Boyd and Benfield seemed to have a sort of claim from the terms of the former loan; but while they insisted on this claim for themselves, they denied it to others who had been subscribers to the former loan; thus refusing to persons equally entitled what they claimed to themselves.

Mr. Grey approved of what had fallen from the alderman; and, to use a fashionable phrase, he should like to know when the *Loan Leviathan* was to be satisfied, or how long he was to have loans upon his own terms. Mr. Grey here alluded once more to the difference between Mr. Pitt and him, on the amount of the peace establishment, the navy debt, and the misapplication of money,—contending that his statements were established by facts, and the right honourable gentleman's only rested on speculation. He insisted, that, when money was voted by parliament for any specified purpose, it was a gross violation of law to appropriate it to any other; and the person who did so ought to be subject to an impeachment.

Mr. Sheridan concurred in the obser-

observations made upon the state of the finances by Mr. Grey, and contended, that, upon the event of a peace, new taxes would be necessary for more than three millions; and, instead of the usual peace establishment of seventeen millions, he could prove, did not the lateness of the hour prevent him, that our future peace establishment would amount to no less a sum than twenty-three millions.

General Smith asserted that the East-India company would not be able to pay annually the sum of 500,000*l.* He also pointed out the spirit of disobedience and discontent which had been generated in the army in the East-Indies by our late regulations.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, that, when the East-India finances came under discussion, the general would have a fair opportunity of stating the inability under which he supposed the East-India company to labour. He denied the other insinuations thrown out respecting the disposition of the army in that country.

The resolutions were at length put, and agreed to without a division, and the report ordered to be received on the following day.

On the 19th of April, previous to the report of the committee of ways and means being brought up, Mr. Grey rose to ask some explanations from the paymaster of the forces respecting the expence of temporary barracks. He found it stated that 314,000*l.* had been employed entirely in this service, in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey. And yet he saw a kind of distinction drawn in the accounts between barracks and temporary barracks. He found the estimates of Guernsey and Jersey put at 64,000*l.* and agreeable to the sort of

distinction alluded to, only about 5000*l.* had been stated as the expence of temporary barracks. In the same way in England, out of 250,000*l.* expended, he only found 9,500*l.* put under the head of temporary barracks. The excess must therefore have gone in support of permanent barracks. He said he could not rest satisfied with the official returns made to the house. Forty-eight thousand pounds had been submitted in February last, as the extra-expences from June 1792 to December 1795; and afterwards an account was brought forward, amounting to 243,000*l.* as the actual extra-expence of 1795.

To these observations Mr. Steel replied, that out of 314,000*l.* given in estimates, 246,000*l.* had been expended in temporary barracks in England, together with 4000*l.* of contingent expences. In Guernsey and Jersey, for the same article, 64,000*l.* amounting in the whole to the sum estimated. These accounts were furnished in consequence of his orders to the barrack-master; and he could not further account for their inaccuracy, though he was ready to confess his own belief that they were fair and accurate. He observed that he might, consistently with his place, decline giving any answer to the questions which had been put to him, if he did not feel himself called upon from respect to the character of ministers. Mr. Grey said that another day he should have occasion to go at large into the business.

Mr. Hobart then brought up the report of the committee of ways and means; and, upon the first resolution being put, Mr. William Smith stated that he intended to have made some observations upon the terms of the loan the preceding night, but was prevented by the length

length of time occupied by other gentlemen. He argued that the bargain for the old loan, for so it was to be distinguished, although so recently contracted for, was half a million unfavourable to the public, inasmuch as three *per cent.* more was given to the contractors than another gentleman would have taken it at, and the *bonus* upon it was exactly 3 *per cent.* more than upon this second loan. It was necessary to inquire under what circumstances both the loans were bargained for, that the profit should be so much more at one time than another. If the parties who purchase a loan give less for one in April than they did in the preceding December, it was necessary to account for it. A premium of seven *per cent.* came out in the market upon the loan bargained for in December, without any rise in the funds. It was true, the chancellor of the exchequer had given the market a temporary rise, by bringing down the king's message immediately after the loan was contracted for; but this favourable hope was of short duration; and at the time the new loan was made, the hope, which had been afloat ever since, was entirely destroyed by the answer of the directory respecting peace. Mr. Smith used many strong and urgent arguments, to prove that a better bargain upon the old loan might have been made; that if ministers had gone to open competition upon the old loan, they might have had it taken off their hands by the very same contractors, on the identical terms they had taken this last loan.

Mr. Pitt said he was extremely happy to find that the merit of the present loan received the approbation of so nice a critic; and therefore, since they were unanimous, he

concluded, the best way would be to put their unanimity into practice, and pass the resolution. Respecting the terms of the former loan, he was guided in his judgment by a general view of the circumstances existing at the time. Those circumstances were such as induced him to give the contractors a higher *bonus* upon the loan of December. He was aware of the reserve of unfunded debt, and had some idea of an imperial loan, whence he had expected a fall in the stocks from one and a half to two *per cent.* which certainly would have been the case, if his majesty's message had not arrived at the time it did, and of which he had then no apprehension. This made the difference between that loan of eighteen millions, and the present one of seven and a half. If he had known beforehand that the stocks had shewn a tendency to rise, he should certainly have made the premium less.

Mr. Francis noticed in pointed terms the two acts of parliament which had been passed in that session, to enable government to issue 3,500,000*l.* exchequer bills, to replace the same amount held by the bank. "It is now," said he, "found necessary to relieve the bank from this load; and money is raised by the present loan to pay off the 3,500,000*l.* exchequer bills, which the bank hold. This, then, makes the issue of that sum in exchequer bills, according to the two former acts of parliament, unnecessary for that purpose." He then contended that as those acts, being made this session, could not be repealed, the minister might still issue this sum in exchequer bills, for services which were not in the contemplation of that house. He therefore hinted at a parliamentary re-
straint

straint over the possible exercise of such a power. Mr. Grey also urged the dangerous tendency of such a power in the hands of the minister. Mr. Pitt, in reply, said, that to remove all suspicion, a clause might be inserted in the present loan bill, or a resolution moved to a similar effect. The first resolution passed.

The other resolutions of the committee were then read; and Mr. Pitt, Mr. Rose, and Mr. Hobart, ordered to prepare and bring in bills upon the same.

On the 21st of April, the bill for the better regulation of hats was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.

The house on the 26th resolved itself into a committee on this bill; and it was determined, that, after the 5th of April 1797, every person wearing a hat with the lining unstamped should be liable to a penalty. A clause was brought up, by which the owner of a hat is compelled to prove that his hat paid the duty.

Several debates took place in the commons upon the dog-tax bill, in the course of which, Mr. Sheridan, in a strain of the most poignant wit and irony, amused the house for a considerable time upon this subject.

Mr. Rose, on the 25th of April, observed, there was an irregularity in the wine-duty bill, which would perhaps render it necessary to withdraw it, and to introduce a new bill. A clause respecting auctioneers selling wine had been by mistake inserted in the bill, without the consent of the house. He had intended to have obviated this by inserting a new clause; but as the necessary form was not observed, he moved for leave to withdraw the bill. The bill was

withdrawn, and a new one ordered to be brought in.

On the 5th of May, previously to the house resolving itself into a committee on the above bill, Mr. Grey said he should mention some particulars which had come to his knowledge, respecting the conduct of revenue officers, in the mode of collecting the additional duty on wine. He conceived there was no authority whatever of sufficient power legally to enforce the payment of duties about to be levied by an act of parliament, until such act had passed into a law; yet he was informed, and from good authority, that upon the arrival at Leith of the ship Peggy, belonging to Mr. Murray, laden with Spanish wines, the additional duty upon one ton of Port had been demanded and paid. He mentioned a similar circumstance which had happened at Bristol. He thought such cases demanded the serious attention of the house, as they were certainly unjustifiable in the highest degree. Though it might be right for bills to have a retrospective view in some instances, it was nevertheless highly dangerous to the principles of the constitution, and the liberty of the subject, for that retrospection to operate previous to the bill being passed. He said he had observed, with deep concern, the latitude in which ministers had indulged themselves of late, in dispensing with the laws of their country; and it certainly was the incumbent duty of the house of commons to watch their conduct with a jealous eye. These observations brought on a conversation between Mr. Sheridan and the chancellor of the exchequer, in which the former observed, that when the bill went into a committee, he should propose two amend-

amendments, one for taking the stock of private persons, and the other for inserting in the blank, for the commencement of the operation of the tax, the 17th of July. The house then went into a committee on the bill, when, upon the question being put, that the tax should commence on 17th of April, 1796, Mr. Sheridan opposed it, and moved the amendment he had mentioned; but it was negatived: after which the original date (17th of April) was agreed to and inserted. The other clauses then passed the committee.

On the 11th of May the chancellor of the exchequer brought up a clause, which had been suggested by Mr. Sheridan on a former day, that all wines paying duty, and imported into Great Britain after the 17th of April last, up to the first day of August, should pay the same by instalments; and he moved that this clause should be added to the bill as a rider; which was agreed to.

The three new tax bills which the minister brought forward in consequence of his second budget, were all passed into laws without any further alteration, a few days before the conclusion of the session.

The observations of lord Auckland, as stated in the preceding chapter, provoked in the house of peers a still more severe and extensive inquiry into the state of the finances than the subject had undergone in the commons. On the 10th of May the earl of Moira, recurring to the comparison instituted by lord Auckland between the public circumstances in the years 1783—4, and 1795—6, stated, that from examination he had been confirmed in his original idea, that the noble lord was either erroneous in his *data*, or false in his deductions. In the absence of his lordship, he was ob-

liged to refer to a copy of the speech printed by his authority. There could, he contended, be no fair comparison drawn between the finances and resources of the country in 1783—4, and the year 1795; the situation and circumstances of which were widely different. Did any man suppose that the peace establishment at the end of the war would be brought within the compass of fifteen millions? It certainly would not. His lordship, after entering into an elaborate examination of the articles of finance and resources, proceeded to the consideration of the statement made by lord Auckland, with which he had closed his comparative account. "Amount of revenue (including the land and malt) *below* the computed expenditure on a peace establishment of 15 millions—1783, 2,000,000*l*."

"Ditto, *above* the computed expenditure on a similar peace establishment, with the addition of increased charges for the debt incurred by the present war—1795, 3,400,000*l*."

"Comparing the excess of 1796, with the deficiency of 1783, the difference of resource in favour of the latter period would be 5,400,000*l*."

The words *below* and *above*, his lordship said, was what he did not understand. He dwelt with much force upon the importance of parliament continually examining the state of the finances, and asked for an explanation of what had appeared to him so unsatisfactory.

Lord Grenville professed the utmost readiness at all times to enter into a discussion which could only prove the prosperity of our finances and the prospect of that prosperity. The statements, he averred, were founded on indisputable data, and the inferences from them warrantable

able and just. He reverted to the committee formed in 1791, to examine the public accounts; and the report of that committee was, that the amount of the permanent taxes, independent of the land and malt, would be annually thirteen millions and a half; and this had since been confirmed by facts. In the course of the last three years, his lordship said, the amount of the permanent taxes, independent of the land and malt, amounted on an average to thirteen millions seven hundred and sixty-four thousand a year; the old taxes had, his lordship stated, reached the sum at which they were estimated, and in many instances had exceeded their estimates.

The earl of Moira referred to the papers on the table, to prove that the permanent taxes, including land and malt, amounted to eighteen millions and a half. The annual expenditure of the peace establishment, as stated by the committee of 1791, was fifteen millions and a half: to this was to be added two millions and a half, the interest of money borrowed in the present war up to April 5th, 1795; so that the excess was only half a million, and there was no provision made for the annual million appropriated to the extinction of the national debt, and two hundred thousand pounds above that sum; to which was to be added 800,000*l.* for the seven millions which the minister borrowed in his supplementary budget. There was manifestly then a deficit of 1,500,000*l.* and he could prove a daily decrease in the different branches of the revenue, particularly the customs. He thought the minister had acted prudently in keeping back the 500,000*l.* from the East India company, and the lottery, which was estimated at 300,000*l.*

As to the first, he was not certain the company had yet paid a shilling, or would be able this year; the second bartered the morals of the people for revenue. The statements of lord Moira were combated by lords Hawkesbury and Coventry, and supported by the marquis of Lansdowne and the earl of Lauderdale, the latter of whom gave notice of a further investigation of the subject, which he had only deferred till the committee of supply was closed, that the whole expenditure of the year might be known.

On the 13th of May, in pursuance of this notice, the earl of Lauderdale addressed the lords in a speech of the greatest ability and the nicest financial calculation ever submitted to that house. The war expenditure of the last year amounted, his lordship observed, nearly equal to the whole imports and exports in 1787, viz. to the sum of 31,867,438*l.* Since the commencement of the war, taxes had been laid upon various articles, on which, for the sake of revenue, the duties had been lowered, amounting to the sum of 1,952,000*l.* His lordship mentioned the fatal effects of derangement in finance upon the interior policy of every government; the share which it had in the fall of Rome; and its recent effects in the French revolution. Unhappily for this country, the money voted by estimate in the three last years of the war, had far exceeded what was voted in the same period in the war with America, France, Spain, and Holland; and the votes of credit and extraordinary had been carried to a still greater excess. In three years, ending 1785, the war expence was 27,164,000*l.* In three years, including 1795, the expence voted by estimate was above 35,514,000*l.*

The

The money voted on estimate was,

In 1778, £.7,816,807
 1779, 8,997,697
 1780, 10,346,113

Total £.27,160,617

The money voted on estimate was,

In 1793, £.7,757,060
 1794, 11,854,822
 1795, 15,902,717

Total £.35,514,601

Money without estimate was,

In 1778, £.4,844,192
 1779, 6,799,874
 1780, 7,480,738

Total £.19,174,804

Money without estimate was,

In 1793, £.5,622,272
 1794, 10,485,548
 1795, 15,278,910

Total £.31,386,730

The result of this, his lordship observed, was that the total amount of unestimated expence in the three last years had risen to an excess of more than twelve millions. The expences of the American war, to the year 1780, amounted to fifty-three millions: but we have now to regret that in the present we have created an addition to our funded debt, of ninety-three millions, and loaded the people with the additional sum of 4,500,000*l.* annually. Under such circumstances he had been astonished to see a consoling statement comparing the years 1795—6, and 1783—4. His lordship contended that these calculations were not fairly taken at corresponding periods, but as best suited the purposes of delusion. With respect to the arguments deduced from the increase of exports and imports, he thought from the present circumstances of the country, and the reduced state of the enemy, that it was only a temporary augmentation. Nor did it prove any thing with regard to the probable state of the revenue. Their total value in 1795 exceeded that of 1791 by 7,000,000*l.* yet the revenue had fallen short in 1795 800,000*l.* The estimates respecting

the importation of cotton wool, the exports to India, and a comparison of the permanent taxes, were, his lordship stated, erroneous. The estimates of the navy debt were, he contended, taken at an unfair point of time (Dec. 1783, and May, 1796). Had the comparison been made between the navy debt outstanding Dec. 1783, and Dec. 1795, the house would have seen, that if at the former period it was 15,500,000*l.* it amounted at the latter to 13,800,000*l.* and the probable amount at the end of 1796 would be 13,900,000*l.* In comparing the bank advances to the public in the years 1793 and 1796, the estimate, he observed, had recurred to a *private* account; had it been confined to the public account, it would have shewn that the advances on the 12th of September 1795 amounted to 11,800,000*l.*; Dec. 9, 1795, to 12,200,000*l.*; and on the 31st Dec. to 11,600,000*l.*; in every instance exceeding the advances in 1783; in stating which, it had not been explained whether the navy bills at that time in possession of the bank were included. If they were, to make the comparison with any degree of fairness, there ought to be a further sum added to the balances

in 1795, equal to the value of navy bills at that time in possession of the bank. The statement of the unfunded debt was, his lordship said, totally unintelligible. It was represented as amounting, in January 1794, to 27,000,000*l.* — May 2d, 1796, as nothing. What then was become of the balance of 11,000,000*l.* due to the bank, which had antecedently been stated? Had the same month in 1796 been selected for the comparison, which had been chosen in 1784, the increased amount of January 1796, above January 1784, on the articles of navy debt, bank advances, arrears to the army, and the deficiency of the consolidated fund, appeared, from the accounts on the table, to exceed by 500,000*l.* the total of the outstanding unfunded debt, which was after the conclusion of a six years' war of notorious and reprobated extravagance. With respect to the next article which had been dwelt upon, the sinking fund, in 1783 the house, he observed, was told there was no sinking fund; in 1796 it was stated as amounting to 2,500,000*l.* If, at either period, a sinking fund was talked of as holding out a surplus, it could only tend to deceive. At both periods there was in fact a thing called a sinking fund; but, instead of possessing any surplus in 1783, there was a loan of 12,000,000*l.* in 1796 a loan of 25,500,000*l.* — The most important point which had been stated, the comparative amount of revenue *above* and *below* the expenditure in 1783 and 1795, derived its importance from the fact which had been advanced, that, were we now to experience the blessings of peace, there would be an actual surplus of 3,400,000*l.*

His lordship censured, in the first place, the form of the proposition held forth for the first time, that the produce of the sinking fund is to be deemed a surplus disposable at the will of parliament, instead of being considered as forming a part of the necessary expenditure. He disagreed also with the premises on which the proposition proceeded, as he thought nothing could be more calculated to delude, than to state to the country that there was a probability our peace expenditure should only amount to 15,000,000*l.* The committee of 1786 reported that the peace establishment, including the sinking fund, would be 15,478,000*l.* and that this would not be got upon till 1791, eight years after the war. In 1791, another committee declared they did not conceive a peace establishment could cost less than about 16,000,000*l.* annually. The average expences from 1786 to 1791, as stated by the committee, was 16,816,985*l.* Was it then probable, with the increased half-pay of the army and navy, the barracks, and the numerous profuse new arrangements, that there would not be an additional expenditure of at least 500,000*l.* annually? His lordship proceeded to controvert the favourable statements made on a former evening by the secretary of state. Rejecting an appeal to averages, which he contended was a less accurate mode of calculation than in estimating the product of a future year, it would be to suppose, that, as the same cause exists, a similar diminution might probably take place. His lordship then produced the following statement of what he conceived the probable amount of the taxes.

Total

Total receipt of the taxes, if the diminution in consequence of the war is as great during the present year as it was during the last

£.12,623,583

To which may be added a share of the 5th week

32,000

Included in the new taxes what was formerly produced by taxes on bills and receipts

128,000

Old duties on paper, included in the new taxes

70,000

Bounties paid to seamen out of the customs

120,000

Land and malt as estimated by the committee

2,558,000

Total probable receipt of revenue, exclusive of the taxes laid on during the war

£.15,531,583

His lordship stated that the lowest estimate which he could with justice make of the peace establishment was what it actually proved on an average of five years, 16,816,985*l*. To this must be added 200,000*l*. annually voted for the sinking fund, and at least 500,000*l*. additional peace establishment. The annual peace expenditure then being 17,500,000*l*. and the annual receipt only 15,500,000*l*. there must be a deficiency of 2,000,000*l*. To this too must be added the further deficiency in the taxes, which his lordship entered into a calculation to prove must be 500,000*l*. Ten millions more would, he stated, be found necessary even in the event of a speedy peace: and this, if borrowed at the same interest with the loans of the year, would create a further deficiency of 600,000*l*. making in all an alarming deficiency to the amount of 3,110,000*l*. A very large sum even of the present diminished receipt would, he contended, be deficient in the event of a peace; as much of what was raised arose from the expences incurred by the war. This he was justified in believing from the experience that the revenue diminished on withdrawing the expenditure of the American war, far above a million

annually. Should it now diminish in a similar proportion, it would, at the least, create a deficiency of 4,600,000*l*. Should the present calamitous contest, however, be protracted another year, there would be a further burden of nearly 2,000,000*l*. But in the most favourable mode of considering the subject, the conclusion was, he said, still inevitable, that there would be an annual deficiency of nearly *two millions*. His lordship concluded by moving the first of fifteen resolutions founded upon the calculations he had detailed to the house.

Lord Auckland stated, that it was not from any disrespect that he must decline examining the positions just laid down. The attempt would be both tedious and unnecessary; he should therefore confine himself to a defence of the statements he had formerly made. The reason he had not taken the 2d of May 1783, instead of Jan. 7, 1784, was, that he was comparing our situation in war with that of the country at the end of 1783, when a general pacification had taken place. Respecting the India stock, the period which had been proposed by the noble lord would have made very little difference

rence

rence; and therefore a great stress had been laid on the increased dividend in 1784: but if the increase had not rested on the solid ground of increasing prosperity, it would, in the end, have only depressed instead of raising the stock. As to the increase of the exports and imports having not occasioned a proportionate increase of revenue, the net produce of our revenue was no criterion of the extent of our foreign trade: but it was an important fact, that, in 1783, the value of British manufactures exported was 10,409,000*l.* and in 1795, it had risen to 16,326,000*l.* The statement of the noble earl made the importation of cotton wool for the use of our manufactures to be four times as great as in the first years of the peace. As a general proof of his statement of the finances being exact, lord Auckland observed that it was in the recollection of the house, that the annual amount of the permanent taxes, on a three years' average, to the 5th of June, 1796, according to the papers before parliament, had been 13,729,000*l.* and with the addition of one-sixth of a 53d week, which was 31,000*l.* amounted to 13,761,000*l.* Deducting for the taxes imposed from 1784 to 1792, and for other changes and improvements in the revenue during that period, 1,400,000*l.* the remainder was 12,561,000*l.* With respect to the navy debt being given from May and not from December, it was the express purpose of the comparative view to exhibit our actual situation, and to shew our resources such as enabled us, in this advanced period of the war, to provide for 8,000,000*l.* of navy debt; and to reduce it as low as in a time of peace. In the same manner the bank

1796.

debt had been stated at 6,000,000*l.* and not at 11,000,000*l.* because provision had lately been made by parliament for funding 5,000,000*l.* of what was then due. It would, his lordship contended, be strange to say that the produce of the sinking fund was not disposable by parliament. Leaving this, however, it would be found on inspection that the statement had asserted that the annual million, set apart in 1786, was to be inviolably applied to the reduction of the debt till the accumulation shall amount to 4,000,000*l.* a year, when there will revert to the disposal of parliament, taxes equal to whatever part of the national debt may be repurchased by the application of 4,000,000*l.* a year. Respecting the peace establishment, his lordship said, the statement would prove that he had observed: it might eventually exceed the supposed amount: but that the return of peace is likely to increase the revenue, and at any rate, that the computation of a surplus revenue of 3,400,000*l.* would give near 1,000,000*l.* a year. In the details of the peace establishment which the house had just heard, sums were included, to the amount of several millions, which did not come within any description of a regular peace establishment. The data on which the calculation for the 3,400,000*l.* had been doubted by the noble earl, to think that the revenue ought to be estimated, not on an average of years, but from the third year of a war, was a sufficient refutation of its validity. Taking the taxes to answer the charge created by the war, according to their estimate, which was 4,500,000*l.* of that sum about 750,000*l.* was applicable for redeeming the principal, and formed

M what

what might be called the second sinking fund. The annual profit of the lottery, and the payment from the East-India company,

were also included. Subject to these explanations, the statement in question had been formed as follows.

Net produce of permanent taxes to	Jan. 5; 1794,	-	£.13,941,000
	Jan. 5, 1795,	-	13,802,000
	Jan. 5, 1796,	-	13,455,000
			<hr/>
			£.41,198,000
			<hr/>

In stating the last year's account, an addition had been made beyond the amount, which appeared in the accounts laid before parliament, of about 300,000*l.* for bounties to seamen, for the fifty-third week; for the produce of repealed taxes; and for some smaller particulars.

The average of the sum above stated will be about	-	£.13,730,000
The land and malt	-	2,558,000
Annual profit by lottery	-	250,000
East-India payment	-	500,000
Accumulated profit of the first sinking fund	-	800,000
Amount of the second sinking fund	-	750,000
		<hr/>
	Total,	£.18,588,000
		<hr/>

Deducting from the above, 15,000,000*l.* as a supposed peace expenditure, there would remain a higher sum than had been given in the statement of the 2d of May, of which, as has been already explained, above 2,800,000*l.* was considered as applicable to the discharge of the debt. Had the account been taken, as it might, on a peace average, the amount would have been 450,000*l.* higher. His lordship ended by stating that every existing account of our revenue and resources, the flourishing state of our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and every apparent evidence of internal prosperity, gave a consolatory and cheerful picture of the situation and prospects of the British empire.

The earl of Moira entered into several calculations, which supported the statements of the earl

of Lauderdale; and observed, that if he was accurate, the expences of the country certainly exceeded the revenue. It was not, his lordship said, his intention to present a gloomy picture of our resources: he knew them to be solid and substantial; but every thing depended upon œconomy and prudent management.

Lord Hawkesbury objected to taking the last year into a comparison with the others, on account of several circumstances which operated to diminish the annual production of the permanent revenue; such as the distillers and the malt brewers ceasing to work, from the high price of grain, and the distress of the poorer sort of the community from the same cause. To these the drawback upon sugars might be added: and of all the new taxes of 1794 and 1795, few except the tax upon

upon wine were immediately productive. The amount of the taxes and the estimate were, he stated, in the first year nearly equal; in the second, the produce exceeded the estimate; and what they might prove in the present, could not be ascertained. What would be the peace establishment at the end of the war, must entirely depend on the security and permanency of the treaty; but whatever it was, the sinking fund would still continue to be paid, together with the interest of 3,500,000*l.* at four per cent. His lordship drew a very flattering picture of the revenue and resources of the country; that one per cent. less was paid for interest than in former wars; that in 1792 only twenty-nine navigation bills were passed, and last year there were forty-seven; but one hundred and nine inclosure bills in 1792, and last year two hundred and seventeen. Our commerce had gone to an unparalleled extent, and, though destroyed with Holland, had increased with Germany, and last year amounted to six millions.

The resolutions and statements of the earl of Lauderdale were approved and enforced by the marquis of Lansdowne, and opposed by lord Grenville. Lord Lauderdale, in reply, commented upon the statements which had been made of the revenue and expenditure, which had materially differed in the conclusion. He contended, that the expenditure of the last year of the war, from the papers on the table, was much greater than ministers allowed, in the navy, army, and extraordinary estimates; and particularly considered the arrears and extraordinaries of the ordnance as a novelty; as the noble duke who lately presided there had left his office without any extraordinaries

to be brought against it. On putting the previous question, which had been moved by lord Hawkesbury, it was carried without a division.

The subject of the game laws, which underwent considerable investigation in both the houses of parliament, was introduced to the notice of the house of commons, February 16, by Mr. Coke of Norfolk, who moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the game act. The principal object of this bill was to defer the commencement of the season for shooting partridges till the 14th of September, in order to prevent injury to the farmers; which was carried. Mr. Curwen brought forward a motion for the total repeal of all the game laws; upon which the subject was warmly agitated in the house of commons, and the motion thrown out by a considerable majority. Little worthy of remark occurred, however, in the debate, excepting the extraordinary and truly Jacobinical observation of the chancellor of the exchequer, that "property was the *creature of law*."

On the 18th of February, Mr. Wilberforce again moved for the abolition of the slave trade, and prefaced the motion by a speech of great length, and replete with every argument calculated to support the humane measure he proposed. He observed that the 1st of January, 1796 was the period allotted by the house for the abolition of this infamous traffic; — that this time had however elapsed, and this detestable business proceeded with undiminished spirit. Independent of justice and humanity, it was, he observed, further incumbent upon the legislature to terminate the trade, on account of the preservation of our West-India islands. Had the abolition-act passed sooner,

the enemy, he said, would never have obtained such firm hold in Guadeloupe, Grenada, and St. Vincent's. The motion was opposed by general Tarleton, Sir W. Young, Mr. Dundas, and a very considerable number of gentlemen. It was ably supported by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Smith, Mr. serjeant Adair, &c. and in a very animated and eloquent speech by Mr. Fox. In all its various stages, the measure called forth the whole of the talents of the house, either in attack or defence; but the arguments adduced have been so frequently before the public during the repeated discussions upon this subject, as to render any further detail of them unnecessary. The real friends to humanity will learn with concern, that the narrow views of interest and policy prevailed over every consideration of religion and justice. On the consideration of the reports, general Tarleton moved to postpone considering the slave-trade abolition bill for four months; and the bill was lost by a majority of four. On reading the slave-carrying bill, Mr. Wilberforce attempted to introduce a regulation of slaves in proportion to the tonnage; but, upon a division being called for, and the house being at different times counted out, the number of members were found inadequate to compose a house; and the motion was consequently thrown out.

During this session a bill was brought into the house for rendering permanent the Westminster police establishment; which, after much discussion, was negatived; and an amendment, moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, to continue it for five years, was adopted. Mr. serjeant Adair presented to the house a petition from

the quakers, and moved for leave to bring in a bill for their relief, as to the imprisonment of their persons for tythes, and for making their solemn affirmation evidence in criminal as well as in civil cases. The bill was ably supported by Mr. Adair, by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Francis, Mr. Martin, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Wigley, and passed the house of commons, but was thrown out by the lords. A bill for the relief of curates met with considerable opposition in the house of commons, from its being considered as a money bill, which had originated in the upper house. This objection was, however, removed, by recurring to a variety of cases, in which the lords exercised the right of introducing clauses for payment of money; and the present bill certainly did not attempt to levy any new impost, but merely enacted a new distribution of sums already applied by parliament to particular purposes. The bill therefore passed.

The earl of Moira, in the course of the sessions, brought in a bill for mitigating the rigours experienced by debtors; which was strongly opposed by the law lords, and thrown out. On the 2d of May, colonel Cawthorne entered into a very elaborate defence of his conduct, relative to the charges advanced against him by a late court-martial. It was then moved by general Smith, that, being found guilty of several of the charges, he should be expelled the house; which was seconded by Mr. Pierpont, jun. Mr. Wigley wished the house to pause, and entered into a very able vindication of colonel Cawthorne; who was, however, at length, formally expelled.

On the 19th of May the session was closed, as usual, by a speech from

from the throne, which the reader will find in our Public Papers *; and on the following day the parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

Thus terminated a parliament, concerning whose conduct a more impartial and a more unanimous verdict may be expected from posterity, than from the present age. If we look to the advantages which, in the course of their political existence, they conferred on their constituents,—if we inquire by what new and beneficial laws they improved the system of British jurisprudence, or ameliorated the condition of their fellow-subjects,—we must confine our applauses to two objects—the bill introduced by Mr. Fox, which irrevocably vested in a jury the whole question on trials for libel; and the decision in the same session (1792) for the abolition of the detestable slave-trade in 1796; a decision, which they afterwards wanted the virtue to enforce. Perhaps no feature in the character of this parliament was so marked and prominent as its devotion to party; perhaps the spirit of independence† was never so little conspicuous in the conduct of any public body. From its first assembling, the individual members were ranked and arranged under their respective leaders, with an order and discipline almost as regular as in a military establishment; and, when a certain number of those leaders negotiated with the minister for a change of principles, they were enabled to

contract for the services of their dependants with the precision of a Hessian envoy, or a Swiss commandant. Hence the violence, the precipitation of their measures, more analogous to the rash counsels of a despotic state, than to the temperate determinations, the gradual and tardy compliances of a deliberating popular assembly. It would ill become us (who, as private men, can have little communication with the individuals who composed this august body, and consequently are less acquainted with their private sentiments) to insinuate, with Mr. Burke, that their votes were sometimes at variance with their opinions. We are rather disposed to conclude that the majority of them had really no opinion of their own, but modestly assigned the direction of their faculties to other men: and the appellation with which they were stigmatized, of a *confiding* parliament, will perhaps descend to posterity as the characteristic description of this particular body of representatives. If, however, we should be disposed to acquit them of intentional misconduct and of actual corruption, we shall at least have long to lament their unfortunate mistakes. In the short space of four years, they nearly doubled the national burthens, which were already enormous, and left their successors involved in a contest, the issue of which it is impossible clearly to foresee, but which cannot, on the whole, be fortunate or happy.

* Page (89).

† We mean by independence the spirit of judging and acting individually for themselves, independent of party views.

CHAP. VIII.

France.—Preparations for the Campaign of 1796. Revolt of the Chiefs of the Vendée. Proclamation of Stoflet. Death of the rebel Chiefs, and final Submission of the insurgent Departments. Opening of the Campaign in Italy. Command of the Army given to Buonaparte. Attack of the combined Armies. Victory of the French at the Battle of Monte Notte. Battle of Millesimo. Brave Defence of the Piedmontese General Rovera. Defeat of the Austrians with the Loss of ten thousand Men. Surprise and Repulse of the French at Dego by Marshal Beaulieu. Ceva taken by the French. Retreat of Count Colli across the Stura towards Turin. Defeat of the Piedmontese Army at Cherasco. Suspension of Arms demanded by the King of Sardinia. Peace concluded between the French Republic and his Sardinian Majesty at Paris. Conditions of the Treaty. Reflections on the Treaty. Observations on the Mode of conducting the War. Evacuation of Piedmont by Marshal Beaulieu. Possession of the Piedmontese Fortresses by the French. Preparations made by Beaulieu to prevent the Passage of the Po at Valenza. Passage of the Po by the French at Placentia. Defeat of the Austrians at Fombio. Repulse of the Austrians at Codogno. Death of General Laharpe. Armistice solicited by the Dukes of Parma and Modena. Defeat of the Austrians at the Bridge of Lodi. Conquest of Lombardy. Causes of the Discontents between the French Republic and the United States of America. General Washington's intercepted Letter to Mr. Morris. Representations made to the French Directory to prevent an immediate Rupture. Rise and Progress of the Discontents in Holland. Negotiations of the discontented Party with the French Government. Assembly of the Dutch Convention. State of Parties. Declaration of War against England. Propositions made at Basle by the English Ambassador for opening a Negotiation with France. Remonstrances of the French Directory with the Canton of Basle. Envoy Extraordinary sent from Basle to Paris. Appointment of a Minister of the Police. Troubles in the South of France. Insurrection in the Department of the Nièvre. Proclamation of the Directory. Jacobin Societies shut up. Severe Laws enacted against them. Revolt of the Legion of the Police. Conspiracy of Babeuf. Troubles occasioned by the refractory Clergy. Laws respecting the Division of the Estates of Emigrants.

WHILE the contending powers on the Rhine were collecting their forces to open the campaign of 1796 as soon as the time limited for the armistice should expire, — and the French army in Italy, which possessed only a few posts on the shores of the Mediterranean, between Nice and Genoa, was recruiting its shattered forces to attempt once more the conquest of Piedmont, — the civil war in the western departments of

France drew near to a close. This war had proved more hostile to the establishment of the republic than the combinations of all its foreign enemies. The fertile country of the Vendée, where nature had poured forth its riches in such profusion, but which the horrors of this terrible conflict had so long covered with ruin and desolation, had enjoyed but for a moment the perspective of happier days. The chiefs of the royalists, who had made

made their formal submission to the republic, and who had been admitted to the privilege of treating with the government as with a foreign power, again seduced the inhabitants of those departments from their allegiance; and the executive power found that it was indispensably necessary to rid itself of this domestic enemy, before it entered on the operations of the campaign. The zeal of the directory was ably seconded by general Hoche, to whom the task of terminating this war was entrusted, and who had already given ample proofs of courage and ability.

This contest, which had hitherto been carried on with address and intelligence on the side of the insurgents, now degenerated into a war of rapine and plunder. The chiefs of the Vendée, whose aim was the restoration of royalty, had felt the necessity of good order and discipline while that object was thought attainable, and had conducted their troops with the address and prudence necessary to its success; but perceiving that the pacification lately concluded with the republic had alienated the minds of the great mass of the people in the insurgent countries from attempting to plunge themselves a second time into the horrors from which they had just escaped, they let loose the remainder of their hands to indiscriminate pillage and murder. The Vendéan had now returned to his peaceful occupations; the interchanges of commerce had taken place with the inhabitants of the neighbouring departments, and the desolated communes began to feel the comforts of regular government, when this new irruption took place. Stoffet, who had previously intimated to his confidants that the

pacification entered into with the republic was a necessary measure in order to renew the war with vigour, again issued proclamations, calling the people to arms, and assuring them that the intention of the republic in making peace was only to deliver them over individually to destruction. Although this invitation was disregarded by the people in general, still the influence of the chiefs encouraged numbers to revolt; and the plunderers being now released from every restraint, not only the western departments, which had been already the scene of war, were again desolated, but the departments nearer to the seat of government became also the theatre of pillage and terror.

This conflict was, however, but of short duration; for, after several defeats of the various rebel armies, and the capture and death of their leaders Charette and Stoffet (29th March), the remainder of the insurgents, comprehended under the names of Chouans and Vendéans, harassed on every side, submitted to the forces of the republic, or to the magistracies of the different communes; and peace was finally restored to these desolated departments.

The campaign opened in the south on the 9th of April. During the three former campaigns, the French had attempted in vain to pierce through Piedmont into Italy. That country of mountains seemed to oppose an insurmountable barrier to their progress. The republican armies had hitherto only scaled the van-guard of the Alps, from whence also they had been driven, after having viewed, in perspective, the immense difficulties they had to encounter before they could succeed in achieving the conquest of Italy. The French had possession

of the coast from Nice to Genoa; but the passage into Italy was blockaded by the Austrian and Sardinian armies, who had apparently taken the most effective measures to prevent the further progress of the enemy. The army of Italy having received considerable reinforcements, was entrusted to the command of general Buonaparte, a young officer, of whose military skill no mention had been hitherto made during the course of the revolution *.

The

* The following account of Buonaparte has appeared in a respectable periodical publication, and there is reason to believe it authentic.

"This extraordinary man, born in the town of Ajaccio, in Corsica, in 1767, is the son of Charles Buonaparte, and Letitia Rancolini. His father, who was also a native of Ajaccio, was bred to the civil law, at Rome, and took part with the celebrated Paoli, in the ever-memorable struggle made by a handful of brave islanders, against the tyrannical efforts of Louis XV. and the Machiavelian schemes of his minister, Choiseul.

"I am assured, by a near relation of the family, that he not only laid aside the gown upon this occasion, but actually carried a musket as a private sentinel.

"On the conquest of the island, he wished to retire with the gallant chieftain who had so nobly struggled for its independence; but he was prevented by his uncle, a canon, who exercised a parental authority over him.

"In 1773, a deputation from the three estates was sent to wait on the king of France; and, on this occasion, Charles Buonaparte was selected to represent the nobles. He was soon after promoted to the office of *pro-maire* reeve of Ajaccio, where his ancestors, supposed to have been originally from Tuscany, had been settled nearly two hundred years.

"The family of the elder Buonaparte was numerous; for he had seven children; four sons, and three daughters. It was his good fortune, however, to be cherished by the French; and both he and his family lived in the greatest intimacy with M. de Marbeuf, the governor, who received a revenue of 60,000 livres a year, on condition of doing nothing. An *intendant* was paid nearly as much; and a swarm of hungry leeches, engendered in the corruption of the court of Versailles, at one and the same time sucked the blood of the Corsicans, and drained the treasure of the mother country; in short, like the conquests of more recent times, the subjugation of that island seems to have been achieved for no other purpose than to gratify avarice, and satiate rapacity.

"On the death of his friend Charles Buonaparte, M. de Marbeuf continued to patronize his family, and placed his second son Napoleone, the subject of these memoirs, at the *Ecole Militaire*, or Military Academy. The advantages resulting from this seminary, which has produced more great men than any other in Europe, were not lost on young Buonaparte; he there applied himself, with equal assiduity and address, to mathematics, and studied the art of war as a regular science. Born in the midst of a republican struggle in his native land, it was his good fortune to burst into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice shook off the chains with which she had been manacled for centuries. There was also something in his manners and habits that announced him equal to the situation for which he seems to have been destined: instead of imitating the frivolity of the age, his mind was continually occupied by useful studies; and from the *Lives of Plutarch*, a volume of which he always carried in his pocket, he learned, at an early age, to copy the manners, and emulate the actions, of antiquity.

"With this disposition, it is but little wonder that he should have dedicated his life to the profession of arms. We accordingly find him, while yet a boy, presenting himself as a candidate for a commission in the artillery; and his success equalled the expectations of his friends, for he was the twelfth on the list, out of the thirty six who proved victorious in the contest. In consequence of this event, he became a lieutenant in the French army, and served as such, during two or three years, in the regiment of *La Fere*.

"In 1780, general Paoli repaired to France, where he was honoured with a civic crown, and there embraced the son of his old friend, who had served under him at St. Fiorenzo, in 1766. They met again soon after, in Corsica, where Buonaparte, now a captain, was elected lieutenant-colonel of a corps of Corsican national guards in activity.

"On the second expedition sent out against Sardinia, he embarked with his countrymen, and landed in the little island of Madalena, which he took possession of in the name of the

The first action of the present campaign took place near Savona, on the shores of the Mediterranean, near which the French general occupied a post called Voltri, six leagues distant from Genoa. Here he was attacked by the troops un-

der general Beaulieu, and driven back to his lines near Savona. Presuming on their success, the Austrian troops advanced, in hopes of cutting off the retreat of the division which they had repulsed: but Buonaparte, who had foreseen this

the French republic; but, finding the troops that had been got together for this expedition neither possessed organization nor discipline, he returned to the port of Ajaccio, whence he had set out.

"In the mean time, a scheme was formed for the annexation of Corsica to the crown of England; and the cabinet, in an evil hour, acceded to a proposition which, while it diminished the wealth, has contributed but little either to the honour or advantage of this country.

"Buonaparte had a difficult part to act on this occasion; he was personally attached to Pasquale Paoli; he resented the treatment he experienced during the reign of the terrorists, and had actually drawn up, with his own hand, the remonstrance transmitted by the municipality of Ajaccio against the decree declaring the general an enemy to the commonwealth. Indeed, he was supposed to be so intimately connected with him, that a warrant was actually issued by Lacombe de St. Michel, and the two other commissioners of the convention, to arrest young Buonaparte. Notwithstanding this, he was determined to remain faithful to his engagements; and learning that the English fleet in the Mediterranean had sailed for the purpose of seizing his native island, he embarked, along with his family, for the continent, and settled within eighteen leagues of Toulon.

"That town, the second sea-port in France, was at this moment in the possession of the English, having been just seized upon by admiral lord Hood, who had substituted the British cross in the place of the three-coloured flag. The military talents of the young Corsican were well known to Salicetti, who introduced him to Barras, now one of the directory, to whom he afforded indubitable proof of the sincerity of his professions, at a period when suspicion was justified by the most serious and frequent defections. He was accordingly advanced from the rank of *chef de brigade*, to that of general of artillery, and directed, under general Dugommier, the attacks of the various redoubts that surrounded and strengthened this important port, in which Collot d'Herbois soon after declared "that he had found the galley-slaves alone faithful to the republic!" It is almost needless to add, that the energy of the French troops, added to the scientific arrangements of the engineers, overcame the zeal and resistance of the motley garrison, and restored the key of the Mediterranean to France.

"It may be necessary, however, to remark, that Buonaparte, in 1793, took an active part against general Paoli and the English; for, in the course of that year, he appeared with a small armament before Ajaccio, the town and citadel of which he summoned in the name of the republic; but he met with a formidable enemy in his own cousin, the brave captain Mafferia, who commanded a corps of Corsicans during the siege of Gibraltar, and had learned the management of red-hot shot under lord Heathfield.

"The conquest of Toulon contributed not a little to raise the credit of Buonaparte; and it proved equally advantageous to his friend Barras. That deputy had been also bred a military man, and was employed by his colleagues on all great emergencies. One of these soon occurred; this was the commotion among the sections of Paris, known by the name of the Insurrection of Vendemiaire. On this occasion, he took care to be surrounded by able men, among whom was general Buonaparte, whom he had invested with the command of the artillery at the siege of Toulon. It was to another Corsican, however, that he confided the superintendence of the army: this was Gentili, who had just acquired a great reputation by his gallant defence of Bastia. On trial, however, it was immediately discovered that the deafness of Gentili was an invincible obstacle to success, as he could neither hear nor attend to the multiplied and complicated reports of the *aides de camp*, who were continually bringing him messages; or addressing him relative to the situation of the enemy. Luckily for the convention, Napoleone Buonaparte was, at this critical and decisive moment, appointed his successor; and it is to the masterly dispositions made by him that the triumph of the representative body is to be principally ascribed. It is but justice

this retreat, had strengthened his posts on the flanks of the Austrians, who were advancing, but who had been held in check by the forces which occupied the post of Montebotte, lying between Voltri and Savona. The possession of this post was absolutely necessary to cutting off the retreat of the division of the French whom they had previously defeated; and as it appeared probable that the Austrians would renew the attack with their whole force, Buonaparte sent a division under

justice to add that the moderation displayed on this occasion is perhaps unequalled in the history of the civil wars of modern times.

"A nobler field now opened for the exertions of Buonaparte; for he was soon after invested with the chief command of the French army in Italy, which, under his direction, prepared to open the campaign of 1796. In the spring of that year, we find the Austro-Sardinian army defeated within forty miles of Turin; 14,000 were either killed or taken prisoners on this occasion, and the cannon and camp equipage seized on by the victors. The army of Lombardy was also doomed to experience a most humiliating defeat, although led on by a cautious veteran, Beaulieu, in person: this was attributed solely to the skilful manœuvres of the commander in chief, seconded by the active exertions of generals Laharpe, Massena, and Servona. The Austrian general Provera was taken prisoner in a third engagement; in consequence of which, forty field-pieces, with the horses, mules, and artillery waggons, &c. were captured by the French, 2500 of the allies killed, and 8000 made prisoners. In short, the battles of Millesimo, Dego, Mondovì, Monte Lerino, and Montebotte, were decisive of the fate of Sardinia; for the aged and superstitious monarch then seated on the throne, found himself reduced to the humiliating situation of relinquishing Savoy and Nice, and subscribing to such terms as were granted by a generous conqueror, who could have driven him from his throne, and obliged him to spend the short remainder of a wretched life in exile, and perhaps in poverty.

"The battle of Lodi, fought on the 21st Floreal (May 10th) nearly completed the overthrow of the Austrian power in Italy, and added greatly to the reputation of the French arms. On this occasion, a battalion of grenadiers bore down all before them, and reached the bridge of Lodi, shouting "Long live the republic!" but the dreadful fire kept up by the enemy having stopped their progress, generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, &c. rushed forward: even their presence would have proved ineffectual, had it not been for the intrepidity of Buonaparte, who, snatching a standard from the hand of a subaltern, like Cæsar on a similar occasion, placed himself in front, and, animating his soldiers by his actions and gesticulations (for his voice was drowned in the noise of the cannon and musquetry), victory once more arranged herself under the Gallic banners.

"In consequence of this signal defeat, or rather series of defeats, Beaulieu was obliged to yield the palm to a younger rival, for he felt himself reduced to the necessity of retreating among the mountains of Tyrol; on which the French took possession of the greater part of Lombardy, and acquired astonishing resources, and immense magazines.

"After crossing the Mincio, in the face of the Austrians, the republican army entered Verona, which so lately had afforded an asylum to one of the titular kings of France, and seized on Pavia. Here a new and more dreadful enemy attempted to stop the progress of the conquerors. It was superstition, clothed in cowls and surplices, brandishing a poniard in one hand, and a crucifix in the other; but the speedy punishment of the priests and their adherents put an end to the insurrection, and thus saved Buonaparte and his army from a more imminent danger than they had as yet experienced, and from which no French army that has hitherto crossed the Alps has been exempt.

"At length, Mantua alone remained in possession of the Austrians, and this also was soon invested by the victors, who, at the same time, made inroads into the Tyrol, and, by the battle of Roveredo and the possession of Trent, became masters of the passes that led to Vienna.

"In the mean time the gallant Wurmser determined to shut himself up, with the remainder of his dispirited troops, in Mantua; and the Austrians made one more grand effort, by means of general Alvinzy, to rescue his besieged army, and regain their ancient preponderance in Italy. But the battle of Arcola completely disappointed their expectations; and the capture of Mantua at one and the same time concluded the campaign, and their humiliation.

"In

under general Massena, to take advantage of the night, and gain the rear of the Austrian army.

General Beaulieu, having reinforced his army, began the attack at break of day. The success was various, and the victory remained undecided, until the division under general Massena, who had been

sent round by Buonaparte, appeared on their left and rear. Unable to withstand this shock, the Austrian army was thrown into confusion, and, being completely routed, was pursued by the French to Cairo. Their loss amounted to three thousand five hundred men, of whom two thousand were prisoners.

"In the winter of 1796, general Buonaparte was united to Madame Beauharnois, a beautiful French woman, who had experienced a variety of persecutions during the time of Robespierre. Her former husband had attained the rank of general in the service of the republic, and had always conducted himself as a friend of liberty. On that memorable day, when Louis XVI. and his family repaired to Paris, M. de Beauharnois sat as president of the national assembly, and exhibited great dignity of demeanour; notwithstanding this, he fell a victim to the terrorists, who, joining the narrow ideas of sectarists to the ferocious character peculiar to themselves, persecuted all whose opinions were not exactly conformable to their own standard. M. Barras, at length, luckily for her, extended his protection to the widow, who is now the wife of his friend.

"The campaign of 1797 opened under the most auspicious circumstances for France, as well as Spain, who was now in alliance with her; Sardinia acted a subordinate part under her controul; Tuscany obeyed her requisitions; Naples had concluded a separate peace, and Rome was at her mercy. In this situation, the eyes of the court of Vienna, and indeed of all Europe, were turned to the archduke Charles, who was said to inherit the military talents of the house of Lorraine. It was accordingly determined that this young prince should be appointed commander in chief, and that the hero of Kell should oppose the hero of Italy. The contest, however, was not long between birth and genius; between a young man of illustrious extraction, surrounded by flatterers, and educated in the corrupting circle of a court, and a hardy Corsican, brought up amidst perils, breathing the spirit of the ancient republics; acquainted with all the machinery of modern warfare, directing every thing under his own eye,—whose mistress was the commonwealth, and whose companion was Plutarch!

"The war on the continent may at length be said to be at an end. An emperor and a pope humbled; the imperial crown reduced to nearly an empty name, and the pontifical one held at the will of the conqueror;—two kings subjected—one to humiliation, and the other to unconditional submission;—Corsica restored to France without an effort—and a new and formidable republic erected in that country, which has beheld the overthrow of five armies appertaining to its ancient master; such is the summary of the political efforts and martial achievements of a general, who has as yet scarcely attained the thirtieth year of his age.

"As to his person, Buonaparte is of small stature, but admirably proportioned. He is of a spare habit of body, yet robust, and calculated to undergo the greatest fatigues. His complexion, like that of all the males of southern climates, is olive; his eyes blue, his chin prominent, the lower part of his face thin, and his forehead square and projecting. The large whole length Italian print, published in London by Sestolini, exhibits a good likeness; but the best portrait ever taken of him was at Verona, in consequence of the solicitations of an English artist, who applied to him for this purpose, by means of a letter from a relation, now in London.

"In respect to his mind, he possesses uncommon attainments. He converses freely, and without pedantry, on all subjects, and writes and speaks with fluency and eloquence. Above all things, he has attempted, and in a great measure obtained, the mastery over his passions. He is abstemious at his meals, and was never seen, in the slightest degree, intoxicated; he possesses many friends, but has no minion; and preserves an inviolable secrecy, by means of a rigorous silence, far better than other men do by a loquacious hypocrisy.

"His mother, the beautiful Letitia Buonaparte, is still alive, as are also his two sisters. They were lately taken prisoners by an English armed vessel, during their passage from France to Corsica; but by this time they are undoubtedly restored to their country and their friends."

MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

The

The victory at Monte-Nette was immediately followed by one yet more signal and decisive, at the village of Millesimo. Buonaparte taking advantage of the disorder of the Austrians, pushed forward and gained possession of Cairo, a post on the Bormida, which commanded the roads leading to Turin, and into Lombardy. The Austrians retreating along the mountains to the left of this river, halted at Millesimo; the defiles leading to which village were forced by general Angereau on the 11th of April, who surrounded a division of fifteen hundred grenadiers, commanded by the Austrian general Provera; but this officer, instead of surrendering, threw himself into the ruins of an old castle on the summit of mount Cossaria, where he threw up intrenchments.

After a severe cannonade of several hours, a general attack was made in four columns on this post, in which the French were repulsed, with the loss of two of the generals who commanded the assault: and Provera keeping firm in his position, stopped the progress of the French army for five days, and gave time for the Austrians to recover their disorder, and recruit their forces. On the fifth day, the two armies prepared for a general action. Angereau, who commanded the left wing of the French army, still held Provera blockaded in the ruins of the castle. The Austrians and Piedmontese, attempting to force the centre, were repulsed with great loss; and their left wing, which was flanked by the village of Dego, where they were strongly entrenched, was turned by general Massena. General Laharpe, in the mean time, passing the Bormida with his division in close columns, succeeded in turning the right flank of the left

wing of the Austrian army; and, while the division under general Cervoni marched directly towards the centre, general Boyer, with a third division, threw himself in their rear, to endeavour to cut off their retreat. The Austrians lost upwards of ten thousand men in this action, of whom eight thousand were prisoners, with thirty-two pieces of cannon, and fifteen pairs of colours; and general Provera, with his garrison, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

On the following day, whilst the French were indulging themselves in security after the fatigues of the battle, they were surprised at the village of Dego by general Beaulieu, at the head of seven thousand men, whom he had rallied. The Austrians dislodged the French from this post, and repulsed them three several times, with general Massena at their head, in their attempt to retake it. General Cause, whilst rallying his division, was mortally wounded. The day had far advanced before its fate was decided. The Austrians maintained their positions with obstinate valour; but, pressed by the French troops who had been rallied by Buonaparte, they were at length compelled to retreat, after losing two thousand men, of whom fourteen hundred were made prisoners.

After the victory at Dego, the Piedmontese army evacuated the post of Montesimo; in consequence of which Angereau was enabled to effect a junction with the division that had penetrated across the mountains from Oneglia, and afterwards marched on to attack the enemy's intrenched camp before Ceva, of which, after a slight resistance, he gained possession, as well as of the town. The Piedmontese, in retreating towards
Turin,

Turin, had taken advantageous positions at the confluence of the rivers Cunaglia and Tanaro, on the banks of which they had placed batteries, so as to render their flank unassailable; and, assembling the weight of their forces on the right, had forced the left of the French army to retreat; when, general Massena having crossed the Tanaro near Ceva during the night of the 20th of April, and marched along its banks to the village of Lozengo, and Buonaparte having made dispositions to march forwards to Mondovi, the Piedmontese general, count Colli, apprehending the issue of a contest where he might easily be surrounded, and his retreat cut off, withdrew during the night to that place. At break of day, the French attacked him at the entrance of the village of Vico; the redoubt which covered the centre of the Piedmontese army was taken, and Mondovi itself on the same day, upon the further retreat of the Piedmontese, fell into the hands of the French. The Sardinian troops passed the Stura, between Coni and Cherasco, extending their line to each of those towns; while the Piedmontese general established his head-quarters at Fossano, a small town lying between both. The attack was general along the river. Cherasco, strong by its position, and rendered still more so by its works, was evacuated. Fossano surrendered, and general Angereau took possession of the town of Alba.

The Piedmontese finding it now impossible to withstand the force of the republicans, retreated further towards Turin, from whence the French were now distant but twenty-four miles; general Angereau was also about to pass the Tanaro on the right flank of the

retreating army. Thus situated, with no prospect of effective defence for the capital, count Colli, on the 23d of April, proposed a suspension of arms, while his Sardinian majesty should send his minister to Genoa to treat for peace with the ambassador of the republic. The conditions of the suspension of arms were dictated by Buonaparte; and the march of the French troops to the walls of Turin was prevented only by this timely submission.

Having put the French into possession of the fortresses stipulated by the armistice*, his Sardinian majesty sent his ministers to Paris, who concluded a treaty of peace with the republic on the 17th of May. As Piedmont lay altogether at the mercy of the conquerors, the king was compelled to submit to whatever conditions were proposed. By this treaty, he agreed to withdraw himself in the most unequivocal manner from every alliance, offensive or defensive, formed with any of the powers in the coalition against the French republic; to renounce, both for himself and his successors for ever, all title to Savoy, Nice, and the country now forming the department of the maritime Alps; to determine the limits of the respective countries by new demarcations advantageous to the republic; and to grant a full and entire amnesty to all those of his subjects who had been or were prosecuted for their political opinions. In addition to the places stipulated in the armistice, which were to be put into the possession of the French, his Sardinian majesty confirmed to them by this treaty the possession of other fortresses both on the frontiers of France and Lombardy; the fortifications of two of which on the frontiers of France, Susa and Bru-

* Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona.

netta, were to be demolished at his own expence, under the direction of commissaries appointed by the directory; binding himself neither to establish nor repair any fortification on this part of the frontier. By this article the French ensured what they claimed by another article of the treaty, the free passage of their troops at all times into Italy. To fill up the measure of his humiliation, the king engaged to apologize by his minister, for the conduct observed towards the late ambassador of France, and to disavow the insult which was thus offered to the republic.

This melancholy reverse of fortune, in so short a space of time, excited the sympathy even of his enemies: and it required the consideration that he had been the most pertinacious enemy of the revolution,—the most obstinate in refusing terms of accommodation,—had opposed the strongest barrier to the entrance of the French into Italy during three campaigns,—and though in reality a feeble adversary, had enjoyed by his position the advantages of an enemy the most formidable, and had sued for peace only when the enemy was under the walls of his capital, and his whole country at their disposal,—in order to reconcile these hard conditions with that boasted generosity which is said to be the characteristic of republics.

The passage of the Alps, by such apparently inadequate means, in the face of so formidable an enemy, has justly been a subject of astonishment and admiration. The plan which Buonaparte had conceived with all that temerity of genius which belongs to the new mode of French military tactics, of dividing the Austrian and Piedmontese armies in the very centre

of the enemy's country, and in positions which were judged impregnable, was executed with equal intelligence and intrepidity. In this arduous enterprize, Buonaparte was ably seconded by the zeal of his generals, each of whom led on his respective division with that address and precision which could alone have ensured success in a war among the Alps. The battles of Monte-Notte, and Millesimo, — the previous movements and skirmishes, — the detail of the various manœuvres of the army, — the junction of distant columns, — and the good positions chosen among this chaos of mountains by these young and comparatively inexperienced commanders, are worthy of fixing the attention of the best instructed military men. But what will not fail to claim the gratitude of their fellow-citizens and the admiration of posterity, was the generous manner in which those generals devoted their lives, by marching at the head of their columns to almost certain destruction, and thus inspiring their soldiers with that contempt of danger and of death, which raised them into heroes, and carried them even beyond the bounds which these generals, whilst living, had marked out for their courage.

The cities ceded to the French were Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona, to which marshal Beaulieu, after his defeat at Dego, and his separation from the Piedmontese army, had retreated in order to cover the Milanese from the further incursions of the French. Constrained to evacuate these fortresses, he passed the Po at Valenza, and laboured with great diligence to defend the passages of that river, as well as those of the Gogna and the Tessino, as he judged from the convention made by the French general

rat

ral with the king of Sardinia for the delivery of Valenza, that the passage of the French would be effected by that route. Buonaparte favoured this mistake, by making a variety of feigned preparations and military evolutions, and while the Austrian general was waiting his attack on the left of the Po, passed on to Castel St. Gioamei, on the right side of the river, with a detachment of his army; and had advanced twenty leagues into Lombardy before his march was discovered. Marshal Beaulieu, on perceiving his error, advanced with rapid marches along the Po, in the hope of arriving in sufficient time to prevent the passage, whenever Buonaparte should attempt to effect it. But he arrived too late. The French general had reached Placentia early in the morning of the 7th of May, the day after his departure from before Valenza; and having seized on the boats, barges, and rafts, in the vicinity of the place, the whole of the army effected the passage in the course of the day. Apprised that a considerable division of Austrians were approaching in order to oppose the passage, Buonaparte marched with the forces that had already passed the river, and met them at the village of Fombio, where they had intrenched themselves with twenty pieces of cannon. After a vigorous resistance, the Austrians retreated with loss.

In the mean while another body of Austrians were advancing to support the division which had been posted at Fombio, and had reached the head-quarters of general Laharpe at Codogno. A slight action took place, in which the Austrians were repulsed; but the French army experienced a very severe loss in the death of their general, who had distinguished himself with so much

bravery at Monte-Notte, and Millefino, and who had in 1791 been condemned to death as an inhabitant of the Pays de Vaud, by the magistracy of Berne, for his attachment to the French revolution. General Berthier arrived in the interval, and pursued the enemy to Casal, of which he took possession.

The dukes of Parma and Modena, on whose territory the French had entered, and who did not expect so speedy an attack, were compelled to demand a suspension of arms, which was granted on condition of the payment of ten millions of livres to replenish the exhausted magazines of the army; and of contributing to the national museum of Paris a certain number of the most celebrated paintings, at the choice of the general, or commissioners named for that purpose; and finally, sending ambassadors to Paris to treat for peace with the directory.

The Austrians, defeated at Fombio, had made good their retreat to Lodi, on the river Adda, where marshal Beaulieu had concentrated his forces. On the approach of the French, they had abandoned the town with so much precipitation that they had not time to destroy the bridge, which was, however, defended by a considerable artillery; and the imperial troops were drawn up in line of battle to prevent the passage. (10th May) A severe cannonade took place for some hours: but the show of resistance made by the Austrians appeared so formidable, that the French generals were for some time undecided with respect to the manner of the attack. To pass the bridge in the face of the Austrian army posted so advantageously, was incurring certain destruction to numbers; and therefore in the deliberation which took place between the French generals, the majority were of opinion that

the passage should be attempted at places at some distance, both above and below the town, where the resistance would be considerably weakened, if not rendered ineffective. Buonaparte, however, full of confidence in his soldiers, and feeling that delay was more injurious to his plan of operations than the loss to be incurred by marching up to the batteries of the Austrians, gave peremptory orders that the attack should be made by the bridge. Accordingly, before day-break, the army prepared for the enterprise, and a column of carabineers, followed by the battalion of grenadiers, passed half-way the bridge before they were perceived by the Austrians. A general discharge destroyed about seven hundred; the advanced body of the column was struck with terror, and stopped short; but animated by the cries of "Vive la republique!" from the generals, who saw the danger, and who threw themselves at their head, they rushed forwards with impetuosity, seized the Austrian artillery, broke through the lines, and throwing the whole into disorder, ended the contest by dispersing the imperial troops. While one part of the republican forces pursued Beaulieu towards Mantua, the rest entered Milan on the 18th May, without further resistance; and the French armies gained possession of the whole of Lombardy.

While France by the success of her arms was lessening the number of her enemies in Europe, she found her influence decreasing in the United States of America. Though little was to have been expected from national gratitude, it was supposed that national honour would have prevented the American government from seizing the opportunity when the French republic

was struggling for her political existence, to throw itself into the arms of her most potent enemy. It was therefore with equal surprise and indignation that the French government heard of the conclusion of the treaty which was formed by Mr. Jay, between that country and England, the tenor of which was so evidently in opposition to treaties already existing between America and France, that it was concluded that an open breach between the two nations must have been the immediate consequence.

For some time past, the conduct of the American administration towards the republic had been distant and ceremonious; nor did the recall and disgrace of M. Genet, the French ambassador, whose personal altercations with the president had led the French government to make this act of solemn reparation, effect any change in its favour. There is no doubt that the conduct of M. Genet was contrary to that spirit of moderation which a person in his official station ought to have observed; but the peculiar situation of the French republic should have led the American government to make great allowances, especially when the system of the *propagande*, which, it is said, was attempted to be introduced, by order of the committees of the revolutionary *regime*, into America, had been formally disclaimed by those who afterwards held the reins of power.

A momentary gleam of reconciliation had been thrown across this shade of discontent by the arrival of a new ambassador, Mr. Monroe, from America; whose political principles were known to be directly opposite to those of his predecessor, Mr. Morris: and the language of American fraternity and congratulation was once more heard at the

bar

bar of the national convention. But the negotiation for a treaty of commerce with England soon taught the French what value they had to affix to these new professions of national amity, and what confidence was to be reposed in the benevolence of a government, the standard of whose attachment, it was said, was to be known only by that of its avarice. The treaty itself was less heeded in France than the dispositions which led to its formation. It was observed, that certain articles in this treaty not only infringed on the treaty concluded between the United States and the French nation in 1778, but were direct violations of it. In that treaty, for instance, the United States formally guaranteed to the French their colonies in the West Indies, in case of attack; in the present, even supplies of provisions sent to those colonies are stated to be illegal commerce.

It was expected that a treaty so hostile to the interest of France, and so contrary even to that spirit of neutrality which it was the obvious interest of the American government to observe, would not have been sanctioned by the American legislature. Notwithstanding the predominancy of British influence in the senate, and the disfavour of the president towards French principles, were well understood to exist, yet it was supposed that the change which had taken place in the situation of France and that of Europe since the negotiation had been opened, would have led the American legislature to refuse its ratification. But although it was evident from the decision of the congress, what was the general sentiment in America respecting this treaty, the French government heard with indignation

1796.

of this legalized preference shewn to the English interest.

An intercepted letter from the president of the United States, addressed to Mr. Morris, who was lately the American ambassador in France, and who then officiated as secret agent of the American government in London, had already discovered to the directory the hostile views of the government of the United States. This letter, dated from Philadelphia, the 22d December, 1795, was a detailed answer to various letters of Mr. Morris respecting the pending negotiation. The president complained highly of the haughty conduct of the English administration, and of the arbitrary measures which they had pursued, and which they were continuing to pursue, with respect to American navigation. He requested Mr. Morris to represent to the minister not only the injustice, but the impolicy of this conduct, particularly at a moment when it was so much the interest of England to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of the United States to the acceptance of the treaty. He detailed the efforts he had made, and the difficulties he had undergone, to overcome the wayward disposition of his countrymen towards French politics, the abettors of which were the chief opponents of the treaty in question, which, however, he said, had the approbation and sanction of the greater and more respectable part of the community. His main object, he observed, the only object which ought to be continually kept in view, was peace, which he was most anxious to preserve: and if America was happy enough to keep herself out of European quarrels, she might, from the increase of her trade, from securing the monopoly

N

of

of being the carrier of the world, vie, in twenty years, with the most formidable powers of Europe.

This letter, saved from the wreck of the Boston packet, which had foundered on the coast of France, was considered as decisive evidence of the dispositions of the American government towards the French republic; of the intrigues carried on with the English; and naturally awakened those feelings of resentment which arise from a sense of injury heightened by ingratitude; and excited also a desire of displaying that resentment. Various were the representations made to the executive power of France to calm the indignation which these provocations had roused. It was alleged on the one hand, that the attempts made by the late committees of government to revolutionize America, had not been forgotten; that the English party, taking advantage of the imprudence of the agents of the French republic, had acquired an undue preponderance in the counsels of the executive power of the United States; that this alienation was only temporary, arising on the one hand from the dread of the English, on the other, from the powerless state of the French republic at that period; from whom they could, in case of need, hope for no assistance; that it was very probable the ratification of the treaty would be refused by the congress; and that the general dislike of the inhabitants of the United States to any serious connection with the English government, was a decided fact, whatever might be the disposition of the executive power; that a declaration of hostilities against the United States would be detrimental to the cause of the republic, by lessening the number of its friends; and that it was

probable the ensuing election for the presidency would produce such changes in American politics as might prove more beneficial to the interests of France than the most brilliant and decided success of her arms.

These and other representations counteracted the effects of the discovery made by the president's letter. The directory determined on continuing the semblance of friendship with the United States, and contented itself with following the same conduct with respect to their vessels bound to England, as England had done, throughout the war, with respect to American vessels bound to France.

While such was the situation of France with respect to one republic, her interests with another appeared not less on the decline. The republican party in Holland had taken measures to insure the success of the French arms in that country in the campaign of 1793, had not Dumouriez's precipitate retreat, and his subsequent defection, not only crushed their efforts, but endangered their lives. Early in the campaign of 1794, they informed the commissioners from the convention, who attended the northern armies, of their situation, and of the impossibility of attempting to shake off their yoke without some effective foreign aid. The favourable answer given by the commissioners, and the more certain promises made by the committees of the French government, led them to assemble again on all sides in secret committees, to organize a general plan of national insurrection. As the first object was to enlighten and instruct the people (as they termed it) they established secret printing-offices, and adopted various other means to deceive the vigilance of the government.

Having instituted popular societies throughout the country, the chiefs formed themselves into two central committees, of which one was appointed to correspond with the French government and its agents, while the task of the other was to watch the motions of the government at home, to counteract its operations, and contribute, as far as their influence extended, to prepare the mass of the nation for a general reclamation of its rights.

The insurrection was to take place at Amsterdam: and although the success of the French arms in the Low Countries had filled Holland with the retreating armies of the stadtholder, and of England, it was determined by the committees to take advantage of the favourable events which the brilliant successes of the French at Fleurus, and on the Meuse, gave them, and declare themselves openly both in the capital and in the provinces. General Pichegru, who was made acquainted with this resolution, informed them by letter (on the 6th of September), that, according to the instructions he had received from the committees of government, he should attack in a few days the armies that covered the frontiers, and should detach thirty thousand men who were on the Meuse, across the Waal, to prevent the march of the enemy to Amsterdam; to which place the French troops should repair on the news of the insurrection of the patriotic party, who were urged to make provision at Utrecht for the speedy arrival of their auxiliaries. A variety of obstacles to the accomplishment of their purpose, on the part of the French, once more spread consternation and dismay among the Dutch patriots. The assurance of success in the promises of immediate support on the

part of the French, had also thrown them off their guard; and their plan of insurrection, which had hitherto been kept secret by a vast multitude, came to the knowledge of government.

The stadtholder, alarmed at the nature and extent of the conspiracy, was too weak to punish, or too timid to attempt it; and the only act of violence committed was the arrest of six citizens, who, our readers will recollect, in disobedience of a proclamation, presented a petition against the resolution adopted by the government of inundating the country on the approach of the French armies. The forming of a revolutionary army on the eastern frontiers, to be commanded by Dutch officers then in the French service, among other projects of insurrection, was proposed by the French commissioners, and approved by the Dutch patriots, who, though the plan was difficult and dangerous, resolved to put it into execution, and sent a deputation, to concert the means with the French generals. Those deputies on their arrival found the plan altogether abandoned, and the French commissioners disposed to receive them rather as vanquished enemies than as allies or brethren.

On the invasion of Holland, facilitated by the severity of the season, which had frozen the rivers and the inundations, the Dutch, who had experienced how little consideration was to be expected from the agents of the French government, applied immediately to the government itself, and presented a long chain of evidence to prove how necessary their co-operation with the French arms had been for the subversion of the power of the stadtholder, with whom they had considered themselves, equally with France, as being at war, and had

used the most effective means in their power to assure the triumph of the principles of liberty in their own country, which they presumed was also the object of the French. The moderation, with which the Dutch republicans acted towards their opponents, gave additional lustre to the unremitting perseverance with which they conducted, and the courage by which they effected, their revolution. Except the grand pensionary, who was imprisoned, no one was punished or persecuted for his previous conduct or opinions; and those even, who had been most actively engaged in plundering and prosecuting the patriots after their ineffectual attempt in 1787, were suffered to remain in peace.

Whatever may be the future destiny of Holland under the establishment of a free and liberal government, released from the influence of England, and the oppression of Prussia; her situation at present, in having the former country for her enemy, and France exacting supplies in every quarter, as her friend, is embarrassing and critical. The treaty between the two republics was esteemed by a great party in Holland rather as the requisitions of a conqueror than the conditions of an ally; and the levies which the French government has made on the properties of those who were most attached to their interests, and the heavy contributions which they have raised, have led the Dutch to pause in their prognostications of the future. They may perhaps doubt, whether, in the winding up of this eventful drama, when the time shall come that all the present discordancies shall be hushed into peace, and the losses or advantages produced by this widely extended contest shall be settled according to

the respective powers or claims of each belligerent country,—Holland, whose independence has hitherto been an avowed or secret article in every treaty which the French republic has concluded, will have to boast of her alliance;—whether, instead of obtaining the blessings of liberty, they have only shifted their fetters for a more brilliant dependence; or, if their freedom be eventually established, whether it be not attained by sacrifices that shall greatly diminish its value, by treaties with their friends or concessions to their enemies, which shall contract the limits of their empire or the boundaries of their industry, and bring down their country from that high commercial rank which it has hitherto held among the nations of Europe.

After long contests between the various parties respecting the convocation of a conventional assembly, the two provinces of Friseland and Zeeland, which had been most averse to the proposition, assented to the wish of the majority; and the national assembly was installed on the first of March 1796. The citizens of the United Provinces were formed into two great divisions; the one composed of the proprietor, the merchant, the capitalist, and all those who were generally ranked in the classes of the rich; which division was for a general revolution; the other, comprehending all the classes of the poor and dependent, flattered and supported by the party of the stadtholder, were averse to any considerable change. These great divisions were afterwards subdivided into various parts; and the primary assemblies were composed of citizens of very opposite ways of thinking. While some were attached to the ancient government by the states, with certain reformati-
and

and others wished for a total change, many proposed to adopt at once the French constitution, as it was already prepared; and a great number, consisting of what in France had been called jacobins, and who had acquired the exaggerated and anarchical ideas of that sect, ardently desired a constitution still more popular. The partisans of the stadtholderate were very few, or at least, thought it prudent to dissemble their opinions. One of the first acts of the assembly was a declaration of war against England, which power had then deprived the republic of almost all its colonies both in the East and West Indies.

The English cabinet (on the 8th March), by the agency of its ambassador to the Helvetic states, had communicated to the government of France a series of propositions relative to a general pacification. The apparent motive of this communication was to ascertain whether there was any disposition in France to open a negotiation with his Britannic majesty and his allies, for the establishment of a general peace on just and equitable conditions; and whether, for this purpose, it would be agreed to appoint a congress to arrange the terms; whether France would signify what her intentions were with respect to the basis of a general pacification; or whether she had any other mode to propose whereby that end could be attained?

The directory, anxious to evince its dispositions for peace, without the disrespectful manner this communication was answered that it was its desire to make peace, and the conditions on which prepared to offer it; of

which one was indispensable, namely, that of retaining the provinces in the Low Countries, which by the constitutional act had been united to the French republic.

These propositions, as might have been foreseen, were immediately declared by the English ministry to be utterly inadmissible; while on the other hand the French government felt itself humbled in having been made the dupe of the application, and having in consequence of it committed the dignity of the republic.

The situation of France at this period was such, as to enable the government to take a review of the hostile dispositions which many of the Swiss cantons had evinced towards it at the commencement of the war; and which were continued till they were awed into respect by the splendour of French victories. The directory, therefore, with the design of recalling to the remembrance of the Swiss their past conduct, rather than from any serious apprehensions entertained of the danger, demanded, on the 26th March, from the magistracy of Basle, as being the nearest canton, and that which lay between the army of the empire and that of the republic, an explanation concerning certain plans supposed to have been formed by the coalesced powers, of violating the neutrality. It was asserted, that, with the aid of several of the citizens of various cantons of Switzerland, and with the connivance of the government of Basle, the Austrians had projected the invasion of the departments which formerly composed the province of Franche-Comté, by passing over that narrow portion of the territory of Basle which divides France from the imperial dominions in the Frickthal, and

lies along the Rhone, from Basle to Schaffhausen.

The manner of conveying the sentiments of the directory to the government of Basle, which was only by way of extract from their registers, was as humiliating as the accusation. The magistrates shewed in their answer how much they felt this contempt, and, after remarking the novelty of the mode of application, denied the charge, and complained of the hostile manner in which it was made; at the same time declaring, in reply to the insinuation of the French government, that, "if they were not sufficiently strong to defend their own territory, the directory must take measures to insure the safety of the French republic," that they accepted the responsibility imposed on them by the French government, and that they could not only depend on the inhabitants of their own canton, but on those of the whole Helvetic confederation.

The tone of this explanation caused further umbrage; and the directory made another remonstrance, demanding a more formal exculpation from the charge. This second remonstrance wore too formidable an aspect to be treated otherwise than with the most serious attention. Accordingly it was determined by the cantons to send an ambassador to Paris, to confer with the directory. The embassy was entrusted to Mr. Ochs, the chancellor of Basle, whose known attachment to the cause of the revolution was likely to render his mission successful. The proper explanations took place between the envoy and the French government, and ended in a further confirma-

tion of amity between the two republics.

Although the public tranquillity had remained undisturbed at Paris, where the different factions were kept in check by the immediate force of government, who had created a seventh minister, with the title of the minister of the police, the south of France was delivered up to the most dreadful disorders. This country had been most frequently the theatre of violence and bloodshed from the beginning of the revolution, and during the reign of terror had felt the most fatal effects of jacobinical proscription. The glacières of Avignon, the fusillades at Lyons, and the commission of the revolutionary tribunal at Orange, make a memorable part of the history of that sanguinary period. The authors of these massacres had been delivered up to punishment; but the same justice had not been exercised on all who had commanded or perpetrated those revolutionary murders.

The massacres at Toulon after the evacuation of that place by the English and Spanish armies, having had more the appearance of national punishment, had been but little investigated. The two missionaries who had been sent to revolutionize in the interval of the recapture of Toulon and the fall of Robespierre, were Barras, since a member of the directory, and Freon, a deputy of the national convention. According to the returns made by these missionaries to their constituents, the committee of general safety at that period, the murders committed under their direction equalled in atrocity, if not in numbers, these of their most active

tive colleagues ; since, according to the correspondence of Freron, published afterwards by a member of that committee, he appears to have celebrated the massacre of the twenty-two deputies of the Gironde party, by a public festival at Toulon, where he boasts of dispatching the inhabitants at the rate of two hundred a day.

The perpetration of so many crimes required a multitude of agents : and when the reign of jacobin terror ceased, the inhabitants of those countries in the south where its atrocity had been most severely felt, revenged the numerous victims it had made by the destruction of those who had been the immediate instruments of its fury. This reaction against jacobinism, which in many places had gone to the full extent of justice, was checked by the moderation and authority of those members of the national convention who had been sent to tranquillize the country, and who had themselves been proscribed under the decemviral *regime*. In the number of these persons were Isnard and Jourdan, who, while they repressed the reviving fury of the jacobins, particularly on the occasion of a momentary revolt which at that time took place at Toulon, checked also the popular vengeance which sometimes rose too high against them.

The wise and conciliatory measures adopted by those commissioners, had almost healed the wide wounds inflicted on the country by these heated parties, when the jacobin faction, immediately after the revolt of Vendemiaire, sent Freron, as commissary general of the executive power, once more into the southern departments. His arrival was again the signal of the return of terror. Clothed with the su-

preme authority, he broke the departmental administrations named by the people, and filled the vacancies with men covered with crimes and blood. He instituted anew popular societies, revolutionary committees, and central commissions at Marseilles, by the authority of which those municipalities in the departments were broken. the sentiments of whose members were not in conformity to their own.

Although the constitution was now in activity, the decrees of Freron, in decided contradiction to its spirit and letter, had all the force of laws ; nor was it until that unhappy country had groaned four months under this revolutionary regimen, which had spread universal terror and desolation, that the directory yielded to the repeated reclamations of the oppressed inhabitants, and intimated to Freron, that he was no longer a portion of the executive power.

Freron was in no haste to divest himself of his proconsular authority ; nor was it till the directory had peremptorily ordered one of its commissioners in the south to notify its displeasure to him, that he at length returned to Paris. The distracted state of the south called for the immediate interposition of government : the legislature, on the motion of the two former missionaries, Jourdan and Isnard, ordered (24th March) a commission to be instituted to inquire into the cause of the troubles, and take a review of the provisional and contradictory laws by which the administrations were regulated.

As this commission was invested with authority to collect evidence, the result of which would lead, as the mover observed, to important discoveries, and tear off the veil

which had concealed so many horrors, an attempt to render the members of it suspected, and frustrate their labours, was made by a denunciation of a terrorist-commune in the south. This denunciation was sent to the council under the equivocal sanction of Barras, who disavowed it as soon as the assembly in a secret committee had declared the accusation to be calumnious and ill-founded.

The failure of this project did not discourage the jacobin party from creating new obstacles to the report: and the interests of the faction were so much implicated in these transactions, and some persons high in office, as has been observed, were so immediately concerned, that the council, under pretence of discouraging these party feuds and personal animosities which had sometimes divided the convention, dissolved the commission, on the motion of a jacobin deputy, and ordered the examination of the causes of the discontents on which the report was proposed, to be continued by the directory. Without making any report to the councils, the directory proceeded to take such measures as should restore tranquillity to the south; and it appears that these measures were attended with beneficial effects.

An insurrection that broke out in the department of the Nièvre, where the insurgents, under the title of the Company of the King and of Jesus, had taken possession of the town of Sancerre, was likewise suppressed; but although the directory had endeavoured to hold the balance between the different parties who contended for superiority in directing the state or influencing the measures of government, it acquired the confidence of

neither party. The jacobins, in particular, who boasted that the directory was of their formation, and who had hitherto filled almost exclusively the places under government, were enraged at seeing the return of moderate and humane principles, and themselves pointed out, with the sanction of the government, as objects of public animadversion, if not of punishment.

The directory had avowed by a public resolution, that its confidence had sometimes been betrayed, and its views frustrated, by the nomination of unworthy individuals to offices of trust; and invited the citizens to give information against all such persons. The jacobins were alarmed at this defection, as they esteemed it, of the directory from their party; and this alarm was converted into purposes of vengeance, when their assemblies were dispersed by order of government, and their places of meeting shut up.

The directory had now declared hostilities against this implacable faction, whose boldness increased in proportion to the resistance they encountered. Further measures of severity were exercised against them, such as laws to punish with death seditious assemblies, provocations to the re-establishment of royalty, or of the constitution of Robespierre; and the police was ordered to remove from Paris such members of the former convention, and members of revolutionary committees and tribunals, as were held to be the chiefs of this faction.

Most of the jacobins who were placed in offices immediately under government, were discharged; and the police and municipalities of Paris, where they had had the ascendancy,

ascendency, underwent a severe scrutiny. This spirit of insubordination was not confined to the civil departments; the military force of Paris was found likewise to be tainted with jacobinism. The directory, with the authority of the councils, broke the division known by the name of the legion of police, part of which refused to obey the orders, and declared themselves in open revolt.

It had long been the aim of the jacobins to gain the military force of Paris to their side; for which purpose every mode of seduction had been put in practice; and this part of their plan would not have been unattended with success, had not the vigilance of government defeated it by speedy interposition. The jacobins, perceiving that their cause was rather injured than promoted by these partial movements, and that the hand of government was strengthened against them, conceived at length a more daring project, which was that of subverting the whole government, and introducing once more the revolutionary regime.

For the space of six weeks, confused rumours ran through the city of Paris, of a projected insurrection of the jacobins; but the Parisians, familiarized to the terms of insurrection and revolt, and believing that the law lately passed against the groupes would preserve the city against any farther attempts of the terrorists, paid little attention to these reports. The government, however, did not remain in the same incautious security. Apprized early of the horrible conspiracy which was forming, and which may be called the last agony of expiring jacobinism, the executive directory had watched its progress, and was employed in taking

measures to counteract its designs. The first of these measures was the demand made to the legislative body, of a decree against the assembling of the groupes, as we have before related; the second was the ordering, what was called the legion of police, to leave Paris. This legion consisted of ten thousand men, horse and foot, who, in the affair of Vendemiaire, had been selected from different divisions of the army, to come to Paris, and defend the conventional cause. Those soldiers having gained the victory over the sections, had been at first flattered and cherished by the government, and afterwards corrupted by the licentiousness of the capital, and seduced in great numbers by the jacobins, but above all, by the incendiary appeals which were frequently addressed to them by the apostle of anarchy, Gracchus Babeuf.

The directory, aware of the danger which might result from this powerful re-inforcement to the jacobins, ordered the legion of police to join their respective corps upon the frontiers. The soldiers refused to obey. Fortunately, the jacobin conspiracy was not yet ripe to take advantage of this mutiny, which was suppressed by the arrival of a sufficient number of troops from the camp near Paris; some of the battalions submitted and were pardoned; the rest were broken, and sent, strongly guarded, to their respective communes.

The government were partly led to the discovery of this jacobin plot, by the unguarded expressions which had been used by one of the conspirators, Drouet, the postmaster at Varennes, who had arrested Lewis the Sixteenth, and had in consequence been chosen a legislator, without any other qualification

fication for the office than the proof which he had thus given of his hatred of kings. Drouet distinguished himself in the early days of terror, by some speeches in which he called for blood and pillage, with a degree of vigour which evinced him to be a fit colleague of Robespierre and his associates. He was, however, suddenly stopped in his revolutionary career, being taken prisoner by the Austrians near Tournay, where he had been sent on a mission. Drouet was exchanged with the other deputies, for the daughter of Lewis the Sixteenth, as formerly related, and returned to Paris; a sort of popularity attended those persons who had suffered a long captivity for the republic; and Drouet's revolutionary phrases of "Soyons brigands," and "Versons du sang," were thought of no more.

Soon after his return, he went into his own department to receive the congratulations of his friends; and they were composed of discontented jacobins. Those men persuaded Drouet that it would be highly glorious for him to assist in subverting what they called the aristocratical constitution of 1795, and establishing the democratic constitution of 1793, which was the constitution of Robespierre. Drouet solemnly assured his companions at parting, that they should see him no more till the constitution of 1793 was restored. Some friends of liberty and order in the department, who had a knowledge of their designs, apprized the executive directory of what had passed; and in consequence of this information, Drouet's motions were carefully watched. But although the plot was thus known to the government, there were many ob-

stacles to its being counteracted.

The conspirators were well experienced in all the ways of revolt, and were too wary to be easily traced in their operations, much less to be seized and imprisoned. Their committees assembled every day in different habitations, and in different quarters of the town; and the agents of the police, employed to discover and arrest them, having been chosen by Merlin of Douay from that very class of men, there was much reason to fear, were more inclined to league with than punish the conspirators. The government were probably of opinion, that, in the present exigency, a fitter minister of police might be found than Merlin of Douay; he was accordingly removed to another office, and was succeeded by Cochon, a member of the council of elders, and a man of talents and integrity. It is said at Paris, that Merlin of Douay quitted his office in the police without informing his successor of the jacobin conspiracy. Cochon, however, was soon apprized of it; but having no confidence in the agents whom Merlin had left him, and from whom he received such vague accounts of what was passing as were altogether insufficient for his purpose, he had recourse to a sort of counter-policy, and entrusted the pursuit of the conspirators to two brothers, who had been employed twenty years by Sartine, and who undertook the present affair on condition of being allowed to chuse their own emissaries.

The conspirators were now pursued with vigour, and their haunts were discovered; but they so often changed their place of rendezvous, that several attempts were made to seize

seize them without success. On the night of the 9th of May, considerable bodies of cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg and the Tuilleries; and the Pont Neuf was strongly guarded. And, on the morning of the tenth, the guard of the directory and of the legislative body was tripled; the streets were patrolled, and the gardens of the Luxembourg were shut. On the same day the council of five hundred received a message from the executive directory, informing them that a horrible conspiracy was prepared to burst forth the following morning at break of day; that the design of the conspirators was to murder the executive directory, the members of the two councils, the field-officers, the constituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and massacre; that the government, informed of the place where the conspirators were assembled, had seized them, and was obliged to add with regret, that of the number was Drouet, one of their own colleagues. Among the persons arrested with Drouet, was Laignelot, an ex-deputy of the national convention, who had been a member of the committee of general safety in the days of Robespierre, and was celebrated for having been on mission with Lequinio at Rochefort, who not only caused many persons to be guillotined, but entertained the executioner at his table, as a patriot who deserved well of his country. Laignelot was a man of letters, and a professed atheist; — the others were Charles and Ricard, both members of the national convention, and well known as terrorists; — Babeuf, once the associate of Marat, giving himself the title of “Gracchus Babeuf, the tribune of the people;” — Rossignol, an ex-general

of the Vendée, renowned for the horrors he had committed in that country; — a secretary of Joseph le Bon; — Julien, a young man who, at twenty-two years of age, had been the confidential agent of Robespierre, and had led multitudes of innocent persons to the scaffold, among whom were the family of Gaudet: — these assassins, with some others, were seized, and several persons engaged in the conspiracy were afterwards arrested. Among these was Amar, a noted terrorist, who was a member of the committee of general safety in the days of Robespierre, and framed the act of accusation against the party of the Gironde; he was arrested in a house in the Rue Poissonnière near the very spot where he himself had arrested Rabaut St. Etienne, and dragged him to the scaffold. Vadier and Robert Lindet escaped. It appears from the papers which were sent by the directory to the council of five hundred, that, of the various plans of conspiracy which have convulsed the French republic, none had been more completely organized, or more daring than this. A directory, a municipality of Paris, revolutionary committees, a national convention, committees of public safety, and of general safety, were to be immediately formed, and were to administer in a revolutionary manner till the establishment of the constitution of 1793. Two printed proclamations were found in the apartment where the conspirators were seized, one of which was to be circulated in Paris during the insurrection, and the other to be sent into the departments, beginning with these words, — “The tyrants are no more.” Orders were ready to seize the repositories of arms, the treasury, the telegraphs, and all the public establish-

establishments in and near Paris. According to one declaration, all foreigners were to surrender themselves at a place appointed, on pain of being instantly put to death; according to another, they were to be murdered without that previous formality. The soldiers from the neighbouring camp were to be invited to come into the town in small bands, without officers, and without colours, and were to be paid, upon their arrival, the price of their horses, &c. The persons who were to compose the new legislative body, were sixty-eight of the ex-conventional members, who had not been re-elected, a deputy from each department, and probably a few mountaineers of the present legislative body.

The signal for the insurrection would have been involuntarily given through the whole extent of the city by the police itself; being the sound of the bell which is every morning rung in each section at the time appointed for cleansing the streets. At that sound the conspirators were to form themselves into bands of four or five persons, to enter the houses which they had marked, and stab those whom they had destined to perish; then joining their forces at a place of general rendezvous, they were to march in considerable numbers upon the directory, who had no other defence than the constitutional guard, reinforced by one battalion of infantry, and a small body of horse.

The aim of the conspiracy was to overthrow the government altogether; but it appears that there were two plans, one known to all the conspirators, and the other only to a small number; and those latter had formed what they called an insurrectional secret directory of public safety, consisting of four persons,

who intended, when the insurrection was over, to sacrifice many of their associates who were not initiated in their secret projects, and to spare some persons who now appear to have been involved in the common proscription. This vast machine of conspiracy was organized with so much ingenuity, that the agents were not to know each other; so that if one was unfaithful, or discovered and seized, it was only necessary to assassinate his immediate superior in order to conceal effectually all traces of the conspiracy from the government. The names of the secret directory were to remain unknown; and they were to issue their orders by means of a seal, without any signatures. Many of their papers, which were read in general committees of the council of five hundred, were found hid in a wall.

There is no doubt, but, had the conspirators prevailed, Paris would have become a scene of horrors beyond any which it has yet experienced in the course of a sanguinary revolution. But there are many reasons to believe that these assassins might have failed in their enterprise, even if they had been suffered to make the attempt. They had not, as in the insurrection of the 31st of May, 1793, the constituted authorities on their side; and though they might have committed many murders, it is not probable that they would have been able to accomplish the massacre of all the persons in power, residing in different quarters of a great city; and every good citizen would have instantly rallied around those who survived. Some of the soldiers had been seduced; but it is believed that the greater part would have resisted the conspirators; and all the field-officers were faithful to the

the government. Incalculable mischiefs, however, were prevented by the failure of this execrable plan of ferocious madness, which, had it succeeded, would have completed the ruin of the country, would have destroyed all that is left of estimable citizens, and all that it still possesses of wealth and of resources. For although they certainly would not have succeeded in establishing the constitution of 1793, a few hours of success would have sufficed for pillage and massacre. This desperate enterprise appears indeed to have been less a project of revolution or of conquest, than of extermination; and one idea published in the papers of the conspirators, that of engaging the people to commit such crimes as would make it impossible for them to retrograde, seems worthy of the infernal regions. Had the designs of these miscreants indeed not been baffled, there would have been the war of pillage against property; of famine, which would have been without remedy, against subsistence; and of the most hideous and bloody tyranny against freedom.

Babeuf, one of the most active leaders of this conspiracy, acknowledged himself to be the writer of the treasonable papers found in his apartment. When interrogated by the minister of the police, he replied with the most undaunted firmness; and when asked who were his accomplices, he answered, that they little knew him who believed he was capable of denouncing his friends. Babeuf from his dungeon continued for some time to treat with the executive directory as one sovereign power with another. He addressed to them a letter of four pages, in which he tells them that the holy insurrection pro-

jected would not be prevented, menaces them with death if they did not retract all they had published respecting it, and promises them, if they behaved in a becoming manner, five places in the future executive council.

The trial of these conspirators was delayed for a considerable time, partly through the slow and lenient forms which the constitution had prescribed in such cases, and partly, we suspect, through motives of policy. In the mean time Drouet (through some connivance of the executive power or its agents, as is generally supposed) effected his escape; but Babeuf and Darthe have been condemned to death by the high criminal court at Vendôme, appointed to try the conspirators.

The discovery of this conspiracy produced, as might be expected, the most general satisfaction throughout France, except among the royalists and the jacobins. When the point in question is that of overthrowing the republican government, those two extremes are found to meet, this being alike the aim of both parties. After the discovery of the plot, the jacobins endeavoured to circulate the opinion that it was framed by the royalists; but this assertion gained no credit, since the persons arrested were renowned chiefs of the terrorist faction, whose sanguinary principles are but too well ascertained. It is not, however, improbable that some emissaries of foreign powers might insinuate themselves into the councils of the jacobins, and impel them to those ferocious outrages, which, after producing a scene of the most horrible carnage, and destroying considerable numbers of the republicans, might probably end by the wearied people seeking for relief in monarchy from such intolerable evils.

evils. But although the royalists are ready to take advantage of that hideous anarchy which the jacobins would renew, there is certainly not, as some would insinuate, any coalition between the two parties. On the contrary, in one of the papers of the late conspiracy, is found an express order to put all the royalists to death. The jacobins act only for themselves, and seek only to establish their own execrable system. It is the general observation, that the failure of a plot adds weight to the established power; their last projected insurrection, therefore, really served to give new strength to the government, by inspiring new confidence in its administration. The die was then cast. The executive directory found it necessary to declare open hostilities against that daring faction which threw its gauntlet at the government from which it received not only protection but favour; and the directory is now bound by every motive of self-preservation, as well as by every principle of public virtue, to crush that exterminating band, whose dangerous excesses was all the republic had to fear amidst the increasing glories of its victorious arms. From the royalists, unaided by jacobin insurrections, there is little to apprehend. The people of France are so wearied of a state of revolution, they long so ardently for repose, that if the present form of government be tolerably well administered, if it affords them safety and tranquillity, nothing will excite them to insurrection. The republicans wish to maintain the constitution from principle and choice; and even the royalists themselves, in general, feel, that to attempt now the restoration of monarchy, would be to repass again

that sea of blood on which the vessel of the state had been nearly shipwrecked at the very moment when it reached an harbour.

This jacobinical conspiracy being discovered, the partial insurrections which took place in some of the southern departments and one of the newly-acquired departments in the north, which were fomented by the fanatical clergy and returned emigrants, were likewise dissipated. The influence of the refractory priests had been successfully exercised in checking the operations of government in various modes; but in none more than in preventing the sale of national lands, by preaching that the purchasers would incur, by that act, the pains of eternal damnation. The legislature had been in frequent deliberation respecting the division of that portion of the paternal inheritance of which the nation became the heir by the emigration of the natural successors. The council of elders had already rejected a resolution sent up by the council of five hundred, which proposed the immediate division of the property during the life of the possessor. The discussion on this question had been conducted with much heat on either side; one party considering the division of the paternal estate during the life-time of the parent, as unconstitutional and tyrannical; while the other asserted it to be conformable to the rules of perfect justice and equity. On the rejection of the resolution for a forced division, the council of five hundred formed another resolution (May 9th), which left the removal of the sequestration upon all estates belonging to parents whose children had emigrated, at the will of such as chose to assent to the immediate surrender of that part

part to which the nation was entitled by law. Those who did not consent to the immediate division, were to remain under the weight of the sequestration. This regulation, though essentially the same in principle with the former, was opposed with great vigour; but was at length approved by the council of elders, and passed into a law.

C H A P. IX.

Opening of the Campaign on the Rhine. Object of the Campaign. Battle on the Sieg. Victories of the French at Altenkirchen. Passage of the Lahn. Attack of the French by Prince Charles. Retreat of the French to their former Positions. Passage of the Rhine by the Army under Moreau. Kehl taken. Austrian Army in Italy take Refuge in Mantua. French take Possession of Leghorn. Entrance of the French Army on the Territories of the Pope. Surrender of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino. Armistice concluded with Naples and the Pope. Conditions of the Armistice. Petition of the French Artists against the Removal to Paris of the Monuments of the Arts from Italy. Refusal of the Directory. Operations of the French Army in the Brisgaw. Return of Prince Charles from the Lower Rhine to the Assistance of General Wurmsfer. Battle of Reuchen. Battle of Radstadt. General Jourdan advances to Frankfort. Battle of Ettingen. Retreat of the Imperial Army into Germany. Passage of the Rhine at Huningue. French in Possession of the Course of the Rhine. Trial of the Murderers of September 1792. Acquittal of the Insurgents in the Affair of Vendemiaire. Causes and Consequences of that Insurrection. Affairs of Finance. Extinction of the Assignats and Rescriptions. Creation of Mandats. Loans enforcing their Circulation. Great Depreciation of this Paper. Forced Loans. State of the Public Revenue. Various Modes of granting the Supplies. Suppression of religious Houses in the Low Countries. Expulsion of the Pope's Envoys from Paris. Dismissal of the Sardinian Ambassador. Dismissal of the Plenipotentiary from the Duke of Tuscany. Expulsion of the Swedish Envoy.

DURING the events which have just been related, the Austrian commander in chief announced to the French general the termination of the armistice on the Rhine (May 31st). The imperial troops were in possession of the larger portion of the palatinate from Landau to Bingen. The army of the Rhine and Moselle, and the right wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, prevented them from penetrating to the banks of the Moselle and to Luxembourg; while the left wing

of the latter army was intrenched at Dusseldorf, on the right side of the Rhine.

The possession of the city of Mentz, which was the only post of importance held by the Austrians on the west of the river, seemed to be the great object of the campaign to the French, as the capture of this place would make them absolute masters of the whole of the country on the left side of the Rhine. Several armies had already melted away before Mentz; and

and so formidable were the additions made to its original strength on the side which was opposed to the French, that no hope of success was entertained until the communication could be cut off on the German side.

The first operations of the French were successful: while the army of the Rhine and Moselle, and the right wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, attacked the Austrians in the Palatinate, the left wing of this last army, posted at Dusseldorf, ascending the right side of the Rhine, attacked the Austrians who were posted on the banks of the Sieg (June 1st), a river which empties itself into the Rhine, nearly opposite to Cologne. The victory gained at the passage of the Sieg was followed by another still more decisive at Altenkirchen (June 4th), a village a few miles distant from the Sieg on the road to Mentz; where the imperial troops, under the prince of Wirtemberg, were strongly posted to prevent the dangerous progress of the republicans in that direction.

The imperial troops, after having suffered considerable loss, were compelled to retreat across the Lahn, a river emptying itself into the Rhine, above the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein; and still further on the road to Mentz. The French had crossed this river in pursuit of the retreating army, and had invested this fortress, which was a place of uncommon strength; when the archduke, perceiving the danger of suffering the republicans to advance further in the rear of the army, found it necessary to change his mode of defence, and concert another plan of operations.

For this purpose, about the 8th of June, he withdrew the greater part of the imperial troops from

the Hundsdruck, where he had held in check the army of the Rhine and Moselle, under Moreau; and leaving Mentz and Mannheim, which he had hitherto covered with the most considerable part of his forces, with a sufficient number to repel any sudden attacks, marched across the Rhine with such reinforcements as rendered the Austrian army on the right side, which had been hitherto retreating, greatly superior to the assailants. This well-concerted scheme was continued, by the French generals and commissioners belonging to the army in the Palatinate, into a flight. But the army on the right side, which had hitherto been pursuing the Austrians towards Mentz, and which were now advanced within a short distance of this town, soon felt the effects of these operations; since, before Jourdan, who had foreseen this manœuvre, could gain time, from the badness of the roads, and the length of the march, to strengthen the army, the Austrians attacked it with great fury, and compelled it, with considerable loss, to take its former position, whence they had begun their operations. The army of the Sambre and Meuse retired within the lines of Dusseldorf, and that of the Rhine and Moselle passed the Rhine at Neuwied. The evacuation of the Palatinate by the Austrians, who were now employed in pursuit of the retreating armies of the French on the right side of the river, left the army of the Rhine and the Moselle, which had taken possession of the territory abandoned by the imperialists, once more in presence of Mentz and Mannheim, without the possibility of gaining any advantage by its position.

This second defeat before Mentz, though less fatal than the loss sus-
tained

ained in the last campaign, convinced the French of the impracticability of their project, and led them to form a new plan of operations, which embraced a greater object, and which was more consonant with their lately adopted mode of military tactics, and their adventurous and enterprising spirit. While, therefore the division of the imperial forces which had been left to cover the Rhine, and the garrisons of Menz and Mannheim, supposed themselves to be holding in check the French forces under general Moreau; this general keeping up the semblance of hostilities, and feigning preparations of making serious attacks in that quarter, drew off his troops with the utmost secrecy, and, by forced marches arrived at Strasbourg, before the Austrians knew that he had changed his position.

(June 24th.) The object of this expedition was to effect the passage of the Rhine opposite to this city; and to gain possession of the fort of Kehl, a post of considerable importance on the German side. Moreau had taken measures to make this attack in different places; but the sudden increase of the river prevented him from putting his design into execution, as some of the islands of which the river in that quarter is full, and by which he had hoped to effect the passage, were covered with water; and the rest, which were defended by the Austrians, were thus rendered more difficult of access. He had taken the necessary precautions to conceal his intentions of attack from the enemy, as the least suspicion of his project would have frustrated its execution; but this unexpected obstacle obliged him to supply by courage what he had hoped to have effected by address. Having made

preparations for the passage during the night, and finding it impossible to effect a landing immediately on the opposite side of the river, from the rapidity of the current, he began his attack on the islands in the middle of the river; of which he gained possession without much resistance, and seized on the bridges communicating with the main land, which such of the Austrians as had escaped had not time to destroy in their flight. Although the French troops had made good their landing, they found themselves without cavalry or artillery, since it was impossible to transport either to the opposite side. The rapidity of the current prevented the establishment of any bridge; and the only resource left, was that of sending back the boats by which the first party had effected their landing, to bring over the remainder of the army.

The reinforcements, which now arrived, not only rescued the French from their perilous situation, but enabled them, though unprovided with artillery, except the few pieces they had just taken in the islands, to attempt the fortress. The first redoubts were attacked with desperate fury, the Austrians being buried under heaps of stones by the assailants. The artillery taken in the first redoubts served to force the successive ones; and the Austrian general, finding further resistance fruitless, saved the remainder of his troops by abandoning the fortress to the French. The achievement of this bold and hazardous enterprise not only opened the Brisgaw to the French; but as the division under general Wurmser had been greatly weakened by detaching a considerable force to the assistance of the Austrian army in Italy, this irruption, independent

of other advantages that might be expected to result from it, was fitted to make a powerful diversion in prince Charles's army, and allow the army of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan to begin its offensive operations.

The dispersion of the Austrian army in Italy, of which a part took refuge in Mantua, and the rest, pursued by the French, had gained the mountains of the Tyrol, the chain of Alps which separate Italy from Germany, gave the French general leisure to carry on his various enterprises against the respective states of Italy. The garrison of the fortress of Milan, finding further resistance ineffectual, and having no prospect of relief, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. A detachment took possession of Leghorn on the 28th of June, though belonging to a neutral power, on the pretext of dislodging the English, whose property was confiscated to the use of the republic; while the main army entered the territory of the pope, and without resistance took possession of the cities of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino. This expedition, which gave the French the command of the possessions of the holy see, alarmed in so great a degree the king of Naples, that he requested an armistice, which was granted to him as well as to the pope.

The conditions imposed on the Neapolitans were chiefly those of withdrawing their troops from the support of the coalition, and their vessels from the English squadron in the Mediterranean; those imposed on the pope were more circumstantial and more rigorous. Among other contributions levied in Italy on the conquered states, that of furnishing pictures was not

the least considerable. The states of Parma and Modena had been highly taxed in this article; and it was not to be expected that the capital of the arts, the great repository of what is richest and most curious in the labours of the chisel and the pencil, would escape the attention of these victorious *dilettanti*. The principal conditions therefore imposed on the pope were heavy contributions on the monuments of the fine arts. His holiness, by these articles, was also compelled to set at liberty those persons who were at that time confined for their political conduct or opinions; to renounce the friendship of his former allies, and to shut his ports against them; to surrender to the French the cities of which they already had possession, as well as the citadel of Ancona, which gave them the command of the Adriatic; to pay twenty-one millions of French money, independent of the contributions to be levied on the cities of which the French had already taken possession; and to deliver one hundred pictures, busts, vases, or statues, at the option of commissioners who should be sent to Rome for that purpose; amongst which statues were expressly named those of Junius and Marcus Brutus, both of which were in the Capitol; and also five hundred manuscripts to be selected by the said commission. The last articles of this treaty, and similar ones which had been concluded with the states of Parma and Modena, excited much discontent among the professors and amateurs of the fine arts at Paris. While the national pride was flattered with the prospect of seeing that city become the centre of all that was most rare and excellent in Europe, several artists of celebrity petitioned the directory to reconsider

reconsider that part of the conditions of the peace, and the armistice, which respected the transfer of these monuments, and to reflect whether the arts themselves would not be greatly injured by such translation. The directory, however they might have admired the liberal and disinterested spirit of these artists, did not appear convinced by their reasoning, and concluded on their first determination of placing those celebrated monuments in the galleries of the national museum at Paris.

The passage effected by general Moreau across the Rhine, produced all the advantages which he had expected from that expedition. After having driven the imperialists from the fortrefs of Kehl, and transported thither his cavalry and artillery across the Rhine by means of a bridge which he had constructed, he dispatched his troops in different divisions to scour the country, and succeeded in driving the Austrians from the various posts and camps which they occupied in this quarter; and by these means prevented the junction of the detachments sent by general Wurmser from Mannheim, with the army of emigrants under the prince of Condé, who were stationed along the Upper Rhine.

The army under general Würmser having been considerably weakened by the detachments sent to reinforce that of Italy, found itself insufficient to withstand the impetuosity of this irruption, for which no preparations had been made; as an attack in this quarter was altogether unexpected. The archduke Charles was therefore obliged to discontinue his pursuit of the French on the Lower Rhine, and leaving behind him general Wartensleben, with such forces as he deemed sufficient to prevent the army under

Jourdan which he had hitherto been pursuing, from passing hastily on his rear, marched with considerable reinforcements to the aid of Wurmser, in order to check the progress of the French in the Brisgaw. Moreau, apprised of this march, saw the indispensable necessity of attacking the imperialists before their reinforcements should arrive. A general engagement accordingly took place on the 28th of June at Renchen, a village near Philipsburg, on the road to Mannheim, in which the French gained a complete victory. A division of the army under general Laroche at the same time succeeded in dislodging the troops of the prince of Wirtemberg from Mount Kniebis, and the various fortresses on the immense and lofty ridge of mountains which divide the circle of Suabia, under the name of the Swartzen Wald, or Black Forest. The battle of Renchen was followed on the 6th of July by that of Radstadt, a town still further on the road towards Mannheim. As the imperial army had been considerably reinforced by detachments from that of the Lower Rhine under prince Charles, it was enabled to make a more obstinate resistance. The combat, which began soon after day-break, and which had been disputed on both sides with alternate advantage and loss, ended in favour of the French; the Austrians leaving them in possession of the field of battle.

The imperialists, driven from Radstadt, had taken very advantageous positions near the village of Ettingen; where, having received reinforcements, they again awaited the attack of the French. Moreau, who was apprised that he had to contend with the whole of the imperial troops, except those which prince Charles had left on the Low-

er Rhine to check the progress of the army under Jourdan, strengthened his forces by calling in various divisions from the different posts they occupied in the country of which he had already taken possession. It appeared from the dispositions made by the Austrians, that this battle was destined to decide the contest for the superiority on the Rhine. Already had general Jourdan repassed the Lahn, after ineffectual resistance on the part of general Wartenleben, and was now before the gates of Frankfort. The garrisons of Mentz and other fortresses on the Rhine were ineffectual to stop the march of the French, who were now about to pass in their rear across the Mein; and the space occupied by the imperial armies became every day more narrowed by the approximation of the republican armies both on the northern and the southern side.

(9th July.) The battle of Ettlingen was fought on both sides with desperate valour. The Austrian general, conscious that on its event hung the fate of the Rhine, encouraged his troops to repel the fury of the assailants four several times with effect from the heights of Rolensollie, which was the principal point of attack; nor was it until the French (exasperated by indignation at these successive defeats, and seeing the field strewn with their dead) had recourse to the bayonet, that the fortune of the day was decided.

The loss of this battle determined the imperialists to retreat into Germany, and abandon the fortresses of Mentz, Mannheim, Philippsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, to their natural defence. A body of troops having passed the Rhine at Huningue, the French were put in complete possession of the whole extent of coun-

try lying on the right side of that river, from the borders of Holland to the confines of Switzerland.

The affair of Babeuf had now counterbalanced the events of Vendemiaire: and the clamour against royalism was lost in the more recent dread of revolutionary government. The tribunals, before whom at this period (26th May) the actors in the massacres of September, 1792, were arraigned, and to whom those who had been condemned to death *par contumace*, on the events of Vendemiaire, now appealed for a reversal of their outlawry, mistook the nature of this general tendency to pardon, and acquitted with almost equal facility the criminal who had dyed his hands in blood, and the citizen whose detestation of what he deemed tyranny, had led him to insurrection. Some of the murderers were indeed put to death; others were imprisoned; but the great mass, who had been, as it appeared, only the agents of men who had sufficient influence, if not to screen themselves from observation, to escape at least from punishment, were acquitted. This act of national justice fell very short of public expectation; the people were much dissatisfied with these decisions. The massacre of September was a national crime, which demanded large expiations; every man felt himself personally interested in avenging those inhuman murders; nor was that desire effaced by the lapse of four years, and all the intervening horrors.

While the indulgent juries of one party acquitted these murderers of evil intentions, the juries of the other exercised the same candour towards those who had been most active in fomenting the insurrection of Vendemiaire. The events of that memorable period have had too considerable

ble an influence not only on
 e, but also on the whole of
 e, not to interest us in invest-
 g its causes. The momentary
 lency which it gave to the ja-
 faction in the legislature, dur-
 e period of the election of the
 ive power, it is well known,
 l the choice to fall on men,
 of whom were known only
 ir predilection in favour of
 inciples and practice of revo-
 ary government, while those
 the voice of the people
 d out as objects of their de-
 preference scarcely escaped
 iction.

e reasonances of the sec-
 gainst the two laws by which
 irds of the late convention
 constituted members of the
 it legislature without the elec-
 f the people, were founded
 principles of just and honour-
 estance to what they con-
 d as an usurpation of their
 ; and much good might have
 expected from the wise and
 rate opposition which first
 ed itself against these decrees.
 loquent and forcible reason-
 f the enlightened part of the
 is of Paris had penetrated in-
 e departments; and, had the
 ns continued that firm and
 ible demeanor which at first
 terized their assemblies, there
 e doubt that the acceptance
 e constitution would have
 accompanied by the rejection
 ese two laws, which were
 d to be hostile both to its
 and spirit.

e revolt which took place on
 th and 12th of Vendemiaire,
 hich, on the 13th, ended in
 tal defeat of the insurgents,
 t with justice be attributed to
 ncrality of the sections; and
 cision of the juries, that the

individuals who presided at their
 assemblies, and sanctioned their
 proceedings, were innocent of cri-
 minal designs against the liberty of
 the country, or the safety of the
 republic, was therefore founded in
 justice.

It has already been intimated,
 that in this insurrection, as in most
 others, the royalist-party had a
 considerable share. The impru-
 dence or vanity of their chiefs led
 them to this confession; but the
 primary authors of this revolt,
 though they have not escaped ani-
 madversion, have had the prudence
 or dexterity to avoid punishment.
 The sections, whose motives were
 in general pure and well-founded,
 were in some cases led by men
 whose views extended further than
 to a redress of the grievances com-
 plained of, and who hoped, in the
 indignation which had been ex-
 cited against the convention, to
 have found the means of raising
 their own power on the ruins of
 that of the assembly. These men
 had no more the intention of over-
 throwing the republic by this in-
 surrection on the 13th of Vende-
 miaire, than Robespierre had the
 project of establishing royalty by
 the insurrection of the 31st of May:
 their project went no farther than
 the ambition of this demagogue at
 that period, namely, substituting
 their own power in the place of
 that of the convention.

In order to effect their purpose,
 they had projected the imprison-
 ment of the assembly in the church
 of the Quatre-Nations, after hav-
 ing secured their persons, which
 they entertained little doubt of
 being able to accomplish; since the
 regular troops were judged too in-
 considerable to make any effective
 resistance to the armed citizens of
 Paris, and strong hopes were in-
 dulg

divulged of their concurrence. As the imprisonment of the convention, which was to be followed by their trial, would necessarily cause an interregnum, committees of the sections were to be appointed during the interval, and take the charge of the government, till the convocation of a new assembly. The national guard of Paris was immediately to be placed under the direction of a subaltern, who was to give way to the nomination of the chief who should be called to fill this important station. The person who was to exercise this trust, was an officer who, our readers will recollect, had been conspicuously employed in the service of the republic, of the name of Miranda.

General Miranda was a native of the Caraccas, and had begun his military career in the Spanish colonies, during the war between England and America. When the courts of England and Spain were on the point of coming to a rupture relative to the truly absurd affair of Nootka Sound, he presented a plan of invasion of South America, for which, it is said, he was rewarded with a considerable sum of money from the English minister, but was refused further employment. Being at Paris, at the epoch of the subversion of the French monarchy, in August 1792, he was recommended to the notice of the executive power, who offered him a commission in the armies of the republic; and he was soon raised to the rank of general, under the command of Dumouriez. Upon the defection of that general, he was tried as his accomplice, and honourably acquitted. Being suspected, however, to be a partizan of the Gironde, he was confined in prison during the usurpation of

Robespierre, and was set at liberty six months after the death of that tyrant.

As he was a man of talents, and had been upon the list of proscription, he was noticed by that party who were likely to take the lead in the government. Although his influence was not sufficient to raise him to any elevated post, his ambition would not permit him to accept of any subaltern employment. In his military career, he had been distinguished only by his misfortunes; and as he had no expectation of rivalling the glories of other generals, he turned his views to civil employment. With the expectation of raising himself under the new constitution to the highest offices of the state, he paid sedulous court to the chiefs of each party; and though he was apparently attached to the friends of the Gironde, he cultivated with unremitting diligence the acquaintance of those who had distinguished themselves as principals in the Jacobinical proscription against that party; of Freron, who instituted a festival to celebrate their execution, amidst the massacres of Toulon, and others, who, in addition to these late crimes, had distinguished themselves as leaders in the bloody scenes of September.

The project of the commission appointed to frame the constitution, proposing that the executive power should be composed of five members, disconcerted his views, which were expressed in a pamphlet he published at that period, where he proposed the limitation of the number to two, of which he believed himself secure of being one; but the laws of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, which were made the supplement to the constitution, proposing the re-election of two,

two-thirds of the convention to the new legislature, proved the destruction of all his hopes.

As the sections were now in open opposition to the convention on account of these laws, and presented the only means of arriving at power, he became a sectionary; and, without joining in their remonstrances, or hazarding his appearance at any of their assemblies, associated himself with those of the chiefs who appeared most earnest in their opposition, and either planned himself, or joined as a principal in the project of subduing by force that power which they had despaired of overthrowing by their arguments. As the event of the contest appeared to him more uncertain than it did to the other chiefs, and as he was to be the person invited to take the lead after the victory, he thought it most prudent to retire from Paris during the contest. Having withdrawn from the danger, he returned only to witness the utter defeat of his party, and instead of a call to the supreme command, found himself implicated in some affairs foreign to the conspiracy, and was ordered by the convention to be arrested. He saved himself by flight from this decree, which was soon repealed; but, a short time after, notwithstanding the protestations of his innocence of any share in the insurrection, his declarations of having appeared at no section, signed no insurrectionary-papers, and having been absent from Paris during the combat, the directory, who had probably gained some evidence of the intrigue, though not sufficient to bring him to trial, first threw him into prison, and afterwards passed a decree, ordering him to be conducted by the police to the frontiers, and banished the repub-

lic. Miranda had the dexterity to elude the vigilance of his keepers at the moment of the execution of this unconstitutional decree; since, either as an adventurer, which he was now vaguely accused of being, or as a foreigner, the usual title of proscription under the reign of terror, his residence in France, and his having served in the armies of the republic, entitled him to the protection of the laws, of the violation of which no proof was substantiated against him.

The directory, having taken the precautions they thought necessary against any further attempts of the party, without having repealed the act of banishment, suffered Miranda to remain undisturbed at Paris.

This insurrection, which has produced such important effects, and which has been attributed successively to the royalist and jacobin factions, was in fact owing solely to the overweening ambition or extravagant vanity of a few individuals, who were aided in the execution of this plan by both parties; each of which, had they completely succeeded, would have overlooked or sacrificed those who had been the original promoters of the revolt.

The affairs of finance chiefly occupied at this period the attention of the government. The rapid decline of the credit of the assignats had rendered that paper altogether useless; and, as gold and silver were not in circulation, it had been judged expedient to employ some other means to replace this depreciated currency. To this end, a law passed on the 25th of March, to sell the remainder of the national domains at the estimate which was made in 1790, and which was at the rate of about twenty-two years' purchase; for which domains the

nation was to receive in payment a new paper fabrication, under the name of *mandats*; and which was to be issued to the amount of two milliards, four hundred millions of livres, of which part was destined to withdraw the assignats from circulation at the rate of thirty for one, and the public lands remaining unfold were to be mortgaged for the remainder. The payments for the purchase of those national domains were to be made by instalments; and it was hoped, as the mortgage could be foreclosed at any period, that this new paper would lose but little of its original value. The directory, in a message to the council, declared its alarms, in case of being disappointed in this operation; as the produce of these national domains was the only resource left to the nation to carry on the war, and even to pay the expences of the campaign that was then about to commence. This message was conceived in terms so strong, that those who were uninstructed in the manœuvres and politics of the French cabinet concluded that the republic was literally on the last plank, agreeably to the figure which the directory had employed. The English minister, among others, was the dupe of this artifice, which was only meant to quicken the legislature to a more prompt and liberal disposal of the public treasure; but which he received as the true and faithful confession of inability and ruin, and quoted the *verbiage* of the directory's message as a conclusive and undeniable authority for the fact.

The credit of the French government had indeed been so shattered of late in their financial transactions, and so many had been ruined by its operations, that no

plan, however profitable in its promises, was likely to meet with support; since the continual changes made to suit the pressing wants of the state defeated the best-founded arrangements, and usually ended in the ruin of the speculator. Among the expedients made use of by the government, had been that of issuing a paper called *rescriptions*, which were orders on the treasury at certain epochs for hard money, and which had been paid to the creditors of the government. This paper, which lived but a very short time, formed a kind of financial interregnum between the assignat and the mandat, and was finally absorbed in the latter, at a very depreciated value. The mandat at its birth lost one fourth of its value, and soon after four fifths. As it was declared to be equal to hard money by the legislature, the national domains which it represented were sought with extreme avidity; and the national property was about to be disposed of for a tenth part of its real value, since the mandat, which was the legal payment for those domains, continued to be depreciated in that proportion. The legislature, in order to prevent this depredation, was compelled to violate its engagements with the purchasers, by first ordering the payments to be made at periods earlier than those originally agreed on; by which operation, as a great number of mandates would be taken out of circulation, it was expected that their value would considerably augment. This decree produced little effect; the credit of paper money was too far sunk to be raised by any expedients; and the legislature, after tampering with their original engagements towards the public by new regulations, were at length forced

forced to apply a more effectual remedy, by ordering the last payment, which was one fourth of the original purchase, to be made in money; and this regulation compelled a great number to take back the payments they had already made in mandates, which were now still further depreciated.

These measures left the remainder of the purchasers no great prospects of gain from their speculations, since the price of patrimonial land was in general lower than that of national property, offered at the present rate by the nation; but as the loss fell for the most part on men who had by dishonourable traffic taken advantage of the public distress, this arbitrary act of the legislature was much applauded; and the mandates, notwithstanding the variety of measures taken to support their credit, soon partook of the fate of the other paper money.

The finances, which had been the least of the embarrassments of the French government while the confidence of the public kept pace with the facility of making paper money, became now the most serious object of its consideration; that confidence being totally lost, and the treasury in a state of extreme penury. An arbitrary contribution had been levied on the most opulent classes under the name of a forced loan, which was ordered to be paid in hard cash, or in paper at the course of exchange. This contribution had no fixed principle, but depended on the judgment formed of the property of the individual by the public administrations, which in many cases was highly oppressive; but as few taxes had been paid for the last four years, the whole of the sum levied fell very short of what was justly

due to the government; and as the weight of this contribution fell on those who had enriched themselves during the revolution, the illegality of the mode was submitted to by the public without much complaint, in consideration of the general justice of the act. The committee of finance now presented a general state of the public revenue, by which it appeared that the expenditure during the year amounted to one thousand millions of livres, and the ordinary annual revenue amounted to five hundred millions. For the remaining five hundred, various resources were pointed out, such as the levy of new taxes, and the sale of national lands in the newly united provinces of the Netherlands, where religious orders of every kind were at this time suppressed, as they had been in France. It appeared that the receipt would exceed the expenditure of the current year; but as the means of providing these extraordinaries were but temporary, several modes of making various retrenchments in the expences were pointed out, and a plan of severe economy was enjoined in place of the wild profusion which the system of paper money had introduced.

The negotiations for peace, which had been for some time carried on at Paris between the executive directory and the pope, were suddenly interrupted by the precipitate retreat of the negotiators on the part of his holiness, who were ordered to leave France by a mandate of the directory, issued to the minister of police. The ambassador of the king of Sardinia was ordered also at the same time to quit the republic: but the mode in which this order was conveyed to him was less revolting.

The papal commissioners had long delayed

delayed entering into any definitive arrangement respecting the object of their embassy, in expectation of hearing such tidings of the success of the Austrian arms in Italy, as would render the conditions more advantageous to the holy see. While general Wurmser was on his march with detachments from the army in Germany, these ambassadors pretended that they were unprovided with sufficient powers to treat definitively; nor was it till intelligence arrived of fresh victories on the part of the French, that they were found sufficiently instructed to conclude the treaty, to which the directory would now no longer listen. The dismissal of the Sardinian ambassador arose only from slight murmurs which he had vented on hearing of the march of the German forces, to the relief of Italy, mingled with regrets that his master had concluded a peace so unfavourable to his interests, when every thing promised the means, had he protracted the definitive treaty, of procuring better conditions than those which had been so severely imposed.

The minister of the duke of Tuscany had some months before received a similar order from the directory. Count Carletti had shewn some solicitude for the young princess, the daughter of Lewis the XVIth, on her departure from France; which was thought a sufficient overt act of disaffection to justify the government in ordering him to quit the republic. The real charge brought against him was the peculiar activity with which he served the interests of the combined powers, by making himself the channel of the secrets of state, of which he became possessed by the confidence which his apparent attachment to the repub-

lic inspired in the members of government. Whether the minister deserved this imputation, or whether it was some personal dislike or caprice of the governing powers, is uncertain; and we can only say, that the duke, on his return, consoled him for the disgrace, by unequivocal marks of attention and favour.

The resentment of the executive directory was not confined to the ambassadors of the Italian states. The ambassador from the court of Sweden, Mons. Renhausen, was dismissed from Paris in the same disgraceful manner as the envoys of the pope. This court, which, from the death of the late king, and during the war, had shewn dispositions not unfavourable to the French republic, had now thrown itself, either from fear or policy, under the influence of the court of Petersburg. It has, however, been insinuated that this measure arose from resentment: for the subsidy promised by the committee of public safety, had been paid in draughts on the Dutch republic, which the latter had not duly honoured, and which the French government knew, at the time of giving them, would not be paid. Baron Stael, the former ambassador, whose political opinions were supposed to be more favourable to the republic than was consistent with the views of the empress of Russia, was about to be replaced by Mr. Renhausen, who was known in France to be warmly attached to the interest of that court.

The directory had already expressed its disapprobation of this exchange, when a note was communicated, stating, that if the new ambassador was not received, the Swedish court would use reprisals towards

towards the envoy of the French republic (5th August). The answer given by the directory was expressive of their friendship to the Swedish nation, but enjoined the minister of police in Paris to order that M. Renhausen should instantly quit the capital. The French en-

voy was likewise ordered to leave the court of Stockholm; the directory considering that the dignity of the French nation was committed in retaining any friendship for a court which was now become a dependant on a power in open hostility with the republic.

CHAP. X.

Arrival of General Wurmser in Italy. Repulse of the French. Siege of Mantua raised. The Pope takes Possession of Ferrara. Defeat of the Austrian Army on the Mincio. Defection of the Polish Soldiers from the Imperial Army. Conduct of the Milanese during the Contest. The French Army under Moreau in Possession of the whole Circle of Suabia. The Army under Jourdan in Possession of the Circle of Franconia. Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Princes of Wirtemberg and Baden. Alliance offensive and defensive formed between the French Republic and Spain. New Treaties between the French Republic and Prussia. Secret Articles of those Treaties. Seizure of Nuremberg by the King of Prussia. Further Projects of that Prince defeated by the Retreat of Jourdan's Army. Causes of that Retreat. Moreau advances into Bavaria. Attack on Jourdan's Army. Rapid Retreat of this Army to the Banks of the Lower Rhine. Critical Situation of General Moreau. Advances to Munich, levies Contributions on the Elector of Bavaria, and concludes an Armistice with him. Project of Moreau to recall the Archduke from the Pursuit of Jourdan. Failure of that Project. Retreat of Moreau from Bavaria. Victory gained by him over the Austrian Army. Surrounded by imminent Dangers. Cuts his Way through the Passes of the Black Forest. Repasses the Rhine at Brisac and Huningue. Reflections on the Benefits resulting to the French from the Invasion of Germany. Conjectural Benefits resulting to the Austrians. Evacuation of Nuremberg by the King of Prussia. Reflections on the Conduct of this Monarch. Defeat of the Austrians before Roveredo, and March of the French Army to Trent. Defeat of Wurmser at Bassano. Wurmser takes Refuge in Mantua.

THE destruction or dispersion of the imperial army in Italy under Beaulieu, which had given to Buonaparte the means of conquering the whole of the northern part of that country, was now repaired by the arrival of a new army composed of the flower of the German troops serving on the Rhine, under the direction of general Wurmser.

On his approach, the hopes of the Italian powers who had not made their definitive arrangements with the French republic, began to revive, as they cherished the expectation that he was about to become the deliverer of Italy from the Gallic yoke.

The first success of the Austrians fortified this illusion of the Italian

Italian states; for, having assembled what remained of the forces under marshal Beaulieu at Trent and Roveredo, general Wurmser, while he threatened an attack on the whole line of the French army, marched along the Adige with the whole body of his forces, and suddenly, on the 29th of July, fell upon the post of Salo, on the lake of Guarda, and that of Corona, between this lake and the river, which posts covered the city of Mantua. The loss of these important positions was immediately followed by the deliverance of Mantua, from the siege of which place the French were driven in great disorder, and with a considerable loss of artillery and stores. The Austrians, emboldened by their success, after taking possession of Salo, whose garrison withdrew to Peschiera, instead of Brescia as they were ordered, seized on this latter place, together with the magazines of the republic, and their hospitals, and thereby cut off the communication of the French army with Milan.

The pope, on the news of this success, sent his vice-legate to take possession of Ferrara, which the French had now evacuated, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Azzara the Spanish ambassador, who represented this step as a direct violation of the armistice between his holiness and the republic. The vice-legate made his public entry without opposition; but when he substituted the papal arms for those of the republic, the citizens of Ferrara immediately assembled, and replaced those of France.

The position of the French was extremely critical; for while the garrison of Mantua was now at liberty to act with the Austrians on

the one side, Wurmser was pursuing Buonaparte on the other. The French general, in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his forces from Verona and other parts on the Adige, and by a forced march threw himself, with the whole of his army, on the other side of Mantua, and regained possession of Brescia. He then brought together his forces between the lake of Guarda and Mantua, at Castiglione, behind which village Wurmser had drawn up his forces after passing the Mincio. The French had succeeded in retaking their various posts, and were now to decide the contest.

The battle was fought on the 15th of August with great obstinacy and courage, and ended in the total defeat of the Austrians, who were compelled to repass the Adige, leaving the French once more in possession of the country round Mantua; the siege of which place, from the loss of their heavy artillery, they were compelled to turn into a blockade. This victory is said to have cost the Austrians twenty thousand men; the number of prisoners was very great, owing to the prompt submission or rather defection of various divisions, who were soldiers originally of the Polish nation, and who seized the favourable moment of contest, or defeat, to abandon a service which was hostile both to their principles and their feelings; and who afterwards formed a legion, under Polish officers, and were incorporated into the armies of the republic. During this engagement, which lasted several days, the inhabitants of Milan, by offering at the moment of danger to organize battalions, and march for the common defence, gave proofs of their attachment to the cause of liberty,

liberty, so much the more unequivocal, as the further defeat of the French, whose retreat was at first cut off, would have rendered the Austrians complete masters of Lombardy.

The successes of the armies of the republic on the Rhine corresponded with those in Italy. The battle of Ettlingen, as has been already observed, determined prince Charles to retreat into Germany. Moreau, after taking possession of Fribourg in the Brisgaw, and Stuttgart (18th July), the capital of the duchy of Wirtemberg, crossed the Neckar in pursuit of the division under prince Charles, and, after various skirmishes, in some of which he met with obstinate resistance, forced him to retreat across the Danube, making himself master of the whole of the circle of Suabia. Jourdan, in the mean while, marched along the Mein through Frankfurt, Aschaffenburg, Wurtzburg, and Schweinfurt, each of which places surrendered at his summons; and having pushed the Austrians under Wartensleben across the Rednitz (August 1st), at Bamberg, became possessed of the whole circle of Franconia, threatening at the same time the territories of the German princes, and, among others, those of the elector of Saxony, which lay undefended on his left. A division of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, under Ferino, had taken possession of Constance, and of the various fortresses on the lake; so that the republican army formed one immense chain across the whole of this part of Germany, of which the left extended almost to the frontiers of Bohemia, and the right to the Tyrolean mountains, separating Bavaria from Italy.

In the mean time, the duke of Wirtemberg and the prince of Baden, whose territories were in

possession of the armies of the republic, sent their respective ambassadors to Paris to treat for peace with the directory. By these treaties the duke of Wirtemberg (17th of August), engaged himself to withdraw from every alliance, offensive or defensive, entered into by him against the French republic; to furnish in no wise any aid or assistance, by loan, contingents, or stores, either individually or as a member of the Germanic empire, to any power at war with France, and to renounce, in favour of the French republic, whatever possessions he held on the left of the Rhine. The treaty with the prince of Baden was concluded on the 31st of August, on the same conditions, together with certain stipulations for the free navigation of the river, which had hitherto been subjected, from various arbitrary regulations, to heavy exactions.

These treaties were followed by other diplomatic arrangements of still greater importance with the cabinet of Madrid. The treaty of peace concluded with that power on the 22d of July 1795 had been much blamed in France, on account of the conditions, which were thought in general to have been less favourable to the republic than it had a right to expect from the success of its arms. Prudent politicians, however, applauded this moderation on the part of France, which probably induced the Spanish court to listen to the proposals of the directory, and open negotiations for a nearer alliance. The coalition had long since been so disjointed and broken, that what remained, compared with the powers that had at first united against France, scarcely deserved the name. It was not, however, to have been expected, that any of these

men, flushed with victory, unrestrained by discipline, and meeting with no resistance. Though the love of plunder actuated numbers, it has been observed, in excuse for the conduct of general Jourdan, that the requisitions made by him to the directory for supplies of every kind, had been so entirely unheeded, that he was compelled to admit of these irregularities in his army, in order to follow up the advantages which he was daily gaining over the enemy. Other causes have been alleged for this conduct of the French troops in Germany, and for the sanction given by the government to the system of contribution. At this period the directory was negotiating both with the courts of Prussia and Spain; and it was the interest of the French government, whilst treating with these powers, to shew as moderate a disposition as possible, in spreading the revolutionary spirit among the subjects of other states. If the entrance of the French into the dominions of the German princes had been followed by a call on the inhabitants to assert their liberties, it is probable that they would not only have succeeded in exciting a general revolt, but that larger contributions would have been dealt out, as in the case of Holland. But this conduct must have given considerable umbrage to the courts with whom they were treating, since the motives to insurrection which they must have held forth amongst the subjects of the different princes in Germany; could not but be equally applicable to those powers with whom they were about to form stricter alliances. From whatever cause it proceeded, it is certain that the French alienated from them the minds of the inhabitants of those countries which they conquered; who, instead of

deliverers, considered them as the allies of their ancient governors, and even as aggravating the burdens under which they were already destined to bend.

The army of the Sambre and Meuse, as has been observed, had possessed themselves of the country lying on each side the Mein; they had made themselves masters of Franconia and the states adjacent, and were advancing, though with measured steps, as they met every where with obstinate resistance towards Ratisbon; whilst Moreau, who had marched along the Danube, and had taken possession successively of Ulm, Donawerth, and other towns situated on its banks, passed the Lech on the 24th of August, near Augsburg, where he was opposed with great vigour by the Austrians, whom he defeated, and triumphantly entered the circle of Bavaria. During this period the Austrian armies had received considerable reinforcements, whilst those of the French were necessarily weakened from the immense tracts of country which they had conquered, and which they were compelled to guard. The archduke Charles, who had been pursued into Bavaria by Moreau, having placed his army in advantageous positions along the Danube, and on the right of the river Inn, which divides the dominions of the elector of Bavaria from the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria, sent off in the mean time considerable reinforcements to the army of Wartenstein, which was already equal in number to the army under Jourdan, who was then in pursuit of the Austrians, and who had arrived within a day's march of Ratisbon.

The right wing of the French army under the command of general Bernadotte

Bernadotte was, on the 22d August, unexpectedly attacked by forces so superior, that it was compelled, in order to avoid being surrounded, to fall back on the main body; and Jourdan finding himself in a country where he could expect no resources, and exposed to imminent danger by having general Wartenleben in front, and the archduke Charles on his flank, ordered the whole of the army to retreat; which was effected not without some difficulty and loss; owing less to the courage of the Austrian soldiers than to the vengeance of the peasantry, and other inhabitants of the countries they had to repass, who took advantage of the distress of the French, to retaliate for the injuries they had received. This hostility of the people was expressed in so ferocious a manner, that the French general found it impossible to rally his troops, who, loaded also with the fruits of their rapine, were more sedulous to escape with their spoils, than to incur any further risk of losing their treasure together with their lives.

The Austrians also hung on the rear and the flanks of the French so closely that no respite was allowed them; nor did Jourdan think his army in safety, till, repassing Bamberg and Wurtzbourg, he gained the banks of the Lower Rhine by nearer marches through Wetzlar, and halted only at the posts from whence he had commenced his expedition.

By this retreat of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, the situation of that of the Rhine and Moselle, under general Moreau, was rendered extremely critical; as his left flank was uncovered, and the Austrian forces, falling into his rear, had the means of cutting off his communications with France. This event

was the more likely to happen since the army of the Sambre and Meuse had been repulsed to a distance so remote as to be incapable of making any effective diversion; and the garrisons of Mentz, Mannheim, and Philipsburg, which the French armies had left behind them, in the full confidence of being able to take them at leisure, lay between that army and the army of the Rhine and Moselle, now insulated in the centre of Germany.

While the Austrians were pursuing the army of the Sambre and Meuse towards the Rhine, general Moreau pushed on his conquests to the banks of the Iser without much resistance, as it did not enter into the plan of the Austrian generals to make much opposition to him in that quarter. He took, therefore, quiet possession of the capital of Bavaria on the 27th of August, and made the usual requisitions of money and stores, including pictures, from the elector, and entered into preliminary treaties with him for a suspension of arms preparatory to peace, which the elector engaged, by an article in the treaty of armistice, to negotiate with the directory at Paris. Moreau had conceived hopes either that Jourdan's army would resume the attack, or that his farther advances towards Vienna would force the archduke to return; but the defeat of Jourdan's army was so complete, that all hopes of their further resistance were relinquished, and Moreau was compelled to concentrate his forces in order to guard against new dangers for which, as he had never calculated, he had never provided. General Moreau, in order to make a more effectual diversion for the army under general Jourdan, had detached a considerable body from his main forces towards Nuremberg, in order to fall

on the rear of the archduke's army, and cut off his communications and supplies. The main army was to have been stationed at Neuburg on the Danube, in order to prevent the advance of the imperialists whom he left on the banks of the Ihm. The Austrian general however, aware of this movement, immediately sent off a considerable division across the Danube, whilst the forces which kept the passes of the Tyrol mountains advanced to annoy the rear of the French army. The attempt made by the detachment which had marched towards Nuremberg, therefore, did not succeed, as the archduke had given orders that the line of communication should be kept up farther to the north, by the route of Egra and Bamberg. Moreau therefore, convinced that no assistance was likely to be received from the army of the Danube and Meuse, but perceiving on the contrary that the archduke had detached a part of the forces under his command, together with portions of the garrisons of Mannheim and Philipsburg towards his own line of communication with the Rhine, found it indispensably necessary for the safety of his army to concentrate his forces, and effect a retreat.

He accordingly succeeded in withdrawing his troops without loss from the electorate of Bavaria; and repassing the Leck, which divides this country from the circle of Swabia, placed his army between the Danube at the Ulm, and the lake of Constance. Pressed on his flank and his rear, Moreau, in order to extricate himself, found it necessary to give battle to general Latour, who was marching close upon him. The event was successful; he gained a complete victory on the 3d of October, over the Austrian army, and made five thousand prisoners. This

victory, however, though highly important in the critical position in which Moreau was placed, was not sufficient to disengage the army from the dangers with which it was surrounded; since the Austrian generals had succeeded in cutting off the communication with the Rhine by seizing on all the passages in the Black Forest, through which Moreau had to retreat, and in gaining possession of the Villes Forestieres, or frontier towns, which lay on the Rhine, and which bounded the Swiss territory.

These positions taken by the German troops, in which they were aided by the peasants of the country, had entirely insulated the army of the Rhine and the Moselle; so that the difficulty of its final retreat was now rendered extreme. Twenty four thousand Austrians, under the command of the generals Nauendorf and Petrasch, were stationed in its front, as it was now retreating; while general Latour, recovered from his defeat, and having received reinforcements, pursued it closely in its rear.

As the passes by the Villes Forestieres were the least strongly guarded, Moreau sent off his sick and wounded, and also his baggage, under a strong escort, by that road; while with the main body of his army he kept in check the enemy with whom he was continually in action, till he arrived at the passes of the Black Forest. The part of the Black Forest through which he judged it most expedient to effect his passage, was that part called the Valley of Hell, through which for many leagues the mountains rise so boldly, that scarcely a space is left between them for fifty men to march in front. This defile, formidable by nature, was defended by what was judged a sufficient number of troops

troops to close it up; but the centre of the army rushing on, forced the passage, while the right and left kept in check the Austrian forces on the flank and rear. By this desperate measure Moreau extricated himself from the imminent danger which threatened him, and brought his army, with comparatively little loss, to Friburg; not only making good his retreat through a hostile country of three hundred miles in extent, but giving daily battle to the enemy even while flushed with victory, making the assailants prisoners to the amount of several thousands, and taking from them both colours and cannon. The arch-duke Charles having united further detachments from his army to those already opposed to Moreau, this general was at length compelled to abandon the Brisgaw, and send back his army across the Rhine, which he accomplished at Brisach, and Huningue, retaining nevertheless possession of the batteries which had been erected on the banks opposite to this last fortress, and also leaving a strong garrison in the fortrefs of Kehl, from whence he had commenced his irruption into Germany.

Thus ended the expedition into the imperial territory; and, although the repulse of the French overthrew the gigantic plans of conquest, which, in the delirium of success, the French nation had begun to form, the invasion was yet productive of essential service to the republic, by detaching almost the whole of the German princes from the coalition; whilst, in the present state of the finances, the army subsisting at the expence of the enemy during so considerable a part of the campaign, was an object of no inconsiderable importance.

But that which outweighed every other consideration, was the powerful diversion which this invasion into Germany operated in favour of the conquest of Italy. As the Milanese was the only reasonable object of conquest, all the operations in Germany, however dangerous or romantic, effected this important purpose, and facilitated the progress and glorious enterprise of Buonaparte. Had, however, a better understanding between the commanders of the respective armies taken place, and led to actions more general and decisive, and had fortune, hitherto lavish in her favours towards the French, consolidated their great and rapid successes, the three armies under Jourdan, Moreau, and Buonaparte, might have formed a junction in the heart of the hereditary states of the house of Austria, and decided the fate of Germany.

The retreat of general Moreau has been justly the object of universal admiration. The previous retreat of the armies under prince Charles has some claim also to the regard of posterity. It may be said, that, although the arch-duke saw the ill-success which had attended the plan of leaving strong garrisons behind the enemy when the combined armies were driven out of the French territory in the campaign of 1794, he nevertheless reinforced, under circumstances nearly similar, those of Mentz, Mannheim, and Philipshurg, before he made his retreat into Germany. Leaving this great mass of force behind him in perfect security, he divided and dispersed that of the enemy by drawing them on without loss or inconvenience to himself. He acquired strength by his approach to the frontier of the hereditary states, in proportion as

the French lost it by their distance from their own; till at length, seizing the favourable moment, and concentrating his renovated forces, he turned on the invader thus previously weakened, whom a rapid flight alone saved from utter destruction; and returning to the strong posts he had left on the Rhine, he drove the French armies from their former conquests in the Palatinate, and forced them to seek refuge within the fortresses of their ancient territory.

The historian may also add moral and political considerations to these military combinations. The spirit of the Germans beat high for liberty, and their enthusiasm for the French was ardent. It was expedient to awaken them from this delusion: and though the experiment was expensive and dangerous, the only certain and effectual method to lead the people to an abhorrence of French principles, was to bring them and the object of their wishes to nearer contact. It is not, however, probable that either such moral or military considerations were the motives of the retreat of the imperial armies; since the expedition of Moreau across the Rhine at Kehl, and the weakening of the imperial army by sending detachments from it into Italy, are causes amply sufficient to explain the effect. Such, notwithstanding, were the advantages which resulted to the cause of the combined powers, by the ill conduct of the French, which indeed proved more fatal to their interests in Germany than all the successes of the Austrian arms.

The king of Prussia found it expedient also to moderate his pretensions with respect to the territory of which he had lately taken possession. He withdrew his troops

and his claims from the cities of Nuremberg, Wendsheim, and Wilsenberg, declaring that he could not accept the re-union of these states to the Prussian crown, without the free consent of the inhabitants, and the permission of the empire, neither of which he was likely to obtain. Had he joined his forces to those of the French, who had given him the means of possessing himself of those places at the time when his assistance might have determined the fate of the house of Austria, and either have put him at the head of the empire, or dissolved the union altogether, he might have retained those usurpations, and added others in the same spirit of rapacity and injustice, by which he had been already influenced. The speedy return of this monarch to sounder principles of political rectitude may without difficulty be attributed to the successes of the Austrian armies; though it is said, also, that he was partly influenced by remonstrances from the court of Petersburg, which was to him a constant object of awe and apprehension.

Though the defeat of general Wurms before Mantua had considerably weakened his army, yet the reinforcements he received by the Tyrol, kept him in a respectable state of resistance against the passage of the French armies by these mountains, into Germany. Buonaparte, leaving a sufficient number of forces to keep up the blockade of Mantua, marched along the Adige, to attack the Austrian army who were strongly intrenched at Mori, and who occupied the passes of St. Marco. After a severe contest, (4th September) these passes were taken by the French, and the Austrians were compelled to evacuate the city of Roveredo, which

which had long been their chief *de-
pot*, and take refuge in Trent. In
order to cover this city, the Austri-
ans had rallied at the pass of Cal-
liano, and had taken positions which
appeared impregnable. The ad-
dress and courage of the division
under general Massena surmounted
this obstacle; and after a long and
obstinate conflict, in which the
French made six thousand prison-
ers, and took twenty pieces of can-
non, this general victoriously en-
tered the city of Trent, while ge-
neral Wurmser, drawing off the
remainder of his forces to the right
towards Bassano, assembled the
greater part of them in the valley
of Brenta.

By this manœuvre, the Austrian
commander hoped to have engaged
Buonaparte to have continued his
march into the Tyrol, which ap-
peared to be his object, and to
which there was no longer any op-
position; while by rapid marches
he was enabled, from the position
he had taken, to fall into the rear
of the French army, and by cutting
it off from the division left to form
the blockade of Mantua, had hop-
ed, with the assistance of the garri-
son, to defeat this division, and
prevent the retreat of the French
general.

Buonaparte, however, instead of
continuing his march from Trent
into the Tyrol, aware of the de-
sign of Wurmser, turned short to
the right, and followed him closely
to the valley of Brenta. Pursuing
his march along the river of this
name, he defeated the Austrians (8th
September) successively at Primo-
nalo, at Covolo, at Cismone, and

lastly at Bassano, where Wurmser
had established his head quarters.
Perceiving himself then vigorously
pursued, Wurmser had no alterna-
tive but to retreat towards Trieste,
by which he must have abandoned
Mantua to its fate, or make good his
march to that place, and reinforce
the garrison with the wrecks of his
army. This latter plan seemed to
him the most practicable; he accord-
ingly presented himself before Vero-
na, where he attempted to pass the
Adige: but general Kilmaine, whom
Buonaparte had left in that city,
opposed his progress; and he was
therefore compelled to seek a pas-
sage at Porto Legnano, which he
fortunately effected. It was Buona-
parte's intention to have prevent-
ed him from penetrating to Man-
tua, and he had taken measures to
surround him and compel him to
surrender; but Wurmser's marches
were so rapid that this plan could
not be put in execution. He met
with resistance in his march, at
Cerea, Castellano, and Due Castelli;
but as he had to contend with in-
ferior forces, he succeeded in mak-
ing good his way to Mantua, where
the French attacking and obtain-
ing, after great slaughter, the posts
of Favorito and St. George in the
suburbs of the city, and not having
artillery to form a siege, turned the
whole into a blockade. In this at-
tack it is computed that the im-
perialists lost twenty thousand
men; and this was the third army
which had been destroyed in the
course of this campaign, in at-
tempting to reduce Lombardy once
more under the Austrian yoke.

CHAPTER XI.

Troubles in the South of France. Babeuf and his Accomplices ordered to be tried by the high National Court. Drouet escapes from Prison. Attack of the Jacobins on the Camp of Grenelle. Trial of the Insurgents by a Military Commission. Cause of the Disorders in various Departments of the Republic. General Amnety proposed. Discussion on the Law of 3d Brumaire. Amendment of that Law. State of Geneva. State of the Church and the Clergy in France. State of the Church in Holland. State of Literature in France: Report of the Directory respecting the Islands of the Mauritius. State of St. Domingo. History of the Revolt in Grenada. Reduction of St. Lucia, of St. Vincents. The Maroon war in Jamaica.

MARSEILLES, which had been so often during the revolution the seat of political discord, presented (on the nineteenth of July) scenes of disorder which threatened the subversion of government, and the renewal of the reign of terror.

The period when the citizens assembled for the annual choice of their magistrates, was that chosen by the jacobins to raise this sedition. Marseilles at once resembled a city taken by storm, and delivered over to the pillage of a ferocious soldiery. Bands of assassins ran through the streets, with their necks and arms bare, armed with sabres, stilettos, and clubs, exclaiming, "Long live the mountain! long live the constitution of 1793!" and having divided themselves into different bands, they took possession of the halls where the sections assembled, overthrew the urns which contained the ballots of the citizens, drove the presidents and secretaries of the assemblies from their places, and killed those who made resistance. The commissary of the directory at Marseilles excused those acts to the government as quarrels between the royalists and republicans; but the council of five hun-

dred instituted an inquiry into the facts, and exposed the perfidy of the agent of government, and having annulled the elections, ordered the directory to fill up the vacancies provisionally until proper measures should be taken for the security and tranquillity of the city.

Although the jacobins were most frequently guilty of these excesses, the public tranquillity was often disturbed by the partisans of royalty, and by fanatics, who, under the title of Societies of the Sun, and of Jesus, retaliated with great severity, and often with cruelty, on the agents of terrorism, by whom, in the days of revolutionary government, they had been severely persecuted. The rage of these different factions against each other had been suppressed or fomented according to the political opinions of those who had been sent on mission to examine into and remove these evils; but the pacification was in general of short duration. These insurrections were confined chiefly to the south, where the passions, perhaps, acquire energy from the influence of the climate. The general tranquillity of the state was little disturbed by these partial disorders; and in this is discovered the

the advantage of great republics over those of small extent; since in France insurrection may be excited, or rebellion may rage over a stretch of country equal to the extent of many lesser governments, without producing any sensible effect on the great mass; the revolt at the extremity is crushed by the weight of power concentrated in the seat of empire, and put in motion against it; while, in smaller states, the whole is insurrection, and the parties torment and lacerate each other, till the disorder ends in complete anarchy or servitude.

The jacobins, defeated at Marseilles, where a kind of military government was now instituted in order to preserve more effectually the public peace, made soon after another attempt for the subversion of the government at Paris itself, more violent and extravagant than that of Babeuf.

As a representative of the people had been engaged in that conspiracy, the forms enjoined by the constitution for his arraignment had retained him, as well as his accomplices, in Paris till the two councils had decreed his accusation. After Drouet had undergone the necessary examinations, and had been ordered to take his trial, he found means to make his escape from the Abbey prison where he was confined. This evasion was generally understood to have been an act of the jacobinical party in the government, who were supposed to be well acquainted with the progress of this conspiracy.

Little inquiry was made into the affair, since it was generally agreed that the trial of a man who was supposed to have rendered service to the country by the arrest of the late king in his flight from Paris, and who was just returned from a long

imprisonment with the Austrians, would bring scandal on the republic.

Although the evasion of Drouet rendered the assembly of a national court unnecessary, it was determined that the trial of his accomplices should be carried on in the same forms as if he was present. This conspiracy, which, for its extent and its views, may rank with any recorded in history, became justly an object of national attention. The examination of the papers of the conspirators, which formed a collection as curious as it was terrible, presented such details and ramifications of treason, as deterred the government from making them immediately public; nor was it till some time had elapsed, and the publication became unavoidable, that the depth of this conspiracy was discovered.

Though the subversion of the government was the ultimate end of the majority of the conspirators, the three parties who formed the general body were divided on the means by which it was to be effected. The first of these parties was that over which Babeuf himself presided, and whose adherents were Antonelle, Pelletier, Germain, D'Arthe, &c. This division was for a general massacre of all who held any authority, or who were guilty of being rich; and this division was the most powerful, the best conducted, and the best organized; but it did not appear to have the means, without a coalition of the different parties, for accomplishing its ends. The second division was composed of ex-conventionals,—of those who had been members of the committees of public and general safety, under the regimen of terror,—such as Vadier, Amar, Laignelot, Lindet, and others. These ex-deputies, presuming on their own

experience in government, were averse to so wide a dissemination of power as would necessarily follow, if the partisans of general massacre were to gain the ascendancy; and therefore they contended that the purposes of this revolution would be fully answered, if the government was put into the hands of those who had conducted the insurrections of Germinal and Prairial, in 1793, of those who had been sent prisoners to the fortress of Ham, and those deputies of the convention who had been rejected at the last election. On this party Babeuf spoke with great contempt; and it is probable that they would have divided, had not a coalition been found indispensably necessary to attain the common end. Drouet, it seems, was the point of contact between these discordant parties, the compounder and amalgamizer of their crimes, the reconciler of their differences, and the proposer of the conditions of the treaty which consolidated their union.

Both these parties, notwithstanding their reciprocal hatred, joined their discordant forces, and both were overlooked by the third party, of whom Babeuf spoke with respect, and whose alliance he held in greater consideration than those with whom he was already leagued. Whoever in the government were the subaltern agents, the director, Barras, appears to have been acquainted with the proceedings of the conspirators; and in a conversation which he held at the directorial palace with Germain, one of the most faithful adherents of Babeuf, it is said he hinted at various revolutionary measures, such as pillaging the shops and warehouses, as best fitted to effect the end they had in view.

It does not appear that any of

the high authorities mingled more immediately in the plot, but only held themselves in readiness to take advantage of the disorder. Among the papers of the conspirators were found lists of those who, though not engaged in the conspiracy, enjoyed (according to their different talents, as pronounced patriots) the confidence of the chiefs. Some were particularly marked out as steady men for revolutionary execution, which was followed by the long scroll of those to be murdered; others were designated for administrators, financiers, and other employments; so that not only was the success of this new revolution ensured, but almost all the places under the succeeding government filled up.

When Babeuf, with the other conspirators, was transferred to the city of Vendôme, where the high national court was appointed to assemble, the subaltern agents of the conspiracy, who were not discovered or taken, in order to favour the escape of their accomplices at the moment of their leaving prison, attempted to excite an insurrection by firing petards, exposing white cockades, white colours, and other ensigns of royalty, so as to make their own manœuvres wear the appearance of a royalist conspiracy. This ridiculous plot was instantly discovered, the agents having been detected in the very fact. The bad success of one plan did not discourage the jacobins from undertaking others. On the contrary, finding that no inquiries were made to discover the authors of this attempt, they imagined themselves sufficiently strong to undertake an operation of a bolder and more decisive nature.

Since the attack of the sections of Paris on the 13th of Vendémiaire, various bodies of troops had been

been constantly stationed in and near Paris, under the immediate direction of the government. Many of these soldiers, who had been employed, in conjunction with the jacobins, against the citizens who had armed themselves on that fatal day, did not forget the fraternity which they had then vowed to each other, and of which the jacobins were careful to cherish the remembrance. The greater part of the regiment called the legion of police had been disbanded on account of their jacobin connections; but, as the friendship of the military was a point of essential importance, the leaders of the jacobin party did not fail to pay their court assiduously to their successors.

The camp of Grenelle, a plain on the southern side of the Seine, between Paris and the hills of Meudon, still contained numbers whom the jacobin leaders considered as their firm adherents. Emboldened by the assurances of those soldiers whom they had gained over to their party, they formed the desperate enterprize of attacking the government with the assistance of the camp.

These desperadoes accordingly assembled at a tavern, to the number of five or six hundred, at the village of Vaugirard; and though their intention of visiting the camp was discovered, and consequently the necessary precautions taken both by the minister of police and the general, they entered it at midnight, crying, "Long live the constitution of 1793!—Down with the councils!—Down with the five tyrants!" Having entered the camp, they invited the soldiers to fraternise, to get rid of their chiefs, and march under their banners to glory and empire. As the act of rebellion was now completed, the soldiers

did not delay to execute the punishment. The most forward of the insurgents were immediately put to the sword, or shot; and the remainder, not expecting to meet with so hostile a reception, fled in all directions. The greater part made their escape: one hundred and thirty-two were taken prisoners, and were afterwards tried by a military commission. Of these the greater number were released; the rest, having been for the most part members of revolutionary committees, were condemned to death, or banishment, according to their former respective characters; as the crime of insurrection was clear and specific, of which all were equally guilty. This insurrection differed from common insurrections, only by the apparent inadequacy of the means to the magnitude of the design.

The project of these desperate and infatuated men was to put to death the majority of the directory, and the greater part of the two councils, including the seventy-three deputies proscribed under the revolutionary regimen and the newly-elected third, the staff of Paris, and all the ministers, except Merlin, the minister of justice, who was understood by them to favour their revolutionary designs.

At the head of this conspiracy were three ex-representatives of the people, and three ex-generals, who were executed; and it is generally believed that Drouet himself was in the number of the insurgents. This desperate attempt had the salutary effect of awakening the executive power to greater vigilance against the remains of the jacobinical party, since it became evident that their own existence was endangered by the culpable indulgence they had exercised towards men

men covered with blood and crimes; many of whom they had admitted to offices of trust and power, and whom, till lately, they had affected to treat with distinguished marks of affection.

This insurrection took place at the moment when the legislature was employed in deliberating on the formation of a law of general amnesty, which should annul all proceedings instituted for revolutionary crimes, committed from the 10th of July 1789, to the 4th of Brumaire, the fourth year (1796), except those of emigrants, and others, comprehended in the law of the 3d of Brumaire, the day preceding the putting in force the constitution.

The reign of terror, which inundated France with crimes, was the source of other crimes which were committed to avenge the former. That tyranny had been so universal, that there was scarcely an individual who had not felt its influence; and the language of passion and party spoke so loud before the tribunals, that the voice of justice could scarcely be heard. Various measures had been adopted to introduce impartiality in judicial proceedings after the subversion of the jacobin government; but those who were accused, though transferred from the scene of their crimes, found in every quarter, and even in the persons of the judges, who ought to have been the impartial arbiters of their fate, either the accomplices of their guilt, or their determined enemies. The revolutionary committee of Nantes, who, under the proconsulate of Carrier, had perpetrated murders of every description, were declared by the tribunal of Paris, before whom they were sent, to have committed those horrors without criminal intentions;

and nothing in general was wanting but a knowledge of the jury, to decide what would be the fate of any person accused. It was this uncertainty in the administration of justice, which led the inhabitants of the southern departments to despise the tardy and erring vengeance of the laws, to take the execution into their own hands, to violate the sanctuary of the prisons at Marseilles, to arm the timid maid with the dagger that at mid-day struck the heart of the terrorist judge who had been the assassin of her father, and which gave a latitude to passion and political rancour, often beyond the bounds of the most vindictive retaliation. This popular vengeance was, however, not only exercised against the guilty, but it was made the pretext of insurrections against the government, by instituting societies whose principles were not so much directed against the destruction of its abuses, as against the existence of the republic itself. The law of the 4th of Brumaire, which was also one of the effects of the insurrection at Paris in Vendemiaire, not only stopped all proceedings against the agents of the terrorist regimen, but also set at liberty those who had been sentenced to various punishments for crimes legally and fully proved. This law was the signal of jacobin re-action throughout the republic; and the south became again the theatre of outrage and tyranny. From hence arose these disorders at Lyons and Marseilles, which became the subjects of discussion in the legislature, who now hoped to end these dreadful calamities by pouring the river of amnesty into the burning gulf.

The report of the commission proposing this general amnesty was the subject of a long and eloquent debate,

debate, which turned principally on the right which the legislature had of granting an amnesty, if the present moment were favourable for that purpose, and to what points it ought to extend. The debate, which had been adjourned in order to afford time to the committee to amend the resolutions, was resumed four days after with great warmth, and ended in the introduction of another question, which was a proposition to repeal the famous law of the 3d of Brumaire, which, excluded from all public offices, until the peace, the relations of emigrants, and those who had signed papers tending to insurrection, by whom were meant the sectionaries of Vendemiaire.

For some time past, the party which, during the convention, was known under the name of the *Coté-droit*, or of the *Gironde*, had been strengthened by the party of the *new third*. The discovery of the conspiracy of the jacobins on the 22d of Floreal, called the conspiracy of Babeuf, had weakened the influence of the jacobin faction, and increased that of the moderate party, which again received new strength from the attack of the jacobins on the camp of Grenelle. At length the government became convinced that there was no safety but in crushing the remains of that daring sect.

The party in the legislature who were distinguished for the moderation of their political opinions, thought the present moment favourable for obtaining a total repeal of the law of the third of Brumaire, which was regarded by them not only as a monument of jacobin triumph after the events of Vendemiaire, but also as derogatory to the principles of the constitution. Although the motion made for its re-

peal was warmly supported, nothing farther could be obtained at that time than referring the examination of the law to a commission which should weigh and compare its advantages and inconveniencies with respect to the present political temper of the republic.

The decision of the legislature on this point was regarded by all parties as one of the most important that had come before the assembly, since it involved the interests of such a variety and mass of individuals, and not only engaged deeply the parties in the house, but excited a kind of political fermentation without. While the moderate party opposed the law because they thought its existence incompatible with the constitution, others considered its repeal as affecting the existence of the republic, by the admission of royalists and counter-revolutionists into every office of trust; and declared their belief, that, if the law were repealed, the first act of the next legislature would be that of placing a king upon the throne.

The decision of the commission was in favour of the maintenance of the law to its full extent, with the exception of that article which excluded those who had given their signatures to insurrectionary papers; which referred to the persons who had been active in their opposition to the laws for the re-election of the two thirds of the convention, called the laws of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor. The commission, in its report, professed to have considered this law in three principal points of view; with respect to its own tendency, and its connection with the constitution; in its relations to the amnesty granted to the partisans of the terrorist faction, and also with regard to the proposition which had been made of extending

tending it so as to exclude the objects of this amnesty from public offices, equally with the relations of emigrants. After descanting on these various topics, the commission concluded that the law was in strict conformity to the constitution, that the extending of it to a wider circle was unnecessary and impolitic, and that the whole should remain unrepealed, save that article of the decree which excludes those who had signed insurrectionary papers. Nevertheless, as the decision to be made on the subject of this law was considered by both parties, though in different views, to be essentially connected with the liberties and existence of the republic, it was resolved that it should undergo the forms enjoined by the constitution, and be read at the intervals appointed by law.

The discussion lasted several days. On one side it was represented that the convention had a right to enact this law, since, although the constitution was accepted by the people, it was not at that period put into execution; that if in the interval such circumstances occurred as tended to destroy both the constitution and the republic, such as the events of the 13th of Vendemiaire, the convention, the only regulator of the state, would have been inexcusable, had it not provided against a danger which the people, in accepting the constitution, could not have foreseen, and against which, therefore, the constitution could not provide; that the forming of this law was therefore a case of absolute expediency; that if a certain class were for a short time suspended from the exercise of their rights, this suspension was essentially connected with the public safety, which required that public offices should not be left to men unworthy of

filling them; that under this description might reasonably be included those who, if not emigrants, had been reputed such, and those also who were connected with them by ties of consanguinity; that during the existence of this law, no disastrous effects had resulted from it; the armies were not disorganized; public offices were not vacant; the republic became more and more consolidated; that the application of the law to the relations of emigrants was prudent and just; since, were they appointed to fill places of authority, they would probably have to decide on the fortune, the life, the honour of a son, a brother, or a father, and be exposed to the wretched alternative of wounding their dearest affections, or of betraying their duty to their country; that it was prudent at least to suspend the rights of those who were only suspected of emigration, since the suspension, were they innocent, would be but temporary, and they were only placed in the situation of those whom the constitution excluded from the enjoyment of citizenship, because the term of residence indicated by the law was not accomplished; that the council were not called on to make the law, but only to stop its execution; that if the law were repealed, it would open the way for emigrants, and their relations, to fill the most important offices; that its duration was limited; that the legislature had not hesitated, on the 21st of Floreal, when the conspiracy of the jacobins was discovered, to frame a law which was an equal violation of the constitution; and that if the constitution was violated by the dispositions of the law of Brumaire before it was put into execution, that violation, admitting it to be such, was virtually justified

justified by the principle established in enacting the law of Floreal, or rather was an exemplification of the old maxim, that the public safety was at all times the supreme law.

On the other side it was contended, that as the law owed its origin to a moment of perturbation and jacobin re-action, so it bore the marks, and possessed the spirit, of revolutionary government; that if it was prudent to exclude the relations of emigrants, the law should distinguish between the relations of those who had abandoned France from their hatred to the revolution, and of those who had fled subsequent to the reign of tyranny, in order to avoid proscription and death, and who were not yet restored to their rights; that if the law ought to be preserved, it ought to be extended to those whose crimes had escaped punishment by means of the general pardon, and who, having been the plunderers and even the assassins of the people, ought not to sit as their judges or magistrates; that the time chosen for the formation of the law ought to render it void and of no effect; that the convention was then, as heretofore, under the influence of terror; that the constitution was threatened to be set aside, or totally suppressed; that many of the representatives of the people were put into arrest, that others were about to be placed on the list of proscription, and that the enacting of this law was a compromise with the jacobin party in order to avoid the commission of greater evils. It was contended that the constitution having been accepted, the convention had no right to frame a law contradictory both to its letter and spirit; that the law was therefore an usurpation of the sovereign

authority, which had just been exercised by the people, and was therefore a tyrannical act, and a violation of their rights; that the law was also essentially unjust; for, as all crimes are personal, a great portion of the people were punished for the crimes of others, and a considerable portion were treated with this injustice, from having previously experienced a still greater injustice, in having their names or the names of their relations perfidiously inscribed on the emigrant list by the agents of terror; while, far from abandoning the republic, they were at the time in the dungeons of their tyrants.

It was observed that the law was in manifest violation of the rights of the people, in so much as it excluded them, under pretence of *public safety*, from the election of persons who might become the objects of their choice; which principle, under similar pretences, might be extended to the whole nation; that the pretence of its being a measure of public safety was the revival of that jargon which had issued from the pestiferous lips of the monsters who had committed, under its sanction, every possible crime, from the institution of that tyranny which they called revolutionary government, to the organization of that scene of murders which they called a revolutionary tribunal. It was insisted, that the constitution having amply provided for the public safety, every measure that infringed that constitution was an act of tyranny, and the suspension of only one of its dispositions was a violation of the whole.

Although this law was to be made void at the general peace, it was suggested that its maintenance might be deemed of sufficient importance by the party who proposed it. to per-

perpetuate the war; that the period of its termination was in any case uncertain; and making the constitution subservient to uncertainties of any kind was virtually annihilating it; that the assumption that this exclusion was no punishment or degradation, was sophistical and false, since every disposition which deprived a citizen of his rights, unless in perfect harmony with the constitution, was such; that the law itself was abrogated the moment the constitution was put into activity; that justifying the dispositions of this law by that of the twenty-second of Floreal, was only justifying one abuse by another; that though it was contended that the law was expedient to prevent those who were supposed to be hostile to the constitution from becoming members of the legislature, one individual only had been found after the most diligent research, to whom the law applied; but that the law, from its being ineffective, was not the less dangerous; since, whether it were impotent, and therefore ridiculous, or forcible, and therefore despotic, it was an usurpation of the will of the people, and a direct infringement of their rights.

The council, after considerable agitation and tumult, decided in favour of the report of the commission by a majority of forty-four. A debate on the clauses of the report then took place, and an amendment was proposed, to include in the provisions of this law those partisans of the terrorist faction, who were the objects of the amnesty, the chiefs of the Vendéans, and the rebels in the western departments who had been pardoned. This amendment was violently opposed by many of the original framers of the law of the third of Brumaire, who thought they had

yielded sufficiently in assenting to the removal of the penalties of this law from the subscribers of insurrectionary papers, which had been agreed to in the discussion of the report; but the majority, on the principle of impartiality, decided that these amendments should also make part of the law.

Thus amended, the law was sent up to the council of elders. According to the constitution, this council has simply the right of approbation or rejection of laws, without any power of making amendments to any law, since the right of initiation is reserved to that of the five hundred.

The report, which was sent to a committee, as it had been in the other council, was in favour of the amendment. But, notwithstanding the ample discussion which had taken place in the other house, the debate lasted several days. To the arguments already urged, were added others arising from new circumstances and new information. The council, reduced to the alternative of adopting the resolution, and thereby consecrating in some measure the law of the third of Brumaire to which the great majority were decidedly averse, and that of rejecting the resolution, in which case the law, without amendment, would remain in all its original, odious, and persecuting colours, decided in favour of the resolutions sent up by the council of five hundred. This law, which involved so many different interests, excited so many fears, and kindled so many passions, had been the subject of discussion in the legislature upwards of five months.

If the party who proposed the repeal of the law did not succeed to the full extent of their wishes, they accomplished some points which
were

were deemed of no slight importance. If the relations of emigrants were still excluded from places of trust, the agents of terrorism were compelled to abandon those to which they had been chosen; and though the directory had the uncontrollable nomination by the constitution to all places belonging to the executive power, their choice was now so far restrained that they could neither elect nor keep in office those who had found refuge from punishment in the general pardon.

The freedom with which the French government had treated the ministers of Sardinia, Sweden, and the pope, against which powers they had just grounds of complaint, was now exercised, without any apparent motives, against the minister of Geneva. This republic, from the beginning of the revolution, had been forward in manifesting its friendly disposition towards France. In return for this fraternal adherence, the party known in France by the name of the jacobin party, soon after the change of the monarchical government in 1792, had attempted to violate its independence, by ordering general Montefquieu to take possession of its territory, at the hazard of coming to an open rupture with the Swiss cantons to which it was allied. But although they were favoured in this attempt by a corresponding jacobin party in Geneva, their order was disobeyed, and the general, our readers will recollect, saved himself from proscription by flight into Switzerland, where he resided during the reign of terror.

As this plan had not succeeded, and the reign of jacobinism was established in France, the jacobins of Geneva, under the protection of the French minister, instituted a si-

imilar system of government, and revolutionary committees. The vague titles of suspected persons, and fusillades, desolated for a short time this little republic. The events of the tenth of Thermidor, which overthrew that sanguinary regimen in France, put an end to the labours of its imitators in Geneva; and constitutional regulations were formed, which promised the return of order and prosperity. The republic of Geneva, relying on the friendship of the French republic, to the fortunes of which it had shewn the most constant attachment, enjoined monsieur Keybaz, its minister, to request from the directory that the same protection which it gave to the Dutch republic in making the acknowledgment of its independence a part of the conditions with those powers with whom it concluded treaties of peace, might be extended to that of Geneva, since such acknowledgment was an object of importance, and even of necessity, with respect to their neighbour the king of Sardinia, and might prove serviceable to them with the princes of the German empire.

This was a request which might have been granted by France without inconvenience, and would have been admitted by the respective powers without difficulty. The French government had, however, other views, and the minister of foreign affairs hinted to M. Keybaz, that it was probable the republic of Geneva might find it more advisable and more accordant to its future tranquillity and interest to renounce its independency, and become an integral part of the French republic. M. Keybaz, who had no instructions from his government to listen to overtures of this nature, could give no satisfactory

tory reply to the minister on this subject; who therefore obtained an order from the directory to request from the republic of Geneva the recall of their ambassador, and the sending of another, who should be possessed of purer principles of patriotism, and with whom he should not find the same difficulties that he had found with M. Keybaz. The Genevan government, without taking any apparent notice of the insinuation, sent another ambassador: but as both the repugnance of that government to the desired union, and the character of the new envoy, were previously known to the minister, the ambassador was not admitted; and the government of Geneva soon after experienced another shock from the disorders and violences committed by the jacobin party, in the murder of two individuals who had been tried for some political offence; which was apparently meant as an indication to the inhabitants that a re-union with France was the only effectual mode of insuring order and tranquillity.

This miserable and machiavelian policy excited general indignation in France. Beside the outrage committed against the rights of an independant nation, and the infraction of all those principles on which the French republic had founded its own existence, the attempt was impolitic, as the danger of the precedent would necessarily alarm the cantons of Switzerland for their own independency, and the benefit resulting to France could in no way counterbalance the numerous evils which would result from this union with Geneva.

The friends to the independence of this republic represented, that if the French government persisted in attempting to enforce this incorporation, the Genevan, from that

general attachment which every man feels for his country, and which every native of Geneva in particular cherishes for those free institutions under which he has been educated, and which had taught him, from his earliest infancy, the blessings of independence, (so much the more dear, as the narrow circle in which they had been exercised gives him a more positive and appropriate idea of his liberties and his rights), would feel that the enjoyment of French liberty, although it might make him the citizen of a greater community, would so far diminish his personal importance, that it would wear to him the semblance of dependence and slavery. It was observed, that, although the real liberty of the individual under the laws of the French republic might not be lessened, the prejudices of the Genevan would lead him to abandon a place where he had been accustomed to consider himself so essential a part of the sovereignty, and to carry to other countries that industry which had made Geneva, for certain manufactures, the mart of Europe, and which had levied commercial contributions in the remotest parts of the world; which had excited the same spirit of industry in the surrounding departments of France, and which gave the most profitable means of existence to the peasants of the regions of Geneva and Mont Blanc, whose inhabitants were excluded from any operations of external labour by the snows in which they were buried during the rigours of their tedious winter. When, in addition to these minor considerations, it was remembered that, by the enforcement of this union, the French government would destroy that fair fabric which they had reared in their maxims of political

political morality, in their assurances of religious veneration for the rights and liberties of others; it was hoped that the incorporation, if it was even offered, would be rejected; from principles both of prudence and magnanimity.

The union was no longer insisted on, but the disposition to accomplish this object was not immediately changed; for the dismissal of M. Reybaz and his successor was followed by the rejection of a third and a fourth ambassador, attended with circumstances of indignity, as the persons named by the government of Geneva, and rejected by that of France, were not suffered to reside in Paris. The Genevans, without taking public notice of this conduct which they had not the power to resent, continued to labour at the formation of a constitution as a free and sovereign state; and took measures to repress that seditious and anarchical spirit which the Jacobinical party in the French government was suspected to have encouraged.

No question during the revolution had been more agitated than that which concerned the political and civil state of the clergy. The convention, not satisfied with having entirely destroyed the civil establishment of religion, had inflicted the most ignominious penalties on such of the ministers as had not taken the oaths prescribed by the laws. A nonjuring clergyman, under the regimen of terror, was an intallible object of proscription; and nothing more than the identity of his person was necessary to send him to immediate execution. Numbers of this description were still confined in various places of reclusion in the republic. The council of five hundred (on the seventeenth of Floreal), after a long discussion, had decreed

1796.

that they should be banished from the republic; which decree was sent up to be debated in the council of elders: but events of more immediate importance intervening, the committee to whom it was referred, had delayed making their report on the decree of the five hundred, nearly three months.

Although sufficient time had elapsed to calm the effervescence which this question had excited, the report, when made, did not prove more favourable to this unfortunate class of men, since it tended to confirm the resolutions adopted by the other council. It has been observed by Rousseau, that if governments were regulated by mere philosophers, they would become more intolerant than priests; and though much of the intolerance which had been exercised towards the clergy during the revolution, may possibly find some excuse in the rancorous hatred which many of the order had perseveringly manifested against the establishment of liberty, the progressive spirit of persecution, of which they have been the victims, is justly a subject of reprehension. As the constitution, by decreeing that the state establishes perfect liberty of worship, and pays for the support of none, had irrevocably determined the fate of the church in France, and of its ministers, — and as the means by which this event had been accomplished, make an important part of the history of the revolution, — it may not be inexpedient to present our readers with a short retrospect of the manner in which this important change was effected. The first declaration of the constituent assembly that the estates of the clergy were the property of the nation, and that the ministers of the church were the servants of the state, equally with civil functionaries,

Q

aries, led the legislature to require from the bishops and newly-elected vicars an oath, in conformity to an article in the civil constitution of the clergy (decreed on the twenty-second of July 1790), "to watch over the people intrusted to their care, — to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, — and to support with all their influence the constitution decreed by the assembly, and accepted by the king." This oath was extended, on the twenty-sixth of September following, to ecclesiastics of every description, to professors of seminaries and colleges, and to every public functionary of the church, without distinction. Those who refused it were held to have vacated their offices, but none were declared to be in rebellion to the law; but such as having taken the oath should refuse to obey the rules it enjoined, were not only to be deprived of their office, but to lose their right of citizenship. This decree was extended, on the fifth of February, the twenty-second of March, and the seventeenth of April 1791, to chaplains of hospitals and prisons, and to all who were concerned in public instruction, who were held to be in the class of public functionaries, and who were enjoined to take the same oath of fidelity and attachment.

Hence began the division of the clergy into constitutional and non-juring priests. As the latter had in general regarded the interference of the state with the concerns of the church as a sacrilegious violation of religion, they chose rather to resign their functions, than yield an obedience which they declared to be rebellion to the church and to heaven. This conscientious class was very numerous: but as the class was equally numerous who could

reconcile civil liberty and conscience, the resignations were soon filled up by ecclesiastics attached to the revolution, and who had taken the prescribed oaths.

The multitude of priests who were at once deprived of their offices for refusing to take the oath, naturally represented this severity as a persecution for conscience-sake; and the regulations which were afterwards passed, prohibiting them from officiating in holy offices under any circumstances, added to the effervescence already excited. Their flocks in a great measure partook of the spirit of their pastors; and the western departments of France, where the clergy had always had the most extensive influence, became the refuge of the discontented, where they employed themselves in sowing very plentifully the seeds of revolt, which soon broke out into open rebellion, under the name of the insurrection of the Vendée. The legislative assembly had attempted at different periods to employ coercive measures against the non-jurors: but the influence of the court, who secretly protected them, had hitherto prevented any discussions on the subject. The evil, however, became so obvious, that at length, in May 1792, certain penal laws were decreed against them by the legislature, which the king refused to sanction. This refusal is recorded as one of the leading causes of the abolition of monarchy in France; which event took place on the 10th of August 1792.

On the 14th of August the legislature decreed, that every Frenchman receiving pension or salary from the state should be held to have abdicated his office, if, in a week after the publication of the law, he did not take an oath to
maintain

maintain *Liberty* and *Equality*, or to die in their defence. But, as this law did not affect the non-juring clergy, it was decreed, on the 26th of August 1792, that every priest who had refused to take the constitutional oath, or who, having taken it, had retracted, should depart within a certain time from the French territory, under pain of imprisonment to those who should remain or return.

The same decree subjected to the same penalties all other ecclesiastics who, although not required to take the oaths, had, by any overt acts, fomented or occasioned disturbances which should have come to the knowledge of the administrative bodies; and such also, whose banishment should be required by any six citizens inhabiting the same department. The sick and aged, who were disabled from complying with the law, were to be confined in some house set apart for the purpose, under the care of the municipality; and those who were banished from the territory, were enjoined by another law, issued the 17th September in the same year, not to inhabit any country then at war with France.

These ferocious regulations, the forming of which had been preceded by numberless arrests and imprisonments, were proclaimed on the mangled carcases of the unfortunate victims who, in various parts of the republic, fell a sacrifice to the savage and inhuman fury of that party known in France by the name of *Septembriseurs*, or men of the second of September.

The national convention, who succeeded the legislative body, had been too much occupied in the

first months of its session to continue this work of persecution; but as soon as the jacobin party had gained a certain consistence, the priests were again brought forward. Having taken the constitutional oath to defend the nation, the law, and the king, was now no mark of civism; it was therefore decreed, on the twenty-first and twenty-third of April 1793, that all ecclesiastics of every description, regular or secular, who should not have taken the oaths decreed on the fourteenth and fifteenth August 1792, to maintain liberty and equality, should be transported without delay to Guiana; the penalties of which were extended, as in the preceding case, against those whom six citizens of the same canton should accuse of incivism*. The pain of death was decreed against those who should return; but the aged and infirm were simply kept in confinement.

The success of the jacobin conspirators on the thirty-first of May 1793, completed the destruction of the civil establishment of religion in France. Constitutional and unconstitutional worship were at once confounded in the same proscription; the void made by the abolition of the Roman catholic religion was attempted to be filled by what these new fanatics called "the worship of reason;" and atheism received the public homage and honours due to the Supreme Being.

The non-juring priests being now virtually outlawed, and revolutionary tribunals in full activity, the convention made no further regulations till the thirtieth of Vendemiaire, second year (October 1793), when the penalty of death was confirmed against the priests

* This last part of the decree was in the extreme of tyranny, and evinced the ignorance of the convention in the science of government.

who should return from banishment, and was decreed against those also who should evade the law by remaining in France, as well as those on whom should be found any counter-revolutionary insignia. Certain penalties were also decreed against those who should harbour priests who were subject to any of the above regulations, which, by a law of the twenty-second of Germinal, April 1794, was pronounced to be transportation, if such concealment had taken place after the promulgation of the law of the thirtieth of Vendemiaire; but, from the publication of the present, the person by whom they were concealed was to suffer death, as an accomplice; which punishment, by the same decree, was inflicted on the aged and infirm who should be found without the walls of their prisons.

The events of the ninth of Thermidor (27th July, 1794), which overthrew the jacobinical regimen, suspended the execution of these barbarous regulations, and favoured the return of the people to the practice and duties of religious worship. The national convention, whatever might be its wish to prevent the resurrection of the catholic faith, saw that opposition gave it vigour. On the third of Ventose, the third year (February, 1795), the convention decreed penalties against those who should disturb the citizens in the exercise of their religion: but added that the republic protected no exclusive mode of worship, nor salaried its ministers, and that every law contrary to the spirit of the above decree was repealed. On the eleventh of Prairial following (May 1795), the convention authorised the different communes to make use of churches not sold, for the purposes of wor-

ship; and subjected the ministers to a declaration only, before the municipality, of their submission to the laws. This wise return to toleration in the government diffused general satisfaction, and facilitated the peace with the insurgent western departments: and although a decree of the twenty-sixth of Fructidor (August, 1795) enjoined the committees of public safety to execute the regulations against the priests who had returned from banishment, it determined the mode of restoring their estates to the families of those who had been banished. The recommendation made by the convention was softened a few days after into another law, which only subjected refractory priests to fines, and such only who, having accepted civil public functions, did not abdicate them.

By these latter regulations, all the former were repealed; and soon after, the constitution was framed, declaring that no one could be disturbed in the exercise of religious worship, provided he conformed to the laws. The only condition imposed on those who became pastors of a church, was the acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the people, and obedience to the laws of the republic. It was therefore left to the choice of the individual, whether he would comply with the conditions; but the revival of penalties, which had been abrogated by the constitution, against priests who filled no offices, and who therefore were not liable to punishment, was rightly considered by the council of elders as an act of intolerance, injustice, and tyranny. Notwithstanding the representations made by the committee of the hostile spirit of the remaining refractory clergy, whose numbers were now considerably diminished,

diminished, of their exhortations to rebellion, their denunciations against the purchasers of national domains, and a variety of other counter-revolutionary proceedings, the truth of which there was no reason to doubt, as the proofs were multiplied, the council of elders (on the sixth September) rejected unanimously the resolution of the council of five hundred, ordering those priests to be banished, and left them to the ordinary punishments of the law. Meanwhile, the nonjuring priests continued to exercise their profession, and found every where devotees, who considered them as the only sure guides in the road of salvation, and the conforming clergy as apostates from the faith. A great division arose in France between these different sectaries: but as the government took no part in the dispute, the public tranquillity was not disturbed. On the one side, many of the non-conforming clergy mingled with their zeal for the ancient faith a proportionate degree of zeal against the new government; whilst the conforming clergy attempted to reconcile the Roman catholic faith with the spirit and letter of republicanism. This latter class having collected together the remainder of their forces, which the late persecution exercised against the whole order had scattered in wide directions, had early in the spring attempted to give consistence to their proceedings by holding a synod, which, if it had not the weight of a council, should be the temporary guide in matters of belief for those, who, lost amidst the subversions

ons which had taken place
 urch, were ignorant what
 ollow, and what authori-
 ey. Encouraged by the
 order, although the perse-

cution against the priesthood had not altogether ceased, a few constitutional bishops, in the spring of 1793, assembled to examine the state of the desolated church, and take measures for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, and the restoration of public worship. Lamenting the persecutions to which the church had been subjected during the late reign of terror, and which persecution they considered as the most violent it had undergone since its origin, they beheld, in the final separation which had taken place between the church and the state, the means of destroying those abuses and evils to which this incorporation had given rise; and regarded the present æra of the revolution as affording a favourable opportunity of restoring religion to its original purity and splendour, delivered from political influence, and having no other relation with government but the reciprocal interchange of submission, fidelity, and attachment, for justice, safety, and protection.

But, lest the unity of the church should be broken by innovations in discipline, or the introduction of new doctrines in matters of faith, these constitutional bishops published a circular letter or provisional code, as a guide for the faithful, till the times should become favourable for a more avowed and regular mode of proceeding. This declaration of their faith differed but little from the maxims which had hitherto been adopted by the Gallican church; the pope was admitted to be its visible head; and the whole of the doctrines taught by the apostolic and Roman church, defined by the œcumenical councils, and explained by Bossuet, were adopted as the standard of catholic belief. In the government of the

Q 3 church,

church, the authority of episcopacy was the corner-stone, as being of divine original, and the bond of union among the different churches, as the primacy of the holy see was the common centre of catholicism; and as this hierarchy was recognized to be established by divine right, independent or congregational assemblies were expressly condemned.

After laying down the articles of faith with respect to doctrine and discipline, they proceeded to the examination of the conduct of the clergy who had fallen off from the faith during the storm of persecution. Various were the modes in which the crime of apostasy had discovered itself: and such were formally expelled from the church as unworthy of exercising any of its functions, who had profaned the body of Jesus Christ, the holy scriptures, the holy oils, the images which were the objects of the veneration of the faithful; who had joined in or sanctioned the sacrilegious blasphemies of the enemies of religion, who had given in their dismission during the persecution, or declared that they renounced their functions; and such as had contracted marriage, even though they should renounce the tie.

This encyclical letter concluded by recommending certain provisional regulations with respect to the general administration of the church, referring to a second letter in which these regulations were to be more fully explained. The second encyclical letter appeared at the close of the year, and contained a complete and well-arranged code of all that respected the doctrine and discipline of the catholic church. The interval between the publication of these two letters had been filled up by these pious and

learned ecclesiastics in analysing the doctrines of their religion, and endeavouring to reduce them to their primitive simplicity. Though far from attaining this end, their labours were attended with profit; for in their researches they discovered and avowed as primary articles of belief, that the government of the Christian republic is spiritual; that its distinctive character is charity,—that the obedience it demands is conformable to reason,—that its spirit is abhorrent of despotism,—and that it was confided in common to all the apostles. The authority of the church, according to the system of these reformers, resides in the body of bishops; and, although the bishop of Rome holds the first place in this community, his titles or claims of being the universal bishop or bishop of bishops, have no foundation in truth. The persecution which had awakened the zeal and quickened the faith of the believer, had taught him other principles, which the narrow maxims of his church had never admitted into his creed. Animated by the enlarged principles which had been established by the revolution before it became sullied by crimes, the philosophic catholic had attempted to amalgamate them with the principles of his faith; and, whilst he still adhered to the doctrines of an intolerant church, he professed the most unqualified and unbounded sentiments of toleration. Hence, for the first time, do we see, in the official address of the bishops of the French catholic church, the names of Grotius, Clarke, Newton, and Addison, mingled, as defenders of the truths of religion, with Pascal, Massillon, Bossuet, and Fenelon; and the testimony of Voltaire, under the title of the philosopher of Ferney,

Ferney, brought to prove the disingenuousness of the accusation made by infidelity against religion, that its doctrines tend to stifle reason, that ray of divinity in man.

These pastoral regulations and instructions were not all delivered in the same spirit of tolerance and meekness. With all the deference which these learned ecclesiastics paid to the laws, they declared some of them to be in direct opposition to the maxims of the church; whilst the comminatory parts of their circular briefs included many as unworthy of catholic communion, who had sinned with all the enthusiasm of religion and virtue. The marriage of priests, and the laws respecting divorce, were subjects of the severest reprehension; and the crime of *laicism*, they asserted, bore the double character of error and sacrilege.

As marriage is one of the sacraments of the Roman church, they were to be excused, or rather commended, for protesting against the laws which permitted divorce; especially as the abuse of these laws had greatly enlarged the field of vice and immorality; but the fulminations issued against *laicism*, which they defined to be the usurpation of priestly offices, bore strongly the mark of priestly domination. This crime of *laicism* was frequent in France, and was an evidence of zeal for religion, which ought to have excited the approbation of these ecclesiastics, rather than have provoked their censure.

The laymen who were the objects of this priestly anathema were those who presided at the religious assemblies of the people, where no ecclesiastic was to be found; who read to them the offices of the church, and in some cases administered the sacraments; but most

commonly substituted for this part of the service the exposition of the cross. These lay-assemblies were common in various parts of the republic; and the people, rejoicing in the return of these means of consolation, and landmarks of piety, the weekly celebration of divine worship, had not discerned, or had overlooked, the sacrilege of the minister in favour of the service he rendered; and so indifferent were they respecting the qualification of their pastors, or rather so far had they shaken off their prejudices, that absence from religious duties, on account of the quality of the officiator, was considered as the symptom of being a bad citizen. These circular letters, which were signed by thirty-four bishops, were only provisional, till the convocation of a general council, which should definitively decide on the future regulations both of doctrine and discipline in the church. The convocation of such a council has, however, been deferred; nor does it appear to enter into the views of the French government to admit assemblies of ecclesiastics, whose regulations, though they would not have the force of laws, might, if they were in contradiction to the established laws of the republic, have an undue influence on the people.

A number of ecclesiastics, who had assembled in the month of March at Versailles for the purpose of holding a synod, were dispersed by an order from the executive power, as forming an association hostile to the peace and good order of the republic; since which no public assembly of divines has been held. This controul, exercised by government over the different sectaries, does not relax their zeal. The conforming clergy have

conferred on their non-conforming brethren the title of *dissenters*; and, as those of the laity who are disaffected to the republican form of government, have no way more decisive of shewing their aversion, than that of attending the religious offices of those whose religious dissent is the certain indication of their political disaffection, the class of dissenters attached to the doctrines of the church, untainted with revolutionary mixtures, and of those who are become devotees from contradiction, is very numerous. In return for this appellation, the dissenters apply the epithets of *intruders*, wolves, heretics, and even protestants, to the conformists; and this intolerance is carried so far, that the penitent who forsakes those errors is not admitted into the fold of the faithful till he has undergone the ceremonies of exorcism; and the dissenting priest sometimes assures repose to the soul of the dead by the exhumation and re-burial of the body, which, though in appearance it be quietly inurned by the conforming schismatic, is not believed to be at rest.

From amidst the storm of these sacerdotal dissensions, it is evident that a fairer religion is about to arise. The reformation of religion in France appears strongly impregnated with the spirit of republicanism. Pastoral letters are published by bishops, in which christianity is represented as being the original declaration of the rights of man, and the union of the throne and the altar is represented as the most anti-christian of political or religious institutions. At the head of these reformers is Gregoire, the bishop of Blois, known for his eloquent defence of the Jews before the revolution, and who, amidst the general apostasy under the reign of

terror, stood single in the national convention against the torrent of atheistical proscription. The government, without being indifferent, stands aloof from the contest; and this wise neutrality, while it weakens the virulence of the fanatic whose zeal was kept alive by persecution, will leave a fair field for that free inquiry which leads to the discovery of truth.

It was not in France alone that the religious establishment sunk in the vortex of revolution. The Dutch republic, impatient of the yoke, without waiting for the sanction of a constitutional law, rashly, in our opinion, abolished their national church, and decreed, that henceforth the state should defray the expence of no form of worship, and should pay none of its ministers, except indemnities to such as might suffer by the present reform.

The revolution in the catholic religion in France may be attributed to the united efforts of Jansenism and infidelity; for it is difficult to decide, whether it is to the disciples of the bishop of Ypres, who had been at all times the most strenuous defenders of the liberties of the Gallican church, or to the sectaries of the sceptic philosophy, who treated the arguments of the contending parties with equal contempt, that the honour or blame belongs of undermining the national religious establishment.

Whatever may have been the special or concurrent causes of the overthrow of the catholic establishment, this revolution in the protestant church of Holland was chiefly effected by the proscribed sect who embraced the Socinian doctrine; who, being in general men of learning, and friends of civil liberty, had acquired such an ascendancy.

ascendancy in the political concerns of their country, as afforded them the means of laying the foundation of the present revolution, and erecting on it the fabric of their present independence. As it was the only religious sect in Holland not tolerated by the state, it was supported by those who cherished its principles of opposition to government, without formally becoming converts to its religious system; and by the influence of this religious sect, known hitherto in Europe only by their tracts of controversial divinity published periodically by the philosophical establishment at Haerlem, the political system of Holland has been totally changed.

While the attention of the most respectable part of the clergy in France was directed to the reforming and re-establishing a religion, which had been first corrupted, and afterwards suppressed, the men of letters were still more actively engaged in the promotion of science and the improvement of literature. The great national institution which we announced in our last volume has already commenced its operations. At the first public assembly, which took place on the fourth of April, 1796, the members of the executive directory, desirous of giving splendour and importance to this literary solemnity, went in their costume of ceremony, and accompanied by all the ministers, and with a considerable escort. The ambassadors and ministers of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Tuscany, Holland, the United States, Genoa, Geneva, &c. were also present, and a place of honour was assigned for them before the estrade of the directory.

At this memorable assembly,

which may be considered as the epocha of the revival of letters in France, all the men of literature, all the artists who had survived the storms of the revolution, and escaped the fury of the jacobin Vandals, were present. Fifteen hundred spectators, assembled in that fine hall of the Louvre, known by the name of the hall of antiques, of which the architecture is not inferior to the temples of antiquity, and which is decorated with the statues of the illustrious men of France, formed altogether a spectacle worthy of a great nation, rising from amidst its ruins with as much pomp and majesty as if it had felt no calamities.

The president of the executive directory made a speech of installation, in which he declared, that it was the steadfast purpose of the government to revive the drooping arts, and to shield them, and liberty, from all the attacks of ferocious anarchy. This harangue was received with the loudest acclamations. Every heart swelled with emotion, every eye melted with tears, at the sad recollection of the past, combined with the soothing hopes of the present. Dufaulx, the president of the national institution, replied, that every member of that society felt the most ardent desire to concur towards the prosperity of the republican government, and would aim, in giving lustre to their own names, to give lustre to their country: that the republic of letters existed before the other, — that its spirit could be neither enfeebled, nor subdued, — and that, amidst those whom it animated, the love of glory would be ever the support of liberty. This academy includes all the branches of natural and experimental philosophy, and the belles lettres. Science and literature

ture are again cultivated in France with enthusiastic ardour, and will, we hope, under the auspices of liberty, attain a higher degree of perfection, than they ever acquired beneath the yoke of despotism.

The commissioners of the executive power who had been sent to the Mauritius, returned about the beginning of October with the report that the inhabitants of those islands not only refused to submit to the decree of the convention passed the sixteenth of Pluviose, in the second year of the republic, for the abolition of negro slavery, and to admit the fifteenth article of the rights of man prefixed to the constitution, declaring, "*that no man could sell himself, or be sold; and that his person is not an alienable property;*" but that they had forcibly seized on their persons, and put them on board a vessel which had orders to transport them to the Philippine islands; the vessel however, they added, instead of following its destination, after touching at Madagascar for provisions, had brought them into Rochelle.

The legislature, without entering into the subject of the report, referred the examination of its contents to a committee. The planters in the mean time had not delayed to make known their situation to their friends in Paris, who publicly disowned most of the facts stated in the report, and denied that the deliberations of the colonial assembly were tainted with any principles of disobedience to the law. On the contrary, it was alleged that the planters, admitting the principle of the decree, which they did not consider as a positive law, had sent it to a committee to propose such regulations in its execution as should obviate the evils which would result from an imme-

diately adoption of the decree to its full extent, and which they were persuaded would necessarily bring on the ruin of these colonies, as it had effected the destruction of the West India islands; an event so much the more to be deprecated by the mother-country, as it would inevitably throw these islands into the possession of the English, who, having the sole dominion of the Indian seas, would have the means of excluding France from any future intercourse with that part of the globe; whilst, by making a just representation of the actual state of the colonies to the legislature, and obtaining such regulations as their situation required, the decree might be eventually put into execution, consistent with the prosperity of the islands, and be made even subservient to their improvement.

The report of the dreadful calamities which had destroyed nearly two-thirds of the population of St. Domingo, and which had converted many parts of that fertile region into a desert, which had changed the desponding slave into the remorseless tyrant, covered with blood and spoils, instead of the chains of his oppressors; all these internal evils, the mingled result of colonial obduracy and jacobinical reformation, aggravated by the disorders which that colony was suffering from the ravages of a foreign enemy, led the directory and the legislature to reflect, that although the system of the entire abolition of negro slavery was founded on the principles of eternal justice, the incautious application of those principles might, as experience had taught, become the source of incalculable mischiefs. They therefore wisely suspended all measures respecting the Mauritius, the assem-
bly

bles of which colonies soon after sent a formal justificatory memorial, denying some parts of the accusation made against them, and extenuating others. They represented that though they should not attain at once the full establishment of liberty, they should reach it finally without convulsions; that for years past the traffic of slaves had been forbidden; that two or three thousand were annually set at liberty; and that the refractory slaves, or those who were notorious for their immorality, were sent out of the colonies. They displayed the destructive tendency of an immediate application of the laws to their full extent; and concluded by declaring their unalterable attachment to the republican form of government, and their determination of yielding obedience to its constitution and laws.

(October 20th.) The directory soon after communicated to the council the report made to them by the commissioners who had been sent early in the spring to St. Domingo. According to this report, the desolation which had overspread this colony during five years of massacre and anarchy, had now ceased; the Africans, who had renewed their outrages from the apprehension that they were about to be reduced to their former state of servitude, being undeceived, had returned to their usual occupations and labours; and they hoped, by the next dispatches, to send the acceptance of the constitution which had been put in force at Cayenne, which colony they represented, from their correspondence, as having executed the decree for the entire abolition of slavery, and as remaining in a state of ease and prosperity.

The truth of this report was not only called in question, but posi-

tively denied. Some members of the council produced letters, and others offered to produce testimony at the bar of the house, that the boasted prosperity of St. Domingo consisted in the total overthrow of the fortunes of the proprietors. Some of the emancipated negroes were clothed with the supreme military command; and others, having taken possession of the most wealthy plantations, expended the produce in luxurious festivals, at which the commissioners themselves were guests; and the tyranny which was heretofore exercised by the planter, was now more inhumanly exercised by the slave. That liberty which was their undoubted right, and which, if properly administered, would have been as beneficial as it was just, had become the bane and destruction both of the planter and the African. The former, who, by an obstinate and merciless perseverance in oppression, had opposed and counteracted, from the beginning of the revolution, every beneficent attempt of the legislature to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate slave, was now crushed by this double league against him; whilst the African, ignorant of what constituted real liberty, and set loose at once from all restraint, felt a savage thirst for vengeance, which he exercised without controul.

Santhonax was the author of the liberties of the negroes, and became, in some measure, the director of their political opinions. In the return made of deputies to the legislature by the electoral assemblies of St. Domingo, were found the names of those who, both in the colonies and in France, had been the agents or the abettors of the system of terror. These elections, as soon as the return was made, were

were declared to be illegal, since the constitution did not permit the colonies to exercise this right till after a certain period.

The doubts which had been expressed respecting the flourishing state of St. Domingo were cleared up, soon after, by the arrival of later accounts containing information of fresh calamities and disorders. The negroes had revolted, not against their masters as heretofore, but against the authority of government, had massacred their chief, and joined the enemy. The constitutional gift of sudden and unlimited liberty had excited, in men stupified by long oppression, no gratitude or emulation. On the contrary, they became idle and mutinous; and Santhonax, who had been their friend and protector, was compelled, on account of their rebellion, to issue a proclamation (20th of August), declaring the northern part of St. Domingo in danger, and taking strong revolutionary measures to reduce the rebels.

The colony was now divided into three parts; of the first, the English had gained possession; the southern part was in possession of the insurgents, who had declared themselves independent of the commission and the republic; and the remainder, comprehending the Port de Paix, the Gonaïves, and their dependencies, were still under the government of the commissioners, who had succeeded in reducing the revolted negroes in that quarter; but the whole of the colony was in a state of disorder and desolation, which required the speedy interposition of a wise and powerful administration, in order to prevent the total destruction of this settlement, which had been one of the principal sources of the wealth of France, and which precipitate hu-

manity, mistaking the means for the end, and avaricious cruelty, opposing every alleviation of human misery, had nearly succeeded in bringing to utter ruin.

As the West India islands have been thus casually brought under our consideration, and as so proper an opportunity may not again occur of explaining their situation with respect to Great Britain, we shall, in contrast to the French reports, state a few facts, which we have learned from good authority on the other side.

The expedition to St. Domingo on the part of the English was originally planned by some emigrants who had a leading interest in Jeremie and the Grand Cul de Sac. A small party under colonel Whitlock was dispatched with orders not to attempt a landing in case of any appearance of resistance. The landing was, however, effected without resistance, in the month of October 1793, as we related in a former volume. Notwithstanding this flattering appearance, men of experience and judgment have entertained great doubts, whether their landing there at all was a wise or politic measure. When the immense extent of the island is taken into consideration, and the entire extirpation of the colonial system of government by the decree for the emancipation of the negroes, the difficulty of the enterprize is such, that scarcely any man of cool judgment and of local experience would be disposed to approve of it. That the European powers could be indifferent with respect to the success of Great Britain in such an undertaking, was scarcely to be imagined. That Spain could see with frigid apathy the English in possession of both sides of the best channel to their important territory in the

the bay of Mexico, or that, considering the marked jealousy with which they have ever regarded the occupancy of Jamaica by this rival nation, they could concur in resigning to its power the still more important and formidable island of St. Domingo, is hardly to be supposed; and there is great reason to believe that the alliance which afterwards took place between Spain and France was greatly promoted by this circumstance. The cession of the moiety of St. Domingo to the latter power was certainly the effect of this jealousy; since, either as a commercial or naval power, the republic of France was less formidable to the Spaniards than Great Britain.

Elated by false hopes, and actuated by at least mistaken principles, the British troops had no sooner obtained a firm footing at Jeremie, than the commanders entered into negotiations with men of all parties, and pledged themselves to treaties with individuals, impracticable to be maintained. In the mean time the little army, which consisted of only 500 men, was dispersed in small parties over the surface of the island, with little regard to military position. Thus unable to afford protection to their friends, or to act offensively against the enemy, the English troops became alike objects of distrust and hatred to both.

After a considerable lapse of time, in which nothing material was effected, a reinforcement arrived under brigadier-general White; and many officers expected that an attack upon the Cape was in contemplation; and, indeed, situated as the troops then were, it was probably the most adviseable measure; but the commanders were diverted from this by a different pro-

ject. Some of the vessels cruising on the station had looked into the different ports; and the only considerable prizes that were to be found, were observed at Port-au-Prince. In the hope of encouraging the men therefore by the booty, or from some other motive, the attack was directed against this part. The prizes were, indeed, secured; but an unfortunate and disgraceful quarrel took place respecting the division of the spoil, which greatly impeded and injured the service.

A long period of inactivity ensued, during which the English confined their efforts entirely to a defensive system; the reinforcements which arrived from England having never supplied the loss of men in consequence of the fatal mortality that prevailed. From the month of October 1793, when they first landed in the island, to the month of March following, the loss in the several engagements, or rather skirmishes, did not exceed 100; but the victims of disease were upwards of 6,000, including 130 officers. Thus reduced in strength, and with no fresh resources, the chief dependance was placed upon the emigrants; but such was the bad faith of the majority of these, that government was obliged to bribe high their own professed friends, to induce them to continue such. Thus the expence of treasure was enormous, and the annual mortality was at least equal to the annual importation of troops; in other words, the deaths were always equal to the arrivals: thus the pretended friends of the British government were more an object of terror and suspicion than the enemy who attacked them; and thus the British naval force was constantly employed to keep their own stations in order.

IN

state of utter seclusion from the British colonists.

Thus circumstanced, we cannot wonder that the minds of these men, who were the ancient inhabitants, and the most respectable of the colony, were prepared for a revolt, which to them appeared no more than the reclaiming of their legal privileges, and a just resistance to the rude hand of mercantile tyranny. On the night of the 2d of March 1795, therefore, the disaffected party, chiefly consisting of the old French inhabitants, and the people of colour, commenced their operations in two divisions: that on the east side of the island seized and plundered the town of Grenville; in the contest eleven of the English inhabitants fell by the swords of the natives and mulattoes; and, at break of day, the victorious party repaired to their pre-concerted place of rendezvous at Belvidere, a coffee estate in the occupation of a mulatto planter of the name of Fedon, which was situated nearly in the centre of the island: the other party seized Gouyave in the same manner, but appear to have acted upon better and more humane principles; for they put not a single man to death, and contented themselves with making prisoners of the English inhabitants. In the morning they were joined by several of the most independent of the adopted subjects; and, in the course of the day, the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Home, and some of the principal inhabitants, who attempted to come round from La Fortune to Fort George in a small sloop, were pursued by a party of mulattoes in a canoe, and captured.

By the ill-concerted and visionary expeditions against the French islands, the garrison in Fort George had been reduced to 200 effective

men; and in that spirit of false confidence which has uniformly characterized Mr. Pitt's administration, the fortifications, which had cost the government at least 300,000*l.* had been suffered to go to ruin. It was not till the 5th of March that a small detachment of 90 militia and 40 regulars could be mustered for the purpose of attacking the rebel camp at Belvidere; and a small party was dispatched at the same time to Grenville. After many disasters and delays, the two parties were enabled to form a junction at Gouyave on the 8th; but they were soon obliged to retreat, and totally to evacuate that place. In this desperate situation, the president of the council published a proclamation, offering a reward of 40*l.* to "any person who should bring in any of the insurgents *dead or alive*,"—a proclamation calculated not only to authorize, but to tempt men to murder and perjury; and this imprudent proclamation, to give it no worse a name, was carried into effect the very day it was issued: for a dispute having arisen between two negroes, it is uncertain on what subject, one of them accused the other of having been at the rebel camp; and without further investigation the unfortunate man was hanged in less than two hours after the accusation was preferred, and the informer received the reward. This, it is remarked, was "the first blood which was coolly and deliberately shed" in this unfortunate contest; several others were afterwards put to death in a similar manner, though the revolted, the very day after the insurrection, had sent a flag, declaring, that "if any injury should be offered to their friends or relations, they would retaliate on their prisoners."

On the 12th, general Lindsay arrived from Martinico; on the 14th he was joined by a small reinforcement of 150 men from Martinico; and, on the following day, marched with his whole force, about 750 men, for Gouyave. In the mean time the insurgents had received considerable accessions of force, and Fedon assumed the command under colour of a commission from victor Hugues. Before the British general, however, was enabled to take any effective measures for dislodging them from their strong post at Belvidere, he put an end to his own existence on the 22d of March; according to some, in the delirium of a fever, occasioned by the inclemency of the climate; and, according to others, in distress of mind at the calamitous situation in which he was placed.

The cruelty and imprudence of the English colonists now seem to have impelled the insurgents to put in force their threats of retaliation. A M. Alexandre, a native of France, who had never taken the oath of allegiance to the British government, had been sent by the insurgents to Trinidad to purchase stores, &c. but was taken in his passage by the *Resource* frigate; and was tried and executed, with many circumstances of cruelty, on the parade at St. George's. The immediate consequence of this intemperate act of almost savage vengeance, was, that the British prisoners were shot by the rebels on the sixth day after the execution of M. Alexandre.

On the 2d of April a detachment from Barbadoes of 1250 were landed at Gouyave; and, on the 7th of the same month, the insurgents received a supply of arms and ammunition by a schooner from Guadaloupe. On the 8th the

1796.

rebel camp at Belvidere was attacked by the British, who, however, were forced to retreat with the loss of upwards of 100 men in killed and wounded. On the 14th, brigadier-general Nichols was sent from Martinico to assume the command, which he did on the 16th. He immediately proceeded to visit the camp before Belvidere; and perceiving that the situation was not favourable to his views, he withdrew the troops, and determined to drive the enemy from Pilot Hill, where they were posted in considerable force.

An engagement took place on the 22d between a party of the British posted at the observatory under major Wright, and the insurgents, in which the latter were put to flight. In the mean time the general was adopting the only mode that could be adopted to save the island, that of embodying the most faithful and able negroes. On the 26th the camp at Belvidere was evacuated; and Pilot Hill was taken possession of on the 4th of May; the enemy having abandoned it in the course of the night, on observing the preparations made for the attack. From the inadequate force, however, under his command, and the ravages of the fever, general Nichols was obliged to remain inactive for the remainder of the year; and, as the insurgents were either not strong or not enterprising, nothing occurred but a few skirmishes of no importance. The general, however, succeeded in establishing posts at Grenville, St. Patrick's, St. David's, and Charlotte Town; and, by this arrangement, the principal harbours were secured, and the insurgents precluded from a communication with the sea. In this distracted state the island continued, to the utter ruin of the planters; while, in the month of

R

June,

June, they had the mortification to see the reinforcements from England, which might have afforded them immediate relief, absurdly thrown away on the visionary project of conquering St. Domingo. General Vaughan himself is said to have lamented the state of the island at this crisis, and to have entertained not the most favourable opinion of the wisdom of ministers.

In the beginning of the year 1796, general Nichols was enabled to resume active operations; and having received some reinforcements, he attacked the French at Port Royal in the beginning of March, once without success, and with considerable loss; but, in a second and more desperate attempt, he carried their works by storm. The slaughter must have been great and horrible, as only six prisoners were taken. The loss of the British was trifling. After this signal defeat, the insurgents were everywhere routed and compelled to submit; and the island has since enjoyed a tolerable state of tranquillity. Of the fate of Fedon, nothing has been with certainty known: it was long rumoured that he still remained in the woods at the head of a small party; but it is most probable that he fell a victim to the inclemency of the climate, and the miserable state to which, as a fugitive, he was exposed.

The other persons who were esteemed principals in the insurrection, voluntarily surrendered themselves, after the reduction of the island, to general Nichols, who immediately sent them to be tried by the civil power. On the 20th of June, fifty of these unfortunate persons were put to the bar; and the whole fifty, upon the identification of their persons, were immediately condemned. On the 1st of July

fourteen were executed on the parade, in the town of St. George; and the remainder were respited. We earnestly hope that justice was properly tempered with mercy in these proceedings, since there is nothing which so dishonours even the fairest cause as a sanguinary spirit.

The reduction of the island of St. Lucia under the British government was effected in the month of May by the troops under general Abercrombie, but not without considerable resistance on the part of the French and insurgents. General Abercrombie, in the beginning of May, made a formal attack on the Morne Fortuné; but, from several untoward circumstances, the plan failed in the execution, and the troops retired to their former position. In his next attack, however, he was more successful; for, on the 24th of the same month, early in the morning, he was so fortunate as to lodge a considerable body of forces within five hundred yards of the fort, which he assailed with spirit and vigour. Upon the evening of that day, the French desired a suspension of hostilities till the next day at noon; in the mean time a capitulation was agreed on for the whole island; and, on the 26th, the garrison, to the amount of 2,000 men, surrendered prisoners of war.

The fate of St. Vincent's, as we intimated in our preceding volume, depended greatly upon that of St. Lucia; and, as the opponents to the British arms were chiefly a horde of undisciplined savages, they became an easy conquest, and were presently subdued.

In our last volume we gave a short sketch of the insurrection of the Maroons in Jamaica, collected from the only source of information which then lay open to us, the debates which
had

had taken place in the British parliament. As those debates chiefly turned upon the authority of a *private* letter, we then intimated our doubts with respect to the accuracy of the statement, which we expected further information would enable us to correct. That information has since been both amply and ably laid before the public by Mr. Bryan Edwards, the laborious and well-informed author of the History of the West Indies. By the statement of this gentleman, it appears, from the treaty concluded in 1738 by governor Trelawney with the Maroons, that, contrary to the hasty assertions of some members in the house of commons, the Maroons were, for every offence against the white inhabitants, to be delivered up to the common course of justice in the island,—that these people existed in the most depraved state of barbarism,—and that in the month of July 1795, two Maroons having committed a felony were apprehended, tried by a jury at Montego Bay, and sentenced, according to law, to be whipped; which sentence was inflicted in the usual manner by the black overseer of the workhouse negroes, whose office it is to inflict punishment on such occasions.

On the return of the offenders to Trelawney town, the principal Maroon settlement, the whole body of Maroons assembled; and after some tumultuous debates, they determined to send a written defiance to the magistrates of Montego Bay, adding that they intended to attack the town on the 20th of July. The militia assembled on the 19th; but the parties were prevented from proceeding to extremities by the Maroons desiring a conference with the magistrates, in the course of which the matters in dispute were settled to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned.

Mr. Edwards, however, asserts that

the Maroons, in desiring this conference, were actuated solely by motives of treachery; that they knew that the principal part of the regular force on the island was to sail on the 26th for St. Domingo; and that they immediately began to tamper with the negro slaves, and to seduce them from their allegiance. Seriously and justly alarmed at this information, as the fleet had already sailed, lord Balcarras lost no time in dispatching after it a swift sailing vessel, which was fortunate enough to overtake it on the 2d of August; and on the 4th, one thousand men under col. Fitch disembarked from the transports in Montego Bay.

The war now formally commenced, though it appears that there was a considerable party among the Maroons themselves averse to hostility. On the 12th of August, on the approach of the British troops, the Maroons withdrew from the new town: but they employed this manœuvre merely as a feint, to draw their opponents into an ambuscade, where the conflict proved fatal to the British commander, col. Sandford, and a considerable number of his party. After this affair, the Maroons established their headquarters at a post which was almost inaccessible, called the Cockpits, whence at different times they dispatched small parties, who conducted this desultory warfare with the usual cruelty of barbarians. Col. Fitch, who succeeded col. Sandford in the command, followed him likewise in his fate, and fell a sacrifice to this wily and active enemy in an ambuscade.

The general assembly was convened in September; and in such circumstances it was natural to recur to past experience for a precedent to govern their conduct. It was found that in the long and bloody war which had been carried on

previous to the treaty of 1738, a certain species of dogs had been employed, to discover the concealment of the Maroons, and to prevent the fatal effects resulting from their ambuscades. By a resolution therefore of the assembly, an order was sent to Cuba to procure a hundred dogs, accompanied with a proper number of Spanish chasseurs: but in the mean time such measures were pursued as promised to render their assistance unnecessary.—By the indefatigable zeal and activity of Gen. Walpole, who succeeded col. Fitch in the command, the Maroons were completely hemmed in, and the passes to other parts of the country were effectually secured. From the want of a supply of water, and the terror which the rumours, propagated concerning the dogs, had inspired, the Maroons were therefore induced to conclude a treaty; which, however, they did not perform; and many endeavours were in vain used to prevail on them to surrender according to the terms of that treaty. But, on a considerable body of regulars, accompanied by the Spanish dogs, being sent into the woods to attack the Maroons,

the greater part of them laid down their arms, and soon after the remainder also surrendered; and they, with their wives and families, were removed, in the month of June following, to Lower Canada, where lands are provided for them by the legislature of Jamaica, and where they are to form a free, and, we hope, a flourishing settlement.

Mr. Edwards states, “that not a drop of blood was shed after the dogs arrived.” We are happy to be enabled, on such good authority, to correct the hasty sketch of these proceedings, which we gave in our last volume, from the debates in parliament, and which, on a review, we find, were not even accurately stated from those debates; and conclusions were drawn therein, which the debates do not warrant. We had no intention to calumniate the conduct of the government of Jamaica, or to asperse the character of the noble and respectable governor who administers it; and we lament that our desire to furnish the public with the earliest intelligence on the subject, should have betrayed us into the errors we have now pointed out.

CHAP. XII.

Laws respecting English Manufactures. Evacuation of Corsica. Peace with Naples and Parma. Cispadane Republic. Attack on Newfoundland. Capture of a Dutch Fleet. Battle at Newwied. Battle of Arcole. Defeat of General Alvinzi. State of Finances. Emigrants. American Ambassador. Recall of the French Ambassador from the United States. Negotiation of the English for Peace. Affairs of Holland. Failure of the Descent on Ireland. The Pope makes warlike Preparations. New Republic South of the Po. Constitution of Geneva. Siege of Kehl. Surrender of Kehl. General State of Europe. Death of the Empress of Russia, &c.

ALTHOUGH every power in Europe had felt, in a greater or less degree, the force of the French arms or the diplomatic influence of the republic, England had hitherto, except in the accumulation of debt and the derangement of her finances, suffered the least

least inconvenience from the war. Various had been the plans of annoyance against that country projected by the French; but all had hitherto been delayed, or set aside as inadequate or impracticable, till it was suggested that the most effectual mode of opposing England with advantage, since the French could not themselves from the inferiority of their naval force injure her commerce, was to shut out her manufactures from every port in Europe. The proclamation issued by the English minister, permitting the exportation of goods to the Netherlands and the United Provinces, led the Dutch convention to issue a counter-proclamation, forbidding, under severe penalties, the entry of such goods into the Dutch republic, and calling on their countrymen, by every principle of honour, as well as eventual interest, to abstain from this commerce. They observed, in their report, that the precarious benefit offered them was the fruit of the perfidy and rapine which the English government had exercised towards them; that this last insult ought to be repelled with indignation, as compliance with it would only be favouring the designs of the enemy, since the only motive the English government could have for this act of apparently relaxed hostility, was that of seeking to exhaust Holland of its ready money to satisfy its own necessities, and thereby facilitate the means of continuing the war.

The Dutch government imparted their resolution to the directory, requiring them to adopt the same mode with respect to France, which, with their advice, they had adopted in Holland. Though the law made in the beginning of the reign of terror, forbidding the importation of English manufactures, stood un-

repealed, it had been for some time altogether unheeded; the French having found certain advantages in the clandestine commerce carried on with England. They were also unwilling to check privateering, by means of which they furnished themselves with colonial productions at a cheap rate; and they were therefore tardy in submitting themselves to the obligation they had in some measure imposed on the Dutch; nor was it until the Dutch government threatened to repeal their prohibitory decree, that the directory sent a message to the council, requesting their consideration of the propositions laid before them on that subject. These propositions included not only the prohibition of any future importation of English goods, but extended it to those already imported into the republic, enjoining the owners to make a report of what stock they held, and to re-export it. Several compulsory resolutions were proposed, on the 22d of October, to enforce this measure, such as domiciliary visits and seizures; and the earnestness with which the government urged the council to pass the law, by repeated messages on the danger of delay, seemed to indicate that the sanction of the legislature was a point of the last importance. Some of the propositions were warmly opposed, such as that of seizing goods already imported, on the score of the immorality of violating the property of individuals by an *ex-post facto* law; and also that of an infringement of the constitution in violating the safety of persons in the permission of domiciliary visits. But as all parties concurred in the principle of the decree, which was that of injuring, in the most essential manner, the commerce, and diminishing the re-

venues of England, it passed by a considerable majority.

This new system of hostilities was carried into execution throughout the greater part of Europe. The English manufactures found no entrance into any port from the Elbe to the Adriatic, save those of Portugal. Spain, by the declaration of war, had entered partly into the plan; and, on the suggestion of the French, was prepared to follow their steps. Genoa, after repeated struggles to keep her neutrality respected, placed unfortunately between three great powers, those of England, Austria, and France, and her territory violated successively by each, was compelled to yield to the urgent remonstrances of the French republic, and by a formal treaty (on October 9th) agreed to shut up her ports against the English. Leghorn was in possession of the republican troops, as we have already related; and the English found themselves confined in the Mediterranean to the possession of the Island of Elbe, before Leghorn, to which they retreated when expelled from that city. Their Italian allies, the pope and the king of Naples, were, by the conditions of the armistice with the French republic, circumscribed in their means of affording assistance. Corsica was also at this period (15th of October) evacuated by the English, who, having taken possession of it at a time when the tyranny of the jacobins had subjected France, had found the less resistance in re-establishing the forms of monarchical government. While Spain and Italy remained faithful to the coalition, and the French were menaced in their ports by the fleets of these combined powers,

Corsica submitted to the British crown, not having at that period the choice of an alternative. But when these powers were either neutralised by the success of the French armies in Italy, or become hostile to their former allies by forming new combinations with the French, whom they had joined to extirpate,—the Corsicans, whose love of independence had already been the favourite theme of poets and historians, once more felt and cherished the generous flame.

For some time the deliverance of Corsica had been in contemplation; nor could the vigilance of the viceroy hinder such communications, or his authority suppress such tendencies to insurrection, as were sufficient to mark the dispositions of his newly-acquired subjects. While the French were forming plans, the execution of which was checked by the superiority of the English naval force, the Corsicans were employed in finding means how to co-operate with their former countrymen, and shake off their new allegiance. The viceroy, who knew how to estimate the alternately subtle and stubborn politics of these islanders, did not wait the explosion, but gave notice that he was going to withdraw his troops, and along with them the kingly government he had come to establish. The Corsicans scarcely waited the withdrawing of the English troops, before they formed themselves into primary assemblies to send deputies to the commissioners in Italy, to divest themselves of their title of subjects to the king of England, and “swear allegiance to liberty,” as citizens of the French republic.

The negotiation which during the summer had been carried on
between

between the republic and Naples, and which had been pursued or interrupted by the latter power according to the disadvantages or victories of the republican troops in Italy, was brought to a termination on the 25th October, by a definitive treaty of peace. The politics of the Neapolitan cabinet were completely under the influence of that of Austria; and those who superintended its operations had causes of personal enmity towards the French, which only belonged to the branches of that house. The interposition of Spain, and the possibility that the French might succeed in fixing their power in Italy, tempered that irritability which was ready to break out on every occasion, and which the resentments of a vain and capricious queen, aided by the presumption of a favourite prime minister, had sometimes during the negotiation so powerfully excited, that it was believed that the armistice which had been concluded, would have ended in a renewal of hostilities. As little was to be expected from a continuation of the war with Naples, and as the mediation of Spain was confined to that part of Italy, the directory entered seriously into a discussion of the terms on which peace should be granted. The conditions of the treaty were so moderate and so little resembling those which had been granted to other powers, that when they came to be examined by the legislature, that body thought the dignity of the republic committed in granting to so inconsiderable an enemy such terms as the most powerful could not have hoped to obtain. Nevertheless, as the treaty had been decreed, and signed by the directory, (10th October) and as it was advancing one step further towards

a general peace, it was ratified by the council of five hundred, and approved by that of the elders. No territory having been taken on either side, and the hostility of Naples having scarcely been felt by the French, there appeared no just cause for large claims of compensation. France, by this peace, had one enemy less to contend with; and the secret articles allowed indemnifications and privileges which were deemed equal to any conditions that could have been asked, and which, from the manner in which they were granted, were less revolting to the feelings of the Neapolitan government.

The treaty with the duke of Parma, which had likewise been negotiated through the mediation of Spain, was soon after ratified in the usual forms. The same success did not attend the negotiation with the pope. M. Pierracchi, who had been sent as plenipotentiary from the holy see to the French republic, found the conditions proposed by the directory so irreconcilable with the maxims of the catholic church, that he refused to come to any conclusion. It was, however, agreed that the negotiation should be continued in Italy, nearer to the residence of the pope, that his holiness might himself determine what were the conditions to which he chose to give his assent, and what were the sacrifices of religious opinion he should think it expedient to make. A congress was therefore appointed to be held at Florence, consisting of the French commissioners belonging to the army in Italy, on the part of the republic, and of count Galeppi on that of the holy see. The congress, which met on the 11th of September, was, however, of short duration; for the commissioners pro-

duced a long list of articles, and insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that they should be accepted or refused altogether. The papal negotiator, not being prepared to decide so hastily on so important a subject, carried the articles back with him to Rome. By these articles the pope was enjoined to separate himself from the coalition, and from every alliance, offensive and defensive, against France; to acknowledge in the most positive terms, that his confidence had been abused and himself deceived by the common enemies of the papal see and the French republic, who had made use of his name to publish various edicts and declarations, the spirit and effect of which were as contrary to his true intentions as they were hostile to the rights of nations; that he therefore revoked and annulled all such publications, of whatever kind, which should have been invested with his spiritual authority, and which should have any reference to the affairs of France, since the period of the French revolution.

In addition to this retraction, he was also enjoined to disavow having any concern in the murder of the French ambassador, Bassville; to set at liberty all persons, whether French, or the natives of other countries, or his own subjects, who were held in confinement on account of their political opinions; to deprive no man in future of his liberty, or persecute him on account of his religious opinions; to forbid the inhuman custom of mutilating children throughout his states, under the most severe penalties; and, to abolish the tribunal of the inquisition. It was also required that the pope should make his states the asylum of the members of the monastic orders, and of the

priests, who had quitted France; and that he should renounce all right to the territories which he formerly possessed in France, and which were now integral parts of the French republic.

To these conditions were annexed others under the name of secret articles, by which the pope should bind himself to the payment of 300,000 livres each month, till the ratification of the peace with the king of Naples and the emperor; and by which he engaged to cede to the French republic various duchies, and leave it in possession of the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and its dependencies. Other conditions, under the title of "treaty of commerce and navigation," and articles relative to consuls, made up this series of propositions, to which the pope was required to give his prompt and undivided assent.

The pope held a congregation of cardinals, who decreed unanimously, that the conditions were not only incompatible with the tenets of the catholic religion, but also subversive of the rights of sovereignty, and of course refused their assent.

Mr. Galeppi returned to Florence to make known to the French commissioners the determination of the pope, which he did in a note signed by himself, and M. Azzara, the Spanish minister at the court of Rome, and who held the place of mediator between the holy see and the republic. The commissioners, on the other hand, refused to accept this note, alleging that they had no concern with M. Azzara, on which M. Galeppi dispatched another note in which he claimed the mediation of the court of Spain, adding that though they refused to acknowledge that mediation, the pope's refusal to the articles

cles proposed was, nevertheless, to be understood as given. The time of the armistice which was granted to the pope, had now expired; and as there was no prospect of peace with the French republic, his holiness refused to comply with the terms to which he had assented when the armistice was concluded; and the integrality of the Roman wealth, and the ornaments of the capital of Italy, were for some time longer preserved.

In the mean while the inhabitants of the country south of the Po, which had been conquered by the French, took measures for the formation of new governments under the protection of the French republic. The four cities of Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio, and Modena, were leagued in this confederation; the duke of Modena having been held to have abdicated his government, both by his having abandoned the city, and also not having fulfilled the conditions of the treaty with the French general respecting the armistice. To carry this plan into effect, the senate of Bologna issued a proclamation for the holding of a congress at Modena, which should consist of one hundred deputies, to be chosen by the respective confederated towns according to their population. Those deputies met at Modena, on the 16th of October, and having formed themselves into a convention, decreed that there should be a sincere and indissoluble union between the four states of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara. They also decreed, that, independent of the national guard, a legion should be formed, of which a fifth part was to be composed of foreigners, to superintend the execution of the plan. The federation, having previously taken the

name of the Cispadane republic from its situation on the side of the Po next to Rome, sent, with the permission of the French general and commissioners, a deputation to Milan, called by them the capital of the Transpadane republic from its being situated on the opposite side of that river, in order to establish between the two neighbouring powers the bonds of union, and fraternity.

Each city in the mean while proceeded to the formation of its respective government, and in each nearly the same regulations took place. Among other reforms, the privileges and even the name of noble was abolished, and the various ensigns and blazonry of the order were no longer suffered to appear. These distinctions and privileges were given up without murmur or reluctance, as objects of trivial concern; but what caused opposition on the part of the higher classes of citizens, was the too great concentration of authority which the congress at Reggio were likely to possess, and which would tend greatly to diminish that which they at present individually enjoyed. These objections, founded rather on the love of distinction arising from power, than from any views of public interest, were over-ruled; and the congress adjourned to the 27th December the great question, whether the Cispadane republics should be federate, or whether they should be united under the same general government.

Notwithstanding the vast superiority of the English naval forces in almost every part of the globe, the French found means to deceive their vigilance, and succeeded in an expedition to Newfoundland, where they burnt and otherwise destroyed

destroyed British property to a large amount. This expedition was entrusted to admiral Richery, who, with a squadron consisting of seven ships of the line, was released, by the aid of the Spanish fleet, from Cadiz, where he had been shut up by the English for several months, with the valuable captures he had made of the English Mediterranean fleet of merchantmen in the preceding summer. No other advantage resulted to the French than the temporary loss they occasioned to their enemies, except the return of Richery to Rochelle, and the addition made to the naval armament then equipping at Brest. This loss on the part of the English was compensated soon after by the advantages gained over the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, where admiral Lucas with his squadron, consisting of seven ships, was captured, or rather delivered into the power of the English, by the defection of the crews under his command.

This squadron had escaped the vigilance of the English by effecting a passage early in the spring, and was to have been joined by a French squadron of sufficient force to effect the purpose for which the expedition was destined,—the recapture of the Cape. The French squadron was to have been fitted out at the expence of the Dutch, who could obtain this aid on no other conditions; the money was duly paid to the French government: but the squadron was never prepared; and the Dutch, after several months of fruitless solicitation, instead of recovering their possessions, were compelled to submit to the loss of the forces which they had sent to retake them.

While the imperialists on the upper Rhine were pursuing general

Moreau, who, in the face of a powerful enemy had effected his passage across the river at Huningue, preserving a post on the right side which had been hastily thrown up, from which the Austrians attempted in vain to dislodge him; the army which had defeated the troops under general Jourdan, over-ran the Palatinate, advancing almost to the banks of the Moselle on the one side, and spreading along the frontier of the French territory, on the other. General Bournonville had been ordered from Holland to replace Jourdan, and re-inforce the army of the Sambre and Meuse with the divisions under his command. In addition to the post opposite Huningue, and the village of Kehl, the French kept possession, on the right side of the Rhine, of the town of Neuwied, a few miles below the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. An increase of the river from heavy falls of rain having broken the bridge of communication, the Austrians, in order to take advantage of the accident, and possess themselves of this important place which was the only point of communication the French held with the right side between Kehl and Dusseldorf, and whose communication with the main army was now cut off by the swell of the waters, crossed the Rhine in several places, to divert the attention of the republicans from the attack which they meditated on Neuwied, from the island, one side of which still communicated with the fort, as the bridge was unbroken in that part, and from the main land, where their regular batteries were already established.

This expedition was planned for the capture of the whole garrison; but the French general, aware of the design of the Austrians, made his

his dispositions to receive them at the true point of attack, and, after an obstinate conflict, repelled them with considerable loss. A few days after, (8th Brumaire) the right wing of the army made a general movement, and, after defeating various divisions of the imperial army, gained possession of several posts in the Palatinate, amongst which were those of Bingen and Keyserlautern, and established their communication across the country with the frontiers of France, where the Austrians had penetrated, after driving the army of the Sambre and Meuse out of Germany.

In the mean while the emperor had assembled a fourth army to effectuate the release of general Wurmser, who was now shut up with his troops in Mantua. General Alvinzi had encamped on the Piava, and was advancing towards Vicenza, while Davidovich, with the division under his command, descended from the Tyrol along the Adige towards Verona, which was the head-quarters of the French army. Alvinzi, having passed the Piava, met the French on the Brenta, where an action took place which obliged him to repass the river; but the left of the French army under general Vaubois, which was opposed to the Austrian divisions in the Tyrol, being defeated, Buonaparte was compelled to retreat to Verona, and defend the passages of the Adige. The Austrian generals having now made themselves masters of all the country beyond this river, were concentrating their forces to attempt the attack of the French at Verona; and, by forcing the posts between the Adige and the lake of Guarda, to raise the blockade of Mantua. Buonaparte saw the danger of awaiting the attack of the Austrians,

who, if they succeeded either in taking Verona or in forcing the posts on the lake of Guarda, would probably attain their object, and deprive him of the fruits of all his former victories. He, therefore, with equal ability and spirit, resolved to prevent the junction of the two Austrian armies, by an attack on general Alvinzi; for which purpose he led the divisions under the generals Angereau and Massena along the Adige, which he passed in the night of the 4th of November, by means of a bridge of boats, at the village of Ronco, hoping to reach Villa Nuova in the morning, and attack the Austrians (whose head-quarters were at Caldero) on their flanks and in their rear, and seize on their artillery and baggage. General Alvinzi, however, who had received intimation of the motions of the French, strengthened his position, by throwing Croatian and Hungarian regiments into the village of Arcole, through which the French must necessarily pass in order to execute the plan they had projected. This village, which was strongly situated between morasses and canals, held the republican army in check during the whole day. In vain were the French troops rallied by their commanders, and led again to the charge. Four generals, who threw themselves on the bridge leading to the village, were successively disabled by wounds more or less dangerous. Angereau, seizing a standard, ran and planted it at the end of the bridge; and Buonaparte, after calling on the soldiers to remember the bridge of Lodi, inspired a momentary emotion which induced him to attempt another assault, in which he lost two more of his generals, and was himself in danger of perishing.

Having early perceived the extreme

extreme difficulty of taking this post in front, he had sent round a division by a march of several miles to attack the village in the rear. The general who was sent on this expedition reached it at night, and took possession of it with the small garrison which the Austrians had left to defend it, as they had withdrawn their troops to prepare for a general attack, and had removed the artillery and baggage, which was one of the primary objects of Buonaparte's expedition. The action began at day-break on the 6th of November, through the whole line. The division of the French army on the right drove back the left wing of the Austrians, and pursued it to the head-quarters at Caldaro. The centre of the Austrians, after a long and obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat before the centre of the French; but the attack made on their left, which Buonaparte endeavoured to turn, was ineffectual, as it was flanked by a morass and ditches. During the night Buonaparte threw bridges across; and the next day, the 17th of November, the two armies renewed the combat. The Austrians attacked the centre of the French army with great vigour, and drove it back with considerable loss, and were on the point of turning the right wing, when a body of troops which Buonaparte had drawn off from the left, and placed in ambuscade, fell on the flank and rear of the Austrians, and made a dreadful slaughter. The left of the Austrian army still held its ground, being formidable both in numbers, and also from its position. Buonaparte then finding it impossible to attack or dislodge it by force, had recourse to a stratagem, which succeeded. He sent round a small party of horse to

make the circuit of the morass, and fall on the Austrians, sounding at the same time a number of trumpets, to deceive the enemy as to their numbers. The arrival of a larger body of French troops, which had also been early sent by a longer circuit to fall on their rear, threw them into complete disorder. The Austrians fled on all sides, and the night only put an end to the pursuit.

The division under general Davidovich was more successful, having attacked and again defeated general Vaubois, who commanded the pass between the Adige and the lake of Garda. Buonaparte, therefore, leaving his cavalry in pursuit of Alvinzi's army, hastened with reinforcements to Vaubois; and keeping in check the Austrians who were advanced within a short distance of Mantua, he succeeded, after a contest of some days, in driving them back with considerable loss into the mountains of the Tyrol.

The battle of Arcole was peculiarly fatal to the French generals, by whose distinguished efforts of bravery, victory was taken out of the hands of Fortune. Buonaparte, escaping himself with difficulty, lost both his aids-du-camp, who were killed by his side. The loss of the Austrians in this battle was so considerable, that Alvinzi was compelled to retire behind the Brenta with the remainder of his forces, to await the arrival of another army, and leave Mantua once more to its fate.

It was supposed that on the issue of this battle the fortune of Mantua depended; but it appears that general Wurmser had taken sufficient advantage of the relief he had last experienced, to provision his garrison, and enable him to defend the town.

town far beyond the calculation of the French general, who in his official letters spoke with some confidence of its immediate surrender. When Buonaparte entered Lombardy, Mantua, which had been the only object of contest for eight months, and on which the fate of Italy depended, was altogether destitute of the means of sustaining an attack,—having a feeble garrison unprovided with stores or provisions,—and would probably, after the battle of Lodi, have surrendered at the first summons. Had the French general, instead of marching to Milan which was at all times accessible, and making a promenade into the ecclesiastical state, which he might have done at his leisure, seized on this important post, he might have made himself master of Italy, and finished an early campaign. It must, however, be remembered, that, before this place, four imperial armies have melted away in the short space of a few months; that these armies being recruited from those on the Rhine, from which large detachments were made, the latter were so weakened, that the French were enabled to levy contributions in the heart of Germany; and, though the invaders were eventually repulsed, they succeeded in dissolving the confederacy of the German princes, and in diminishing the number of the enemies of the French republic.

Amidst these victories, the affairs of finance still continued to be the principal object of the anxiety of the French government. The minister of this department had sent a circular letter through the republic, to invite the bankers and principal merchants to a general assembly, to deliberate and advise respecting the laws and regulations

necessary for the revival of credit, and the re establishment of commerce. The directory, on the 10th of December, communicated by a message to the council their wants in a more pressing manner, urging them, as they had done before, to come to the immediate relief of the government, which, in all its different administrations, from the armies to the most menial offices, was in a state of decay bordering on destruction. The remedy for these evils, according to the message, lay in procuring the consent of the legislature to invest the directory with power to take possession of the last part of the payments for the sale of the national domains, which, as has been observed, was ordered to be paid in money; and which amounted to eighty millions. It was imagined, that, by drawing a very distressing picture of the situation of the republic, the council would be sufficiently alarmed to yield to the requisition. The message was read in a secret committee, and was deemed unworthy of attention. The directory, resenting the indignity offered to their requisition, published the following day to the world, in their Gazette, this message, which they had confided to the secrecy of the council as unfit for the public ear. This conduct was the subject of animadversion, and was considered as tending to sow the seeds of division between the legislative and executive powers, and to bring odium on the council, under the pretence of their refusing the necessary supplies.

The president of the commission of finances, M. Camus, as the directory had revealed the message, thought it expedient to state the motive of the rejection, by observing that the alarming and desperate state

state of the republic existed only in the message; that a severer œconomy would restore the equilibrium of receipt and expenditure, and that the errors contained in the statement were equalled only by the imprudence of the directory in making them public.

Although the influence of the executive power with respect to the public money was thus circumscribed, it possessed an influence still more dangerous over the lives of a certain class of their fellow citizens, which the legislature thought fit also to controul. As, during the reign of terror, great numbers had found safety only in flight, and escaped into foreign countries, and others had only abandoned their places of usual residence, and concealed themselves in various parts of the country, these fugitives had been of course ranked by their municipalities and departmental administrations as emigrants, and placed on the list; on which list many were also inscribed by the revolutionary committees of their communes, whom they held at the moment in their dungeons, or whom they had sent to the scaffold. Amongst other laws which were enacted after the overthrow of the jacobinical government to remedy the enormous abuses and evils which this regimen had introduced, were decrees permitting the re-entrance of those persons into France who had fled subsequent to the thirty-first of May, 1793, the beginning of the reign of tyranny, and also regulations for the erasure from the list of emigrants of all such whose reclamations were found to be just.

The latitude given by the law to appeals of this sort was subject to a variety of abuses; a great number entered and took possession of their estates, who were not comprehend-

ed in the law; who had emigrated before the period, but had found means of procuring from friendly or corrupted administrations false certificates of residence. In those parts of the country which were most disaffected to government, these cases were very frequent; and many of the disorders of the south were said to be committed by emigrants of this class. These appeals, agreeably to the regulation, were made to the directory: but as the tyranny had been universal, the appellants were so numerous that the examination of the claims, according to the mode established, would have been the labour of ages. Complaints had also been often made of the venality and partiality of those who were appointed to judge of these appeals: but no steps were taken to remedy these abuses, till the judicial assassination of M. de Cussy, who had come to Paris to make his appeal, induced the legislature to take into their own hands a power which, whether from carelessness or design, had so immediate and dangerous an influence on the fortunes and lives of individuals. The execution of this gentleman, attended with circumstances which brought to remembrance the ferocious and expeditious modes of the revolutionary tribunal, caused a general effervescence against those who had been instrumental in the commission of this act. The councils, passing in silence over this event, the examination of which might have produced disagreeable results, contented themselves with taking the power and the means of doing further injustice out of the hands of the commissioners of the directory, and appointed a committee of their own members to examine and pronounce on the future appeals.

The misunderstanding which had for a long time subsisted between the French republic and the United States of America, discovered itself at this period more openly by the refusal of the directory to receive as ambassador to the French republic Mr. Pinckney, who had been sent to succeed Mr. Monroe, the resident plenipotentiary. Mr. Adet, the French ambassador to the United States, had notified nearly at the same time (23d November) to the American government, that the directory had suspended him also from his functions. He had previously communicated to the secretary of state a memorial recapitulating the complaints of the French republic against the government of the United States, and had communicated the arrest of the directory of the 14th Messidor, enjoining French ships of war to observe the same conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations, as they had hitherto suffered with impunity to be observed by the English.

The directory justified this proclamation by the secret approbation given by the Americans to this violation of the law of neutrality on the part of the British, who had seized on neutral vessels, particularly those belonging to Americans, even in their very ports; and taken out of them whatever they found either of French persons or French property, without any resistance being made on the part of the American government. From this memorial it appeared that the French ambassador, in the beginning of the war, had made unheeded application and remonstrances on this subject. The national convention had decreed, that, conformably to the usage then established by the English, British property found on board neutral vessels should become lawful prize,

but that American vessels were excepted from this general measure. The conduct of the English in seizing on all American provision-ships had afterwards compelled them to rescind this exception, and decree conditionally that the seizure of English property on board neutral vessels should continue indiscriminately until the British government should definitively revoke the orders which it had given for this measure, and which were only suspended by the embargo laid on by the congress on the 26th of March, 1794. The convention having received information that Mr. Jay was instructed to make remonstrances to the British government respecting these acts of hostility, revoked the decree respecting American ships, hoping that this conduct would lead the United States to use every effort to induce the English to adopt the same measure. But his remonstrances, if made, had no effect: the same acts of hostility were continued, and neutral vessels coming out or entering into French ports, were made prizes by the English.

Further reclamations were made, on the part of the French ambassador, to the American government on the 29th of September, 1795, which were unheeded; a memorial presented on the same subject, the 29th of March, 1796, was equally unnoticed. It appeared from these papers, that not only neutral vessels were seized, but sailors were taken out of American vessels to serve on board British ships, without any mark of disapprobation manifested on the part of the American government. Under these circumstances, the government of France was compelled to have recourse to the same measures respecting neutral vessels as the English government had adopted, and was permitted by the neutral

neutral powers to continue, without remonstrances or reclamations on their part. M. Adet further observed, that, if they would take measures to render their flag respected by the British government, the same respect should be shewn by the French republic; but if through weakness or partiality they suffered the English to sport with their neutrality, they ought not to complain if the French, in order to restore the balance, should continue to imitate in this case that conduct which the English had found it convenient or useful for their own purposes to adopt.

The answer given by the American government to this remonstrance, stated, in justification of their conduct, that the treaty made with France in 1778, formally expressed that neutral vessels should neutralize the cargo; whereas the treaty lately concluded between the United States and England contained no similar regulation. The American government acted therefore in perfect conformity to the letter of both treaties; and though it was lawful for the English to seize French property on board American vessels, the French were restrained by their treaty with America, from making reprisals in similar circumstances on the English. So far as the letter of treaties ought to influence the decision of the question, the reclamation of the American government was founded; but whether that government was justified on the score of political morality in concluding a subsequent treaty with England so pointedly hostile to the interests of their former ally in this article, does not so clearly appear. In addition to this memorial, M. Adet soon after presented a note recapitulating other grievances, amongst which was the infraction, on

the part of the American government, of that article in the treaty with France which respected the guarantee of the French colonies by the United States. The speech of the president to the American congress, and the answer of the vice-president, contained recriminations, which, far from leading to any amicable explanation, or to conciliate the differences which had arisen, tended to widen the breach which already existed, and fan the flame which it was so much the interest of both parties to have extinguished.

Whatever specific causes of complaint the French government might have had against that of the United States on account of the treaty lately concluded with England, the dispositions which led to the formation of that treaty, would alone have been sufficient to have explained the reasons of the general indignation of the French against them. Accustomed of late to witness levees of ministers from the conquered monarchs of the old established governments in Europe deprecate the vengeance or supplicate the friendship of the French republic, it was not without feelings of indignation that they saw the people whom they boasted to have snatched from servitude and oppression, and to have erected into independance and power, in violation of the ties of gratitude and friendship, and of those bonds more commonly respected between nations, solemn and formal treaties, not only become indifferent in the observance of either, but join against them by forming the strictest alliances with their common enemy. This indignation had been hitherto tempered by the conduct of the American ambassador, and by the representations which the friends of

of both countries had occasionally made; and it is probable that the breach would have been widened no further than the temporary suspension of the French ambassador in the United States, had not the American government, by exchanging ambassadors at this period, evinced further dispositions of hostility, since no reasonable pretence appeared for this exchange but the attachment which the present ambassador had shewn to the cause of the French revolution.

The news of the intended resignation of the president of the United States had preceded the arrival of the new ambassador, Mr. Pinckney. This event, which was expected by the French government, had in some measure allayed this warmth; and it was hoped that an amicable arrangement would speedily have taken place, as it was supposed that the choice of the United States would fall on a person less hostile to their interests; but as the exchange of ambassadors under the present circumstances afforded so favourable an opportunity of expressing their feelings, they not only refused to permit the new ambassador to remain officially at Paris, but intimated to him that his residence as a private citizen was inexpedient. The directory nevertheless, when Mr. Monroe took leave, observed, as they had already done with respect to Sweden on a similar occasion, that the people of America, not being implicated in the acts of their government, were still objects of their esteem; and expressed also their personal regard for the interest which Mr. Monroe, during his residence at Paris, had shewn for the welfare of the republic.

Amidst the various negotiations which in the course of the year occupied the French government, that which England proposed to open, engaged most deeply the public attention. The treaties which had been made with those of the combined powers with whom the republic was now at peace, were the necessary effects of the advantages it had gained, or the apprehensions it had excited. Supported by the coalition, they had found their efforts ineffectual to resist the overwhelming flood of French victories; torn by force, or separated voluntarily from its cause, their insulated situations gave them no alternative, but submission to its influence, or adhesion to its fate. Although the war had first broken out with Austria and Prussia, it was generally believed in France that the English cabinet had been the original fomenter of this war, as it became soon after its avowed and almost only support. Regarding England therefore as the source of all their calamities, the French could scarcely look towards that country without reproach, for the desolation and horrors of which it had eventually been the cause, and which it appeared to them resolved to perpetuate.

The offer of negotiation from England was therefore considered with a suspicious and averted eye by the French government; and the previous negotiation which had taken place between the English cabinet and that of Berlin, and which had failed *, had added to the conviction of the directory that peace was neither the wish nor the expectation of the English government from this negotiation. It was under these impressions that the mi-

* The French affirmed that the object of this negotiation, which took place just on the eve of lord Malmesbury's departure to Paris, was to bribe the court of Berlin to rejoin the coalition.

nister of foreign affairs in France received; from the minister of foreign affairs in England, an official note, demanding passports for an envoy from the English court, to open a negotiation at Paris. The permission to grant these passports was given to the minister by a resolution of the directory on the 30th of September. The passports were sent, and the minister plenipotentiary arrived in Paris.

If the suspicions of the French government were well founded respecting the insincerity of the English administration with regard to peace, the symptoms of their own aversion to it were not concealed upon the arrival of lord Malmesbury at Paris. All that memory could furnish of his conduct in former negotiations, that calumny could invent with respect to his present intentions, and the means which he had brought with him to turn every thing to his own advantage by his acknowledged address, and by corruption, were circulated with avidity under the apparent sanction of the directory; nor did they cease, till, on the remonstrances made by lord Malmesbury against these insults, the government disavowed what the public had previously condemned.

On the 24th of October, lord Malmesbury transmitted to M. Delacroix, the French minister of foreign affairs, a memorial, in which, after stating in the usual terms the desire which his Britannic majesty entertained for peace, he proposed the establishment of some general principle on the opening of the negotiation which should serve as a basis for a definitive settlement; observing that the first object of a negotiation for peace was generally that of restoring or giving up what had been taken from the respective

parties during the war. The memorial stated, that as Great Britain, far from having any restitution to demand of France, had, by a series of uninterrupted success, acquired colonial conquests of inestimable value, and as on the other hand France had made continental conquests on the allies of his British majesty, it was proposed that the negotiation should turn on the compensations to be made to France by proportional restitutions, the nature of which should be discussed as soon as the principle was admitted.

After examining the memorial, Delacroix observed to lord Malmesbury, that as he spoke in the name of the allies of Great Britain, and was stipulating for their interests, he was of course invested by them with powers for that purpose; to which his lordship observed that *he was not* thus commissioned, but that as soon as the directory should have agreed to the principle laid down, he would dispatch messengers to the different courts to give an account of the state of the negotiation, and receive their instructions. It was then asked if he could give any precise idea of the principle of restitutions so far as concerned Great Britain and France: to which his lordship answered, as before, that as soon as the directory should explain themselves, he would send messengers, and ask for instructions also on this point.

The directory were not disposed to enter immediately into this explanation. The answer which they returned, on the contrary, was far from conciliatory, and wore a form of distrust and defiance, which in that stage of the business was generally regarded as neither politic nor becoming. It was represented, that, from the mode adopted by the English cabinet, the hope of peace

was very distant; that, had lord Malmesbury confined himself to treating separately for his own cabinet, for which he was duly authorised, instead of treating for other courts, for which, by his own confession, he had received no authority whatever, the negotiation might be considerably shortened. It was insinuated, that, as the declaration he had made was not supported by his credentials; so he might have received secret instructions contrary to those he professed; that the British cabinet had a double view in the present application, both of hindering the other powers from treating separately, and also of obtaining with greater facility new supplies from the English nation for the continuance of the war; and that the propositions now made by lord Malmesbury differed from those made some months preceding by Mr. Wickham, only in being presented under a more polite and amicable form.

With respect to the principle of restitution advanced by lord Malmesbury to serve for the basis of the negotiation, the directory observed that it was too vague and indeterminate; that the first object was the consideration of the necessity of a just and solid peace, and the establishment of a just balance of power; and that the present respective situations of the belligerent powers ought also to be remembered, of which the force of the one was diminished by the desertion of various princes of the coalition, and the force of the other increased by making most of these powers its allies, or rendering them at least neutral. The directory concluded by assuring lord Malmesbury that as soon as he should present sufficient powers from the allied courts to stipulate for their respective interests, and

obtain their engagements to abide by what should be determined in their name, the French government would give an answer to whatever formal propositions should be made.

Of whatever powers lord Malmesbury was possessed, he was cautious in the exercise. Had he been the agent only of the British ministry, it does not appear that he had received sufficient instructions to proceed in the treaty; but as he proposed to stipulate for the interests of the allied courts, the directory had no security that they would abide by any of the conditions concluded in their name, by a person who, though negotiating for them, professed to be invested with no special authority on their part. In reply to these observations, and to the official answer returned by the minister of foreign affairs to his first note, lord Malmesbury (having sent to London for further instructions) communicated a second paper to the directory, in which, after commenting on the offensive and injurious tone in which their last answer was conceived, he observed that they were altogether mistaken in supposing that his powers authorised him to treat separately from the allies of the British crown; that his powers were sufficient for the negotiation and conclusion of a peace, and that he had fully instructed the minister of foreign affairs that he could enter into no conference of which a separate treaty should be the object.

It was stated, that, as a separate treaty was altogether inadmissible, the intervention of the allied courts would become indispensable in the course of the negotiation; but that it would be useless to ask for full and formal powers from them until the principles of the negotiation had

been discussed; that the emperor had given a manifest proof of pacific dispositions at the opening of the campaign, and that the allies might be invited to accede as soon as the principle should be agreed on of a combined negotiation.

The expediency of forming a principle of this kind was again urged, and the offer of proportional restitutions again repeated; observing, that the directory had neither given any explanation in its last communication with respect to the principle, nor proposed any other whereby the end in question could be attained. The directory, in answer, very laconically requested lord Malmesbury to point out the specific objects which he proposed; and expressed their ignorance of any proofs which the emperor had afforded of pacific dispositions, as the emperor had been the first to break the armistice. To this lord Malmesbury replied, that he was not authorised to point out the objects of reciprocal compensation until the directory had agreed to the principle of the negotiation which he had laid down, or admitted of some other which might answer the same end; that the pacific dispositions of the emperor were evinced by the official note in which he observed that the operations of the war should not prevent him from conceding to any propositions for peace, agreeable to whatever form should be adopted by the belligerent powers. The brevity of the official answer returned to lord Malmesbury's second communication led him to inquire if that was all the answer he was to expect; to which the minister of foreign affairs rejoined in the affirmative, and at the same time requested to know if, on every note that passed between them, it was necessary to send a messenger to his

court? At this point it was likely the negotiation would have stopped, as the note delivered on the return of the messenger, the 26th November, declined entering further into the subject of negotiation until the directory had explained itself with respect to some principle on which it could be grounded. The directory however felt the necessity of complying with this condition, and declared, what lord Malmesbury had not discovered, that their answers had uniformly admitted the principle he had contended for; and that he had nothing more to do than to point out speedily and categorically the objects of reciprocal compensation.

As the governments were at length agreed on the principle of the negotiation, lord Malmesbury, on the return of the messenger whom he had sent to London to notify the acquiescence of the directory, and receive the necessary instructions, communicated to the minister of foreign affairs two memorials, of which one was a confidential memorial on the principal objects of restitution, compensation, and reciprocal arrangements; the other related to peace with Spain, and the republic of Holland. The first memorial, which contained the conditions of reciprocal restitution between the French republic and the allied powers, proposed that France should cede to the emperor Brabant, the country on the left of the Rhine, Italy, and whatever had been taken from him during the present war; the re-establishment of peace between the empire and France, which should be arranged with the emperor as constitutional chief of the empire; that the court of Petersburg should have full liberty to interpose in the negotiation whenever it thought proper; and that Portugal

Portugal should be comprehended in the treaty, free from any claims of indemnification on the part of France. As a compensation for these cessions, the British government proposed to return to France the possessions taken from it during the war in the East and West Indies, and also certain establishments in the bay of St. Lawrence; reserving nevertheless the right of requiring, in compensation for agreeing to the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to the French, which had been effected at the peace concluded with Spain, some other portion of territory to keep up the balance of their respective possessions in that part of the world.

In a second memorial, which respected Spain and Holland, it was observed that in treating with the former power, as no conquests had been made on either side, there were no restitutions to make. The United Provinces were differently situated; the re-establishment of the ancient stadtholderian government was an indispensable condition to induce the cession of what had been taken from them; in which case a considerable part would be restored. If it was with the Dutch republic that the British government had to negotiate, these restitutions were not to be looked for, nor could any treaty be entered into, unless the territory ceded by the Dutch to the French was restored, as the safety of the Austrian Netherlands would be committed by its retention. These memorials were accompanied by an official letter from lord Malmesbury to Delacroix, in which he observed that he was anxious to enter into any explanations that the state and progress of the negotiation could admit, or to receive any counter-project on the part of the

directory, which might become equally the subject of discussion.

The directory, having read the memorials, sent to lord Malmesbury, instead of a message by the minister of foreign affairs as usual, an extract from the registers of their deliberations, in answer to the communications he had made, requiring his signature to the memorials which he had delivered, and also the ultimatum of his demands in twenty-four hours. Lord Malmesbury, without noticing the difference in the mode of correspondence, answered that he had considered his signature of the memorials unnecessary, as the official note which accompanied them, gave them sufficient authenticity. He, however, complied with the forms required by the directory with respect to the signature, but observed that the peremptory demand which they made of an ultimatum, shut the door at once to all negotiation; and represented, if the conditions submitted to their consideration were not approved, or were not to be the subject of discussion, if they would propose their own conditions, he would submit them to the consideration of his court.

At this point the negotiation ended; for on reading the memorials received on the 17th of December, the directory ordered the minister to write to lord Malmesbury on the 18th, which was the day previous to the explanatory and expostulatory communication made by his lordship, as his last letter was dated on the 19th of December, that they could hear of no propositions which were contrary to the constitution, and the laws and treaties by which the republic was engaged; observing moreover, that, as his lordship felt himself obliged to have recourse to his court on every communi-

cation, and as the part he had to act in this negotiation was purely passive; his lordship's residence in Paris was unnecessary and inconvenient; and therefore enjoined him to leave it in forty eight hours; observing that if the British cabinet was desirous of peace, the negotiation might be carried on by messengers from the respective parties. Lord Malmesbury immediately demanded the necessary passports, and quitted Paris with his suite in the time prescribed.

The abrupt and uncourteous dismissal of the British plenipotentiary excited much uneasiness and general murmurs at Paris, until the two memorials appeared, containing the demands of the British cabinet. However divided were the political opinions of Paris, and however anxious were all ranks and classes for the return of peace, the propositions made by the English minister appeared so extravagant, so outrageous indeed to every principle of reason and just policy, that those who had most strenuously maintained the sincerity of the English government in the present negotiation, against the directorial party, who asserted the contrary, no longer inveighed against the conduct of the directory in interrupting the negotiation, although they still blamed the mode in which it was done.

The directory, who witnessed the general anxiety which the arrival of lord Malmesbury had occasioned, and who felt the weight of the responsibility which the conducting such a negotiation would lay on them, relieved themselves in a considerable degree from the burden, by publishing every official paper immediately after its having been received or sent. As lord Malmesbury, on his arrival in London, fol-

lowed the same plan with respect to his official conversations with the minister of foreign affairs, the whole of the negotiation became public: and however different may be the opinions respecting the claims of the different parties, it appears evident that the hope of peace between England and France was entertained by neither of the contending powers. During the negotiation, the directory had sent to Vienna to sound the imperial court with respect to a general armistice, and the possibility of making a separate peace. The emperor persevered in the engagements he had formed with the English court; nor did the death of the empress of Russia lead him to treat a revival of the application in Italy with more respect; although just suspicions might have arisen from a knowledge of the difference of character between the empress and her successor, that the intentions of the former in support of the war would be carried into execution no further than the latter was bound by the most strict and formal engagements. The tone of censure which the emperor of Germany had assumed after his late success on the Rhine with respect to those princes who had made their separate peace with the republic, was answered by the particular remonstrances of Paul I. (to whom the French government had lost no time in making application) with respect to his relation the duke of Württemberg,—and also by the still more lofty declaration of the king of Prussia, who offered his protection to any of these princes who should claim it in defence of the treaties they had made with the French republic. To give efficacy to this declaration, after signifying to the emperor his determination, he put his troops on a war-footing, and

and made preparations as if hostilities had already been declared, and as if the campaign was about to open. Most of the princes who had made peace with the French republic joined themselves to this new confederation: and though the prudence of the imperial cabinet prevented it from immediately noticing the affair, it appeared that peace between these two courts was not likely to be of long continuance.

With dispositions so evidently hostile to each other, and with claims so opposite, it was morally certain that no negotiation could at that time have succeeded. The grounds on which the English cabinet founded its pretensions, the conquests made on France and Holland, instead of operating on the minds of the directory as reasons for concluding a treaty of peace, were provocations of no trifling force to give fresh vigour to the war. Although the conquests made by England of the colonies belonging to those countries, were of some importance; the directory, who had formed a secret alliance with Prussia on the one hand, and concluded a formal treaty with Spain on the other, the professed object of which was the humiliation of England, flattered themselves that they should regain them on easier terms than by making concessions; the very demand of which by the British cabinet, they considered as contemptuous and insulting.

Had it been possible for the French republic to have come to any terms of reciprocal compensation so far as respected its own concerns with the emperor and the British cabinet, the demands made by the latter in the memorial which respected Holland, were so utterly incompatible with the engagements and treaties by which France was

bound to that country, that the negotiation must have failed in this point, had success attended it in every other. As, on the one hand, the independence of the Dutch republic was recognised not only by France, but secretly by Prussia and Spain, and the various powers with whom the French government had made peace, so their establishments and colonies in the East and West Indies were so far guaranteed to them by this latter power, that the restitution of them to the Dutch was made an assured condition of pacification with England.

The interests therefore of the Dutch republic were so united with those of the French, that no proposition could be listened to, which affected its independence. The constitution which was to serve for the basis of its future government, was presented to the Dutch convention during the period of this negotiation; and the formation of such a government as should absolutely exclude the return of the stadtholder, and the removal of the influence of the English cabinet in Holland, was an indispensable requisite on the part of France. The directory had frequently urged its formation with as much delicacy as was compatible with the national independence. Although the Dutch convention was in perfect harmony with the French government with respect to the absolute rejection of the stadtholder, many of its members felt a predilection for various parts of their former government, such as the division of the provinces, and the mode of levying contributions. On this point a division arose in the assembly as soon as the commissioners had presented the plan which they had formed. This division had previously taken place in the commission: for, while one

part regarded the equal levy of taxes as unjust, since one province would thereby be chargeable with the debts and expences incurred by other provinces, by which those provinces alone were benefited, another party, overlooking this political inconvenience, declared, that if this mode of separating the interests of the provinces was established, the unity of the republic would be endangered, and the return of the abuses of the former government, and even of the government itself, would be facilitated. So anxious were certain members in enforcing this sentiment, that a deputation was privately sent to Paris to request the interference of the directory in support of what they called the unity of the republic. This appeal to another power for the regulation of their domestic concerns, which was a virtual surrender of national independence, was received by the directory with coolness, and rejected without deliberation. The unity of the republic, which was formally recognized as the principle of the constitution, put an end to this schism on the 1st of December. The plan of the constitution, which had formerly been protested against, was admitted by the assembly for deliberation; and a commission of seven members was named, to make a report on the most eligible mode of consolidating the ancient debts of the provinces; which object had hitherto been the principal cause of division, as it was the point which affected most nearly the private interest of the respective parties.

Among other projects of hostility which the French government had meditated against Great Britain, the invasion of Ireland was that which had engaged most seriously their

attention. They had judged, from the spirit of discontent which discovered itself in that country against what was deemed the oppression of the English government, that an attempt on their part to deliver it from the yoke would be welcomed and seconded by the inhabitants themselves; and they were also instructed that the loss of Ireland would be eminently injurious to the navy of Great Britain, as it was in a considerable degree manned, and altogether victualled, from the fertile soil of that country. The first attempts of the French to plant an interest in Ireland have been the subject of the courts of English judicature, and are therefore well known: whatever has since been effected, will probably not yet make a part of history.

The expedition had been determined on early in the summer; but various circumstances had delayed its execution, till a period when nothing but the certitude of success could have justified the enterprise. When the fleet was on the point of departure, a mutiny, on account of the enlisting some hundreds of soldiers to make part of the expedition, who had been condemned to the galleys for various military offences, caused new delay, together with the tardiness of admiral Richery's squadron in joining the fleet at Brest, which consisted of eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, twelve sloops, with transports, and had on board twenty-five thousand men, under the command of general Hoche.

The departure of the fleet on the 10th of December was not attended with happy auspices, as some of the ships of the line were lost in the passage of the Raz, and others damaged. The destination of this fleet was kept a profound secret; for

for the great publicity which the French government affected to give to an expedition to Ireland, made it generally disbelieved that this was really its destination; and, from the length of time which elapsed before any tidings of the fleet arrived, it was concluded that an attack on Jamaica, or the Portuguese settlements, was the object of the enterprize: when on the 31st of December, the squadron under vice-admiral Bouvet returned to Brest, from the bay of Bantry, on the coast of Ireland. Having anchored in this bay, he had there remained for some days, waiting the arrival of the frigate which conveyed the commanders in chief, and which had been separated from the fleet in a strong gale of wind, the day after its departure from Brest. As the general was the only person entrusted with the orders of government, and as it was impossible, from the tempestuous weather, to remain any longer in the bay, Bouvet, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the commander of the forces on board, who insisted on landing the army, set sail for Brest with the vessels under his command; where he arrived in safety, and was followed at different periods by the rest of the fleet, except two ships of the line and three frigates, of which one ship of the line and two frigates foundered at sea; another frigate was taken by the English, and another ship of the line, after having fought a considerable time against two English ships, threw herself on the coast, in order to avoid being captured. As the first news of the destination of this fleet was the history of its failure, the project became the subject of general animadversion. The safe return of the fleet, which, it was feared,

would have been captured by the English, calmed the public effervescence; and the government, throwing the whole cause of the failure on the winds, consoled itself also by having experienced that the boasted superiority of the British navy was no certain obstacle to the success of a future invasion.

The court of Rome, having rejected the propositions offered by the French commissioners as the conditions of peace, resolved to try the force or fortune of its arms against those of the French republic. Although abandoned by the court of Spain, and the powers of Italy, who had concluded their respective treaties of peace with France, his holiness flattered himself that the deliverance of Italy by the imperial armies, which were once more assembling to attempt the relief of Mantua, would save him from the humiliation of laying his religion and his sovereignty at the feet of apostates and infidels. Full of this assurance, he had rejected, almost without the trouble of examination, the renewed offers of negotiation which the directory made after the rejection of the conditions already proposed by the commissioners. Buonaparte, in the mean time, had previously addressed a letter (26th October) to the cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara, on the breaking up of the former negotiation, and the cessation of the armistice, which he terms a last effort to bring the pope to conditions more moderate and more conformable to his true interests. Reminding the cardinal of the force and courage of the republican armies, he entreated him to repair to Rome, to advise with the pope concerning his real situation; observing to him, that peace was the wish of the republic, and his

his own desire also, since by that means he hoped to end a contest, which, as it was to himself without danger, was also without glory. The cardinal, after waiting the events of six weeks, answered Buonaparte's letter by a memorial, in which he instructed the French general, that his holiness, as sovereign pontiff, and depositary on earth of these precepts of which the saviour of mankind had given the example to his faithful disciples and the whole world, had been always diligent to preserve harmony and peace in the great family of Christians; for which he was inclined to make every reasonable sacrifice. He described the extreme sorrow which he had felt, as the common father of the faithful, for several years past, in seeing France delivered over to such wild excesses, and the children of the church plunging themselves into such horrible disorders; trusting, by means of the gentleness with which he treated the wanderers, that God would cure them of their blindness, and bring them back to the fold. But so far was this spirit of meekness, which had led him to renounce every worldly consideration, and make the most considerable sacrifices to keep peace between the ecclesiastical states and France, from having its due effect, that, blinded by the success of their arms, the French government, after shearing the sheep to the quick, were now waiting to devour him; having exacted from the pope the sacrifice of his soul, of the souls of those committed to his care, and the overthrow and total destruction of religion, the gospel, and the church. Alarmed at such daring attempts, his holiness had devoutly asked advice of God what conduct he should hold

in so dreadful a conjuncture. The holy ghost, the cardinal observed, had no doubt inspired him in bringing to his recollection the example of the martyrs; for, after having solicited the French directory in vain to listen to more reasonable terms, he was decided to try the chance of war. He reminded the general, that while death, with which he threatened them, was only the entrance of good men into eternal happiness, it was the end of prosperity to the wicked, and the beginning of their punishment and remorse. Hinting to him, that his army, though formidable, had not always been invincible, he observed, that, whatever ridicule sceptics might cast upon spiritual arms, yet, if it pleased divine Providence, the French legions might become a fatal example of their efficacy. As to the glory of conquering the pope, he admitted that it was not great; but as to the danger, the confidence his holiness placed in heaven would not suffer him to believe that there was any danger but for the French general and his followers.

Having thus described the pope's pious resignation, and his warlike resolutions, the cardinal returned to the principal point of Buonaparte's letter, which he acknowledged to be the desire of peace; and which the pope, he observed, would accept, if the conditions were reasonable, and such as were agreeable to his allies.

The success of the application made by his holiness to the court of Vienna for assistance (to which the minister of that court had at length reluctantly acceded, after discovering strong symptoms of aversion to an alliance by which little benefit was to result to the emperor, and the difficulty of making

ing peace increased) had strengthened the pope in the determination he had taken of trying the fortune of war. To give efficacy to his decision, he ordered extraordinary levies to be made in the ecclesiastical state. His army was to be reinforced by a considerable corps of German troops, and count Colli was appointed to take the command.

The views of the court of Spain were no longer concealed from the holy see. If the total destruction of the papal power was not a sacrifice made to France, which was strongly suspected, the hope of aggrandizement to the duke of Parma was believed to have influenced that court in consenting to a dismemberment of the ecclesiastical state. Azzara, the Spanish minister, had withdrawn from Rome in disgust, and had ceded his place, as mediator between the pope and the French republic, to the Neapolitan ambassador at the papal court. In vain did the commissary of the French republic at Rome, aided by M. Del Vasto, renew his applications, and urge his holiness to sentiments of peace with the French republic; in vain did the marquis of Manfredini assure the minister of the holy see, that the conversations he had held with general Buonaparte afforded the most certain grounds for coming to speedy and more reasonable terms of accommodation than had been offered by the French commissioners, or than had even been proposed at the armistice. The pope, believing that the French were unwilling to carry the matter to extremes, yet, suspecting that interest alone had inspired these sentiments of moderation, temporized as long as his treaty with the emperor was doubtful; but, as soon as it was concluded, he broke off all negotiation with the French,

and resolved, with the assistance of his ally, to rest his cause on the valour of his army.

The warlike ardour of the pope was but ill seconded by his subjects, many of whom were more anxious to welcome the French to Rome than prevent their arrival. The government had long since fallen into contempt; and the struggle of the papal army with the victorious legions of France seemed rather an object of ridicule than apprehension. The vigilance of the inquisition or the police could no longer prevent the walls of the public places from being the heralds of what were esteemed by the government impious or seditious libels; and the "senate and people of Rome," and the triumphs of the Capitol, were themes of dread and exultation, according to the hopes and fears of the reigning or revolutionary party. With exultation no longer concealed, the enthusiastic Italian detailed his visions of glory, and triumphed in the approaching restoration of his country, if not to her ancient dignity and splendour, at least to that liberty, which, on the revival of letters, rendered every city of Italy the nursery of genius, and raised up those illustrious poets, painters, and historians, who rivalled the most celebrated names of antiquity, and who threw as much lustre around their country by their proficiency in letters, the sciences, and the arts, as their remoter ancestry had done by the progress of their arms.

Whilst the pope was making preparations to defend his states, the four confederated cities of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, had formed their respective constitutions, and named deputies for a general congress, to determine by what bonds of union they should hence-

BRITISH AND

henceforth be connected, and whether they should remain federate republics, or become a republic one and indivisible. The inhabitants of Lombardy beheld with anxious eyes the strides which their neighbours to the south of the Po were making towards liberty and independence, while themselves were kept under military restraint, and entertained well-founded apprehensions with respect to their future destiny. These fears were not idle or imaginary, since it was generally understood that the liberty of the people of Lombardy was to have been made the sacrifice to peace, if the emperor had listened in time to any terms of accommodation. Although the French government would have attempted to excuse this act of perfidy by the plea of state necessity, the inhabitants who had passed through the inconveniences of acquiring freedom, such as requisitions, and contributions of every kind, were not disposed to enter into the views of the French diplomacy, and become the victims of the caprice or policy of either power. The permission given to the towns on the south of the Po to form themselves into governments agreeably to their own choice, revived the hopes of their Transpadanic neighbours; but as they had not yet obtained similar permission to become free, the citizens composing the general administration of Lombardy, requested leave from the French commander at Milan, to send a deputation to fraternize with the congress of the Cispadane republics, who were about to assemble at Reggio. This humble request was not only granted, but the prudent commander, in order to diminish or remove the suspicion of the real cause of the delay, took occasion,

in the letter by which he gave his consent, to express his great satisfaction in the prospect which the people of Lombardy gave of their attachment to the fundamental principles of the liberty of nations, as if for the first time he had made the discovery; and which he pretended to collect from the desire they now evinced of witnessing the progress made by those whom he called their elder brethren, while he assured them that their own liberties were preparing under the auspices of the French republic. The deputies from the four confederated cities assembled in congress on the 27th of December at Reggio at the appointed time, and unanimously agreed to form their respective republican governments into one general republic.

The republic of Geneva opposing patience and steadiness to the insinuations and menaces of the advocates in the French government for the consolidation of the two republics, had continued, amidst its political tempests, to frame a constitution for the basis of its future administration. This constitution, of which a legislature composed of eighty-three members, an executive power of four syndics, and a judicial tribunal, were the principal outlines, contained also articles, of which, some for their intolerance, and others for their minuteness, were held to be unnecessary and exceptionable. The measure and prices of liquors made part of their constitutional act, and a belief in the doctrines of Calvinism was a necessary condition of the rights of citizenship. Though no official intercourse took place between the government and the French republic, the contempt of the latter for this incongruous labour was not concealed.

The

The executive power of the Genevan republic, strengthened by the constitution, proceeded with firmness to inquire into the causes of the late disorders, and punish the authors of the revolt; and though the parties in Geneva still preserved their usual differences in political opinions, all agreed on supporting the government, as the only mode of ensuring order and tranquillity.

Whilst a suspension of arms, agreed on by the generals who commanded on the lower Rhine, had put an end to this dreadful campaign in that quarter, the upper Rhine was still dyed with the blood of the contending armies, who were profusely shedding it in the attack and defence of the fortress of Kehl, and the redoubt on the bank of the river opposite to Huningue. This redoubt, against which the whole force of the imperial army in that quarter was directed, had been thrown up by the French after they had effected their passage across the Rhine, on the retreat of prince Charles before the republican armies into Germany. After general Moreau had made his retreat back to Huningue, the French still kept possession of this redoubt on the German side; and a mutual cannonade had been kept up at long intervals, between this fort and the Austrian batteries, without effect. At length, the Austrians succeeded in breaking the bridge of boats, so that an island in the Rhine, where a battery traced formerly by Vauban had been lately completed, was the only point of communication. The defence of these works was entrusted to general Abattucci, a Corsican, who refused the repeated summons made by the prince of Furstenberg, to surrender. The Austrians having

opened all their batteries on these works for some hours, but without effect, attempted, on the second of December, under favour of a dark night, to take the island by surprise. The commander of this expedition, having selected eighteen hundred men, succeeded at first in gaining possession of the island; but the French, recovering from their disorder, made such effectual resistance, that the imperialists were repulsed with considerable loss. The Austrian commander was killed on the spot, and the French general died the next day of his wounds. As the battle was fought in the night, the Austrians were aided in their retreat by the perfidy of certain Swiss officers, who suffered them to pass over the neutral territory of Basle; for which violation, on the requisition of the French, they were sent by the magistracy of Basle to prison.

In the mean time, prince Charles, having assembled his forces against the fort of Kehl, and having found means, from the ill construction of the advanced works, and other local disadvantages, to establish mortar batteries within a favourable distance, began to bombard it. Finding that the French were resolved to defend it with vigour, he determined to make a regular siege, and, after drawing a line of circumvallation, opened his trenches on the 25th of November, and began a cannonade, which lasted without intermission fifteen days; during which time the Austrians were repulsed with considerable loss, in the various attempts which they made on the fortress, and the islands which commanded the bridge of communication.

The obstinate resistance of the French, and the severity of the weather, had relaxed the operations

of the arch-duke for some time, when the Austrians, by the renewal of their attack on the 25th of December, began to make the defence of the fortress an enterprise of danger and difficulty, by destroying again the communication with Strasburg, in breaking the bridge, and damaging the boats so as to render them useless. Having finished the second parallel, the Austrians attacked and carried the French camp, and the battery called the Wolf-hole, which protected it. The French, driven into the fortress, were then rallied by general Lacombe, who led them on to the attack, and having made the retreat of his troops impossible by destroying the bridges which they passed in rallying from the fortress, repulsed the Austrians with considerable loss. The imperialists a few days after returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and again carried the camp, and another redoubt which they defended with great valour against the French, who succeeded, after a bloody contest, in retaking it. The cannonade redoubled on each side; and Kehl was in a few days nearly reduced to a heap of ruins, when the imperialists succeeded in another attack on the camp, of which they retained the possession.

The French were now overwhelmed by the artillery of the Austrians, who had planted their cannons in their very batteries; as their communications with the opposite bank were entirely cut off, and no further assistance could be afforded, a capitulation was proposed by general Desaix, who waited in person on prince Charles. The prince would not consent to the conditions which were proposed. Desaix refused to make any change, and observed, that he should

make use of his last resource. "What resource have you left?" inquired the arch-duke. The French general replied, that he had so many men, and such a quantity of powder remaining; and that rather than submit to a dishonourable capitulation he would blow up the Austrian camp, and both armies should perish in one common ruin. The arch-duke immediately signed the capitulation, and left the French twenty-four hours to transport to the other side the remainder of the stores and artillery which had been employed by them in the glorious resistance this fortress had made.

The advantages gained by the Austrians in the capture of this fort, were greatly counterbalanced by the delay it occasioned, and the losses they sustained. The French at that advanced season could have made no hostile incursion into Germany, not having the means of accomplishing any important object; and a slight army of observation would have been sufficient to have kept them within the lines of their fortress. The resistance, on the contrary, which they made, was attended with benefits equal to almost any of their most brilliant victories.

By the defence of this fort and that of Huningue, the imperial army on the Upper Rhine had been kept in a state of continual motion; their troops had been harassed, their regiments thinned, and the stores of Mentz, Mannheim, and Philipsburg, entirely exhausted. But of still greater importance was the lengthened employment of the Austrian troops in that quarter, as it counteracted the plan formed by the arch-duke of pushing his conquests on the left side of the Rhine, which, on his victorious return from the

the centre of Germany, he might have found an operation of no difficult achievement; or what is still an object of greater consideration, the resistance made by the French prevented him from sending off the necessary reinforcements to general Alvinzi, who commanded the Austrian army in the Tyrol, and who was now collecting forces from every quarter with redoubled activity to attempt once more the deliverance of general Wurmser still shut up in Mantua, and effect the expulsion of the French from Italy.

By the surrender of this fortress, the campaign of 1796 was concluded on the Rhine, as the fate of the redoubt opposite Huningue was determined by that of Kehl; a campaign which had effected, in the space of a few months, more than has been before achieved during the continuance of the longest war; which had shaken Europe to its foundations, had made it one vast theatre of carnage, and stained with blood every river, from the frontiers of Holland, to the Adriatic gulph. To the French it was eminently glorious; for, although they had been compelled to evacuate the country on the east of the Rhine, they had succeeded by their irruption, not only in detaching almost the whole of the German princes from the coalition against them, but in strengthening their alliance with the king of Prussia, and sowing such dissension between that court and the house of Austria, as would be likely to produce a rupture between those powers, and probably end in the subversion of the German empire.

In addition to these advantages, the invasion of Germany operated a powerful diversion in favour of the French armies in Italy, who had now gained possession of the

most fertile part of the emperor's dominions, and laid the foundation of republican government both in the imperial and ecclesiastical states; detaching also from the coalition in that quarter the king of Sardinia, to whom peace was granted on submission almost unconditional, and to the court of Naples, who gained it on easier terms through the mediation of Spain. With that power a new and more intimate alliance had been formed against England, whom both agreed to regard as their common enemy.

On the failure of the late negotiations not only every hope of peace was vanished, but the war on the continent seemed to be taking a wider course, a still more destructive range. New combinations and coalitions were forming between the various powers in Germany; and vigorous preparations were made for the continuance or commencement of hostilities between the contending parties, prodigal of life and treasure, already as profusely shed as if both could have no end.

What may be the possible result of these combinations, we shall not even dare to conjecture. The affairs of Europe appear to be situated in that truly critical state, that the fate of nations seems to depend upon the most trivial accidents or events. The system established by the statesmen of former ages has been completely overthrown, partly by the activity and violence of its opponents, but chiefly by the wretched blunders, and miserable and puerile conduct of those who pretend to be its supporters.

From the immense and formidable power which France has acquired, much will doubtless depend upon

upon the stability of her government. But even on that subject, we do not scruple to confess that we more than doubt. The experiment is a great one, and as hazardous as great, whether any form of a republic be suited to an extensive country and a dense population; but, however that may prove, in the present constitution of France we have always foreseen the seeds of its own dissolution. There seems no connecting band of union or interest between the two councils; much less between the councils and the executive directory. A disagreement among the members of the directory themselves must frustrate every measure for the public good; and, in case of a disagreement between the councils, we much fear that the appeal would be to force and the sword.

It is a most lamentable mistake, and it has arisen chiefly from that childish attachment to what is new, to conceive it necessary to make the session of the legislature permanent, instead of convening it for a limited time sufficient for the dispatch of the necessary business. Such an arrangement cannot fail to engender faction; to inspire ambition with the most destructive projects, and to excite the most fatal jealousies in the breasts of contending parties. It is opening a theatre for discord, a school for vanity. In this respect the American constitution possesses almost infinite advantages above the French. The shortness of their sessions prevents the growth of faction, or the protraction of business; and the exclusion of a numerous audience confines the speakers to the useful rather than the ornamental, and renders the assembly a proper deliberative council instead of a mere

oratorical exhibition. When the necessary business is concluded, the members disperse; in the bosom of their own provinces they contract a stricter union with their constituents, and become better acquainted with their sentiments; and in retirement their spirits are cooled, and their party animosities are forgotten.

The business of government, at least in time of peace, (and religion, humanity, and policy itself, imperiously command men "to follow peace" at all times) might, we are confident, be rendered much more simple than it is usually considered to be; and that, only by assigning to each department its proper and specific functions. The legislative and executive powers have little in common, and could scarcely interfere, were the functions of each but once defined. The executive power would then naturally divide itself into two branches, that which superintends the administration of justice within the state, and that which maintains the external relations with foreign powers. The administration of justice, in a well regulated republic, we assert, ought to be totally independent of what is usually called the government, and ought to be confided to judges appointed under every possible circumstance favourable to their independence, and to juries selected by lot. The functions then of ministers would in time of peace be very limited, easy, and simple. They would have only to maintain peace by every possible expedient, and to preserve the commerce of the nation from unjust infraction. This simplicity, this definition of powers, we do not discover in the French constitution; and therefore we predict that the day is at no great distance, when the nation shall

shall once more be the wretched victim of faction, and perhaps of civil war.

To these errors may be added another scarcely less fatal, the session of the legislature in the metropolis, that dreadful theatre of sedition and tumult, that vortex of dissipation, vice, and corruption. The propensity of the Parisians also to political discussion, and to political associations, is an ill-boding circumstance. The government of clubs has before, and may again, supersede that of the constitution.

Should the present constitution of France be subverted, the change will probably be an advance towards its former despotism, rather than an enlargement of that liberty which the people have endeavoured to establish. The changes, on the contrary, which may be expected in other countries, will certainly, in the present temper of mankind, be such as shall relax the bands of oppression, arrest the progress of cruelty, and in some respect improve the condition of man. These changes will first take place in the smaller states, where the people naturally maintain a closer intercourse, and have sentiments more in common and better known to each other than in larger communities, where, consequently, the discontented party will be able to form itself into a more compact and more efficient body. Yet the combinations which we have intimated to have been formed among the more powerful states, and which, in our next volume, we shall be able more distinctly to explain, may perhaps precipitate even their own fate, and produce an effect directly opposite to the intention of their framers.

In the mean time, that supreme invisible Providence, whose omni-
1796.

science mocks the short-sighted policy of men, may interpose such events as shall render abortive the fond visions of the most accomplished statesman. Such an event we have slightly noticed in the course of this chapter, — the death of the empress of Russia. This extraordinary woman terminated a life of sixty-seven years, and a reign of forty-four, on the 6th of November, 1796. Her death was generally ascribed to an apoplexy, attended with an extravasation of blood; for, on the morning of the 5th, she was found by her attendants senseless on the floor of her private closet. To enter into the detail of her history, would be to narrate the principal political transactions that have convulsed the European world for a series of years; and, yet it is from her life that her character would be best appreciated. The means by which she ascended the throne are well known: they are written in blood, and bear that hideous character, by which the voice of God and nature has designated the most flagrant of human offences. Yet if ambition prompted her to crimes, we must in candour allow that wanton cruelty was not one of her vices; and that, if she was an usurper and a despot, she still was not a tyrant. The adherents of her husband found their fidelity to their master overlooked by the clemency of her whose designs they had opposed; and some, whom a mind of less compass and generosity would have sacrificed to its resentments, were attached by honours and rewards.

Unfortunately, ambition in a sovereign is commonly more fruitful of human misery than the most frightful tyranny; and the blood which was shed by Catherine
T during

during a reign of almost uninterrupted warfare, bears a more decided testimony to the natural or habitual depravity of her heart, than the most capricious excesses of the worst of the Roman tyrants.

To accomplish her ends, too, she seldom hesitated with respect to the means: with her, weakness was always a crime; and to want the means of defence was sufficient at all times to excite her rapacity. In common with her associates, the despots of Austria and Prussia, her memory must share in all the infamy attendant on the plunder of Poland; and while she approved the horrid and disgusting massacres of Ismael and Warsaw, she becomes an accessory in the crime.

Of her talents the world have conceived much more favourably than of her principles; and with justice. Yet she was a person of more ability than of wisdom; and her conduct evinced that she was either deficient in sound information, or that her judgment was the dupe of her passions. It was not an accession of territory that Russia wanted; it was population, industry, and the arts of civilized life, all of which the military system is directly calculated to retard. Though she acted, however, upon a mistaken system, yet it must be confessed that her measures were not pursued upon the same weak, narrow, and indecisive principles, which characterize those of the other courts of Europe; and her policy in engaging the neighbouring potentates in an absurd and abortive league against the French republic, while she stood aloof herself at a most cautious distance, if it was not great and honourable, was certainly not unwise. She, indeed, prided herself upon her di-

plomatic abilities, and regarded with contempt the majority of modern statesmen. For the talents of the present minister of Great Britain, she is well known to have entertained no degree of respect; and this humble opinion of the capacity of the person with whom she had to contend, may be seen in the whole of the negotiations respecting Oczakow.

Of her internal regulations, some are highly deserving of commendation, such as the reform which was undertaken at her command in the Russian system of jurisprudence; but in her arrangements in general there was more of ostentation than of utility. Her patronage of letters proceeded more from the love of flattery than of science; and (so delusive is self-love) while she expected, by her munificence to those whose labours guide the sentiments and govern the opinions of mankind, to secure herself a situation high in the records of fame, it is by literary men that her character will be transmitted to posterity as an object of execration.

Her death must cause a material alteration in the politics of Europe. It is probable that her ambitious spirit would not much longer have regarded with quietness the aggrandizement of the French; unless that crooked policy, which she always pursued, had induced her to take advantage of the troubles of Europe, to crush and plunder some of her exhausted neighbours. The prince by whom she is succeeded, has hitherto evinced in his conduct none of his mother's dispositions, but her clemency and munificence. He appears to be a lover of peace, and has rendered himself dear to the friends of justice and humanity by his liberation of
the

the gallant Kosciusko, and the other brave but unfortunate patriots of Poland.

In reviewing the state of Europe at this eventful crisis, it would be a matter of serious exultation to us, if we could discover any thing which promised to restore to our depressed country her ancient prosperity, and to repair the injuries and mutilations which her ancient constitution has sustained. But the prospect is only pregnant with humiliation and with sorrow. We shall therefore content ourselves with once more strenuously entreating every Englishman to think (for it is his duty to think), and to examine the facts for himself. He who determines to act upon the judgment of others, is at least in danger of acting wrong; but he who weighs with an impartial mind the evidence on both sides, whatever may be his talents, will, in political affairs, seldom fail of forming a just conclusion. Nothing indeed can be more injurious than that despicable empiricism which would persuade the people that such an examination is above their capacities, or that politics is a science removed out of the vortex of common sense; and the maxim is the more absurd and pernicious, when we reflect that the active powers of government are often exercised by men whose abilities and whose information are even inferior to those of others who dare not perhaps reason on their conduct. The evidence to which we refer will be found in the *debates of parliament*; there, every argument is urged by the ablest advocates on both sides; there, every false assertion may be refuted; there, every dubious principle is acutely investigated. On this account we have always been particularly attentive to this de-

partment of our work; since no man can be well and accurately informed on the state of public affairs, who has not carefully perused and impartially examined the transactions of parliament.

Though, however, we wish not to influence the judgment of any reader, we may yet be permitted to direct his attention to certain points, as more interesting in the investigation than others, and indeed as absolutely necessary to the forming of a correct judgment on the present state of this country.

The most immediate and pressing object of inquiry undoubtedly respects the origin and causes of the present war, and whether it was in its commencement necessary or not. As the first excuse for interfering in the dispute with France was the proposal for opening the Scheldt to the Low Countries, the fair inquirer will first ask, whether the securing to the Dutch the exclusive navigation of that river was a reasonable object on which to lavish millions of British treasure, and to shed oceans of British blood? The next pretext was the decree of the 19th of November 1792; and the natural inquiry will be, why we were more immediately interested in that decree, than other nations which happily contented themselves with a prudent neutrality? He will next ask, whether on these topics every reasonable satisfaction was not offered by M. M. Chauvelin and Le Brun? whether M. Maret's mission was not to put into the hands of the British minister a secure and valuable pledge of peace? and why the humble solicitations of Le Brun, after hostilities had commenced, were rejected with a childish arrogance, almost bordering on insanity?

These are facts, and to facts only, on such an occasion, it can be right to appeal. But it is most strangely alleged further, that we were beset at this unfortunate crisis by a number of *domestic* enemies, and that these could only be subdued by a *foreign* warfare. The argument is worthy of the cause, and of its author; for it needs only to be fairly stated, to appear ridiculous. We confess that to us the answer of M. Le Brun always appeared to suggest a much easier and more rational remedy:—"If you have bad citizens among you (said he) have you not laws to coerce them?" The candid inquirer will, however, not satisfy himself either with the assertion or with the reply. He will require clear and decisive information respecting the real ground of apprehension from domestic enemies. He will ask, whether ministers might not be deceived themselves, or whether they might not conceive it their interest to deceive others? He will ask who were these domestic enemies, and of what description? He will find, on investigating evidence, that, in the latter end of 1792, some tradesmen and mechanics in the metropolis, not exceeding a thousand, and scarcely amounting to that number, associated together for the purpose of promoting a parliamentary reform; and about half the number in Sheffield and its vicinity. That some speculative republicans might mingle in these societies, is possible; yet he will remember that the most furious republican sentiments generally proceeded from the spies whom administration thought proper to employ in those societies. He will find that

not all the weight, activity, and powers of government, could fix upon a single individual connected with these societies, a charge of treasonable practices. He will then inquire what is become of these formidable domestic foes, the bare apprehension of whom forced us into the war? Are they become converted by the minister's arguments? are they at once transformed, from fierce and sanguinary levellers, to peaceable and decent citizens? or is it that in reality they never existed, and a false alarm has only subsided?

Yet let us not be hasty in our conclusions,—let us weigh the arguments on every side. It has been asserted that enough was proved to evince the dangerous designs of these anti-constitutional societies*:—it has been proved that they sought a parliamentary reform;—and a parliamentary reform, it is alleged, is the next step to a revolution. This is indeed a wide and serious topic of discussion; but it is not necessary to investigate it here. The *project* of parliamentary reform, whatever it be, is the *child* of Mr. Pitt,—if not the natural, at least the adopted offspring of that minister; he introduced it into public notice,—he brought it into fashion.—For its merits or demerits he is responsible.—He has not yet formally disclaimed it;—he has quibbled about the time,—but he has not manfully retracted his error, if it be one; and let it not be said that what was wholesome, nutritive, and pleasant, in 1782, could be poisonous and fatal in 1793. If a parliamentary reform lead to a republic, if its natural tendency be to that form of government, in

* It was said by Sir James Saunderson, Sir John Mitford, alderman Curtis, or some other of the great oracles of administration,

that it must end, at whatever time it be adopted. With the example of France before our eyes, the advances might, it is true, have been more rapid; but without it they would not have been less certain. Those who are adverse to a reform of parliament must concur in these sentiments; those who approve it, will smile at their apprehensions.

The second subject of investigation will be the conduct of the war; and, in pursuing this, the inquirer will probably be forced to one of these two conclusions,—either that its objects, “indemnity for the past*, and security for the future,” were impracticable at the first; or that those objects have not been pursued in such a manner as to induce a successful issue. It will not improve the argument, to escape from the dilemma, by saying that the British ministers were deceived and disappointed in the course of events; they set out with the fairest hopes; but they calculated upon means which it was not afterwards in their power to command; they calculated on the apparent weakness of their enemy, and on the fidelity of their allies. We are not writing to prove the incapacity of ministers; but if we were, this argument, which is the most common in the mouths of their adherents, is the very argument we should employ. They ought to have known the resources of the enemy; they ought to have ascertained the dependance which might be placed on their allies. A real statesman foresaw these difficulties and objections, and forewarned ministers of them. It is the part of a statesman to calculate well his means beforehand, and to enter

into no contest where he cannot ensure a conclusion that shall at least not be disastrous; it is the part of a weak, sanguine, and short-sighted man to plunge precipitately into danger, to stake the blood and the treasure of a nation on the cast of a die, on what is vulgarly termed “the chapter of accidents.” or, in fashionable language, “existing circumstances.”

Are the ministers and their adherents, who are now as clamorous for peace as they ever were for war, then consistent? This is another important branch of the inquiry. No one object of the war has been obtained; if ever then the war was “just and necessary,” it is “just and necessary” still. Are the French less formidable because they have been victorious? or are republican principles less dangerous because they have been successful? Alas! neither our foreign nor our domestic enemies have been subdued; neither have the former been annihilated in the field, nor the latter on the scaffold. Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall still exist, and Buonaparte is victorious! and yet peace, which was ruinous in 1792, before we had destroyed our commerce and doubled our taxes, is expedient and desirable in 1797. Either then those are consistent, who still adhere to the minister’s declaration in 1793, that “the safety of Britain is incompatible with the existence of a republic in France,” or those who have uniformly affirmed that the war was never either just or necessary; that it had its origin in insanity, or a folly bordering on insanity; and its issue in calamity and humiliation.

The last object that calls for par-

* It is not easy to say what was meant by *indemnity*, before any hostile act was committed.

ticular attention is the effects of the war; and these will also be most satisfactorily collected from the debates of parliament. In this the inquirer must not satisfy himself with asking, whether, if we had preserved our neutrality, our commerce was likely to remain undiminished? but, whether or not it was likely to have increased? He will not rest contented with fallacious statements concerning exports and imports, which include supplies for fleets and armies; but he will look at the actual state of the country. He will, perhaps, see the necessaries of life almost doubled in price, and yet the national wealth actually diminished. He will compare the situation of the country with its situation during the calamitous American war; and he will find that the actual depression of

the funded property of the nation, in a comparison between these two periods, is now more than twenty per cent *. He will find, that, in these four years of misery and discomfiture, the public burthens are actually doubled.—He will find a frightful deficit in the national finances; that the expenditure, even in the event of an immediate peace, must exceed the income by *four millions* a year; and that, in the event of another campaign, even that deficit must be immensely increased †.

It is to this alarming discovery we must awake from our dreams of conquest and of glory. The evil is now hid from the eyes of an unreflecting multitude, by the glare and pomp of military arrangement, and by a false splendour that only dazzles to deceive.—May heaven avert the awful consequences!

* In the American war, the extreme depression of the stocks was when the *three per cents.* were at 54:—we have since seen them at 48; and yet £.48 at present, when compared with the price of commodities, is scarcely equal to £.30 in the American war.

† See the earl of Lauderdale's excellent tracts on the finances.

P R I N C I P A L
O C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1796.

1796.

(A)

194.000.000

210.000.000

194.000.000

194.000.000

194.000.000

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1796.

J A N U A R Y.

2. **O**N Wednesday last, Mrs. Mary Reed, widow of William Reed, esq. who died at Berkeley, in April, 1794, was fully committed to Gloucester gaol, on suspicion of having poisoned her husband.

It appeared, on the examination, that, about two years ago, a suspicion arose, that captain Reed had poison given to him in some broth; that finding himself indisposed, he went to lie down on the bed; that while he was there, she went up to see him; that her brother followed with a broomstick, and struck him three violent blows over his head; that she immediately called out murder, and her brother escaped. A medical gentleman being sent for, came and dressed his head, and left him about six in the evening, observing that there was no danger of death from the wounds; but, at nine o'clock captain Reed expired. Mrs. Reed applied the same evening for a coffin to be made, and wished to have him buried the next day, saying, that as he died suddenly he would not keep; which circumstance giving rise to a suspicion, he was opened by a surgeon, and a something being found in his stomach, which was

given to a dog, proved his immediate death. On this evidence, the coroner's jury sat on the body of captain Reed and gave a verdict of *wilful murder*.

The brother of Mrs. Reed above-mentioned, was found dead about four days after the decease of captain Reed, and is supposed to have shot himself with a blunderbuss found lying by him, his head being blown to pieces.

At the time this shocking affair took place, Mrs. Reed was examined before the coroner's jury, and discharged for want of evidence. In a late trial of an action brought by Mrs. Reed against the Royal Exchange assurance office, for the recovery of 2000l. the amount of a policy of assurance on the life of captain Reed (who died within a week after the execution of the policy) some suspicious circumstances arose, which induced Mr. Mingay, her counsel, to submit to be nonsuited, rather than urge the trial farther, and occasioned Mrs. Reed to be apprehended a second time.

Carlton-house, Jan. 7. This morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the princess of Wales was happily delivered of a princess. His royal highness the duke of Gloucester, his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord

chancellor, the lord president of his majesty's council, his grace the duke of Leeds, his grace the duke of Devonshire, the earl of Cholmondeley, lord chamberlain, and the earl of Jersey, master of the horse to his royal highness the prince of Wales, the right honourable lord Thurlow, and the ladies of her royal highness's bedchamber, were present.

12. In consequence of a dispute at the Opera house, on Saturday evening, between major Sweetman of the Independents, and capt. Watson, of the 90th regiment, these gentlemen, attended by their seconds and surgeons, met yesterday morning near Cobham. The combatants were posted by the seconds, at the distance of ten yards; but major Sweetman who was short-sighted, complaining that he could not see clearly, capt. Watson called out to him to advance till he was satisfied. He advanced to within four yards, when both parties fired together. Capt. Watson's ball went in at major Sweetman's right breast, and came out at his left. He fell, and instantly expired. Capt. Watson was wounded in the upper part of the thigh, but is in a fair way of recovery, the ball having been extracted.

16. Yesterday came on a cause of importance to all dissenting congregations throughout the kingdom. The protestant dissenting chapel at Kensington had been rated to the poor by the overseers of that parish. The trustees of the chapel at first paid the tax, but afterward objected, and appealed to the parochial vestry meeting, when the rate was confirmed. From this decision, the trustees of the chapel appealed to the former

the counsel for the parish, the appeal was adjourned over to the following quarter sessions, which was held yesterday. Messrs. Sylvester and Knowles were counsel for the appellants, and messrs. Fielding and Coust for the respondents. The respondents' counsel argued, that wherever an erection took place, and covered a piece of land, as an object of value, it became taxable to the support of the poor of that parish in which it was situated; and that the trustees had an interest and profit in, and were to be considered as proprietors and occupiers of, this building, and as such were liable to be taxed.—The counsel for the appellants argued, that the trustees were merely nominally such, on behalf of the subscribers to the building of the chapel; that they had no peculiar interest in, nor derived any benefit or profit therefrom; what the congregation paid, was by voluntary subscription, the whole of which went to the support of the officiating minister, and the expenses of public worship. Evidence was adduced in proof of these facts, and the trustees offered to come forward and swear that they never had received, and that they never would receive, the smallest reimbursement for the expenses they had been at from the annual subscriptions, which were solely appropriated as above. The chairman, Mr. Mainwaring, remarked, that Mr. Fielding's position could not be admitted in the broad way he had stated it; for many charitable foundations, churches, &c. were not liable to taxation; the trustees or governors of St. Luke's, &c. were not taxable, although it was customary for the nurses to receive a fee on the admission of every patient; nor were churches
liable

liable to be taxed, although the lecturer derived a benefit from the voluntary subscription of his hearers. The justices determined in favour of the trustees of the chapel. —A similar decision took place last year at Guildhall, on an appeal of the trustees of the meeting-house, in Hare-court, Aldersgate, against the demand for rates by the officers of that parish.

25. Yesterday, George Colley, an Englishman; Francis Cole, a black; and Michael Blanche, and Emanuel Batha, two Spaniards, were brought before the admiralty session, at the Old Bailey, being charged with the murder of William Little, captain of an American ship, called the American Eagle, in the chops of the Channel, on the 28th of October last. The first two only were then tried, and, after a long examination of witnesses, were found guilty. The two latter being foreigners, their trial was postponed till this day, in order that they might have their privilege of a jury half foreigners; but this, in the sequel, they were induced to wave; and, on the conclusion of the trial, Blanche was found guilty, and Batha acquitted.

26. Yesterday morning, at a quarter before nine o'clock, the powder-mills belonging to Mr. Hill, at Hanmer, a mile and a half from Hounslow, and twelve from town, were blown up, owing, it is said, to the severe friction occasioned by the iron works not being properly oiled. The flames communicated to a lighter in the mill river, containing thirty barrels of powder, which also went off with a most tremendous shock. The concussions were distinctly felt throughout the whole of Westminster and St. George's Fields, the force of which actually shook

many persons in their beds, and staggered others who were walking in the streets. At Hounslow, every house is more or less damaged. Scarcely a pane of glass has escaped, and at the King's Head even the window frames are shattered to pieces. At Isleworth, Twickenham, and Brentford, the people were so much alarmed, that they quitted their dwellings, and many of them ran about the streets a considerable time half naked. Several of the houses are very considerably injured. Not a vestige of the mills is left standing; and Hounslow heath is covered with bricks and tiles. The number of lives lost on this dreadful occasion is not yet correctly ascertained; but four men are known to have perished, viz. three who were in the mills, and one in the vessel on the river, who have left large families to lament their shocking fate. The loss of property sustained by this explosion is estimated at near 20,000*l*. About twenty years ago, the mills on the same spot were destroyed by a similar accident.

28. This morning, Francis Cole, George Colley, and Michael Blanche, were executed at Execution dock, pursuant to their sentence, for the murder of captain Little.

29. Yesterday, a court of common council was held at Guildhall, when a letter from lord Cholmondeley to the city remembrancer was read, wherein his lordship intimates, that the prince of Wales declined receiving an address of the corporation at Carlton-house, and stating that the prince had commanded him to say, 'That, being under the necessity of reducing his establishment, he was precluded from receiving the addresses

in a manner suitable to his situation; and his lordship requested to have copies of the address, &c.

Mr. deputy Birch moved, that the said letter be entered on the journals of the court; which was agreed to.

The deputy then moved, 'That his royal highness the prince of Wales, having stated that the inadequacy of his establishment precluded him from receiving the compliments of congratulation voted to be presented to their royal highnesses, in a manner suitable to his situation, this court are of opinion, that they cannot, consistently with their own dignity, suffer the said compliments to be presented in any other way than the customary form.' After some conversation, the motion was agreed to, and the remembrancer was ordered to convey a copy thereof to his royal highness.

Plymouth, Jan. 16. At ten o'clock this morning, a dreadful gale of wind came on at SW. The Dutton East-India ship, which arrived here yesterday from admiral Christian's fleet, drove to leeward; and about twelve o'clock struck on the SW part of Mount Batten, and immediately after parted her cables. She then veered round with her head to the NW, and stretched across the harbour under her fore-top-sail; but her rudder being beat off, by striking on the Batten, she became unmanageable, and was drove ashore under the citadel, about half past twelve o'clock, when her masts were all cut away; and after beating for several hours, her back was entirely broke, and she is now a mere wreck. When the ship struck, the number of persons on board, including soldiers, seamen, women, and children, amounted to 500; but, notwith-

standing the violence of the sea, not more than four or five persons are supposed to have perished, and those were carried away by the main-mast, and got entangled in the rigging. Such was the anxiety of the soldiers and seamen to get to land, that many of them jumped overboard, and had nearly lost their lives by the violence of the sea dashing them on the rocks; on which account, sir Edward Pellew, with a bravery that does him infinite honour, got himself conveyed on board the Dutton by means of a rope extended from the ship to the shore, and by his able conduct prevented the confusion that existed, by assuring the troops that he would be the last man to quit the ship; owing to which, the utmost serenity instantly prevailed; and the men were, by four this afternoon, got out of the ship, some by means of boats, and others by ropes fastened to the shore, and fortunately without any more lives being lost.

Portsmouth, Jan. 29. This morning, about eight o'clock, arrived admiral Christian, with the squadron under his command, consisting of the *Glory*, of 98 guns, the *Impregnable*, *Colossus*, *Irresistible*, and *Trident*, of 74 guns each; the *Lion*, of 64; *Alcmene*, of 32; *La Prompte*, of 28; and *Vesuvius* bomb: together with about 45 sail of merchant ships, of which the following East-India ships form a part, viz. sir Edward Hughes, *Britannia*, *Rose*, *King George*, *Sullivan*, *Raymond*, *Ganges*, *Contractor*, *Houghton*, and *General Elliot*; the rest are West-Indiamen and transports.

This is the remnant, with the few stragglers which have, at different times, put back into Plymouth, Falmouth, Milford, and this

this port, that are arrived of a fleet consisting of about 200 sail, which left St. Helen's about the 8th of December last; since which time they have been continually beating against contrary and tremendous gales of wind and heavy seas, in which they have received so much damage, that almost all the men of war will be obliged to go into dock.

[From every part of the island we receive accounts of the devastation occasioned by the late high winds, which in many places were attended with severe storms of thunder and lightning, by which much damage has been done, particularly in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Northumberland, and in various parts of Scotland.]

30. On Thursday the 29th, came on the trial of Mr. William Stone, coal-merchant, in Rutland Place, Upper Thames-street, for high treason, before lord Kenyon, and the other judges of the court of King's Bench, in Westminster Hall.

The court assembled at nine o'clock; but it was not till half after ten, that a sufficient number of names had been called over to form a jury; when the following gentlemen were sworn in: J. Leader, Tottenham-street, gent. John Mayhew, of Hornsey, esq. J. Etherington, of Newington Green, tea-man; T. Cole, of Twickenham, brewer; Charles Minier, of the Strand, seedsman; Daniel Dyson, esq. of Tottenham, farmer; T. Burnett, esq. Laleham: William Sumner, of Clerkenwell Close, silversmith; J. Larkin, of St. John-street, oilman; Peter Taylor, of Wapping Old Stairs, blockmaker to the East-India company; W. West, of Tottenham, brewer; and Isaac Dimsdale, of Glashouse-yard, Aldersgate-street, coachmaker.

The indictment having been stated by Mr. Wood, the attorney-general proceeded to expatiate on the facts, and the evidence he was to adduce in support of them. Mr. Stone, he said, was charged with two species of treason; the first, with compassing and imagining the king's death; and the second, with conspiring with John Hurford Stone, his brother, and with a person named William Jackson. *See Vol. XVI. p. (30).* Of the overt acts in proof of these treasons, he took a very accurate view, adding, that in the evidence it would be proved, that the French government had employed Mr. J. H. Stone and Mr. Jackson, to gain such intelligence of the situation of this country as might enable them to judge of the expediency of an invasion. The connexion of the gentleman at the bar with those persons would be also placed beyond the possibility of a doubt. The former was his brother, already become a domiciliated Frenchman, and whom he knew to be in the confidence and interest of the French government; the latter had been, to the knowledge of the prisoner, sent over to England by Mr. J. H. Stone, his brother, for the purpose of acquiring intelligence; and, notwithstanding his having been fully aware of the purposes of Mr. Jackson's mission, he, nevertheless, though a British subject, had held correspondence with, and assisted him in making inquiry how this kingdom might most successfully be invaded, or if it would be for the interest of the French government to make any invasion whatever.

In the course of their correspondence, it would appear, that a great deal was said about the establishment of certain manufac-

stories; the parting with his (Mr. William Stone's) house at Old Ford; and concerning a certain family residing at Sheilds, who were involved in a law suit: all which, though seemingly innocent, would be found to be an ingenious invention to convey a double meaning, and that, under these symbols and allegories, the real business, of the most criminal tendency, was mysteriously concealed.—It would appear too, that Mr. J. H. Stone had repeatedly recommended Mr. Jackson to his brother as his confidential friend, stating, moreover, that he was an American gentleman, although, in reality, he was an Irishman; that, consequently, an immediate connexion and correspondence took place between this pretended American gentleman and the prisoner; that the former was furnished by the latter with money to effect his purposes; that their correspondence was of such an ambiguous nature as naturally to excite suspicion; that it was carried on under feigned names, that one of J. H. Stone's letters was signed by the feigned name of *Benjamin Beresford*; that Jackson's were signed *Thomas Popskins*; and the prisoner's, by his own name reversed, *William Enots*; and that, in the beginning of the year 1794, fifteen ships had been lost to this country, in consequence of intelligence supposed to have been conveyed through that channel to the enemy. Jackson, during this correspondence, was in Ireland, whether he had gone, in order to execute his part of the traitorous plan, which was to procure such intelligence of the situation of Ireland, and of the disposition of the people, as would best enable the French government the more effectually to plan the invasion and

reduction of that country. Jackson, he said, had been convicted of high treason in Ireland, but died suddenly, before sentence was pronounced. The jury had heard of the nature of the correspondence between J. H. Stone and Jackson, and it was for them to judge how far the prisoner at the bar was implicated in their proceedings.

The attorney-general having finished, evidence was brought to identify certain papers, and to prove the hand-writing of the respective parties. One of the papers read, was stated to have been written by Benjamin Vaughan, esq. M. P. for Calne, and to have been given by him to the prisoner. It appeared to be written with a view to describe the temper and opinions of the people of this country, respecting the then threatened invasion of the French, and purported to shew the improbability there was of any such measure succeeding, from a variety of causes, viz. that the verdicts which were given in state prosecutions were in favour of the court; that there was a great readiness in men to enlist in the army; that there was little resistance in pressing men into the sea service; and that the parliament was favourable to the war, though its existence was above half expired; that from the state of the disposition of the people, there was every reason to apprehend that such an attempt would prove abortive; and that it would be expedient for the French to hold out fair and moderate terms of peace after success. Another paper was produced, written by Mr. W. Smith, M. P. for Camel-ford, shewing also the impossibility of the success of an attempt to invade this country; though not written

written in such strong terms as the former.

Upon the subject of these papers, Mr. Smith, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Towgood, and Mr. Rogers, were examined in evidence: they had been respectively consulted on the subject by the prisoner, and as their evidence entirely coincided, we shall only repeat the substance of what Mr. Sheridan deposed: 'The prisoner,' Mr. Sheridan said, 'had been introduced to him by a Mr. Wilson, who said, that he (Mr. Stone) wanted to communicate to him what might be of advantage to the country; and then he (the prisoner) said, that he had had frequent communications with his brother at Paris, and he understood, from these communications, that the idea of attempting an invasion of this country was a plan seriously and peremptorily resolved upon by the government of France; that this idea was adopted, and likely to be pursued, upon an opinion, which was very ill formed, of the general state of the public mind, and the prevalence of general discontent in this country. He then stated, that the service he thought he could effect, would be the means, through this circuitous channel of communication, to undeceive the government of France upon this subject, and by giving them the real state of the country, and convincing them how little could be expected from any thing like assistance, or co-operation, from any description of men in this country, he hoped the consequence might be, their abandoning a project evidently taken up upon false information. The prisoner then said, that in order to effect this purpose, he had endeavoured to collect the opinions of several

gentlemen, political characters in this country, whose opinions he thought would be authority to advance his object: for this purpose he had had interviews with different gentlemen, viz. Mr. Smith, Mr. Vaughan, and one or two more. He then mentioned his having communicated what Mr. Vaughan had said to him; he said that gentleman had put his opinions on this subject into writing, and he produced a paper, which Mr. Sheridan thought was in the hand-writing of Mr. Vaughan, and began to read it. Before he finished reading the paper, Mr. Sheridan stopped the prisoner, not thinking this a proper subject of communication. The witness also told him, that he acted very indiscreetly, and that he might be imposed upon by this American gentleman. The prisoner endeavoured to convince him by argument, that he was doing a meritorious service. Mr. Sheridan then told him, that whoever this American gentleman was, he must be sure that all his motions were watched. He said further, that Mr. Dundas should be informed of it, and recommended him to go and make some communication of the affair to Mr. Dundas. The prisoner seemed to hesitate about this, and said, he had communicated the business to a gentleman connected with ministers, which gentleman afterward appeared to be the late general Murray.

After the evidence on this point had been delivered, John Cockayne, the sole parole evidence for the crown, then gave an account of his transactions in Ireland with Jackson; but nothing appeared in this to criminate the prisoner. Indeed, the court and jury seemed to pay little attention to the evidence

dence of a man who had avowedly formed no other connexion with the parties than with a view to betray them.

Cockayne having finished his evidence, the court agreed to adjourn till the next day, it being late in the evening; and the jury retired to accommodations provided for them at the Swan tavern, Westminster bridge.

The next morning, the court assembled at nine o'clock, and the evidence for the crown being closed, Mr. serjeant Adair entered into a long speech in favour of the prisoner, commenting with great acuteness on every point on which the evidence turned, and stating, that from the openness and publicity of the prisoner's conduct throughout the whole of the transactions in question, no imputation of guilt could attach to him. The evidence of Mr. Sheridan, and of the other gentlemen, who had stated their conversations with him, was entirely in his favour; fully evincing that he was actuated by the view of serving his country, by deterring the French from an invasion. Even the evidence of Cockayne, the sole witness for the crown, was also in his favour; for this man declared, that though he was in the highest degree of confidence with Jackson, he could never find out what were his views. How then could he find out what were the views of the prisoner, with whom he had only a short acquaintance? And he had further stated, that he had had several conversations with Jackson, in company with Hamilton Rowan, and other persons disaffected to the constitution of Ireland, relative to certain communications proposed to be made to the then government of France; and yet, in all these con-

versations, the name of Stone was never mentioned.

In conclusion, serjeant Adair apologized for the length of time he had detained the court, but the feelings of the jury would point out to them it was his duty. He declared, that had it been his own case, he would have ventured to trust his life and his honour to the jury's own interpretation of the evidence, without making a single comment on it. But clear though it was, he could not, consistently with his duty, do so in the case of another person. It was under this impression he felt bound to go still further—and although there was not one single tittle in the evidence that could authorize them to say there was any treasonable intention in the prisoner, he would yet, in order to remove any doubt which might remain in the mind of the most doubtful, produce witnesses to the good intentions of the prisoner; or, in other words, in confirmation of the evidence of the crown; witnesses, who would shew the publicity with which Mr. Stone disclosed the so much complained of correspondence, even on the public exchange (a degree of openness incompatible with guilt), and convince the jury, that the prisoner was as incapable as any other man of disloyalty or traitorous intentions.

Several witnesses were then called, who fully proved the publicity of the prisoner's conduct, in frequently and openly reading his correspondence with his brother. Mr. Samuel Toulmin, and other gentlemen, gave him a very respectable character; and the Rev. Thomas Taylor, the Rev. A. Barbault, and the Rev. John Kiddell, declared, they had never heard of, or seen, any

any thing in his conduct of a tendency to disloyalty or disaffection; on the contrary, that he was educated in, and had always professed, principles favourable to the constitution, and to the Hanoverian succession. One witness, in particular, declared, that he had often heard Mr. Stone say, that 'he must be a madman and a fool that wished for any alteration in the constitution.'

When the evidence for the prisoner was ended, Mr. Erskine followed up, in a very animated speech, the impression already made by Mr. serjeant Adair. The solicitor-general then rose in reply.

Lord Kenyon then gave his charge to the jury. On the one side, he said, it was necessary to observe the most scrupulous attention with respect to the life and honour of the person accused; for, in cases of blood, too much caution could never be preserved. On the other, the interest, safety, nay even the preservation of the community, were also objects of the most important moment. The crime imputed to the prisoner was the highest and most atrocious that could be committed in any society, inasmuch as it necessarily went to the destruction and dissolution of the community, and tended to tear asunder all the bands of law and order, by which mankind are protected and kept together.

The indictment consisted of two counts. The first was, compassing and imagining the death of the king, and the second charged the prisoner with adhering to the king's enemies. As no manner of evidence had appeared, that could in any respect support the first count, it was to be left entirely out of the question, and all their consideration

should be directed to the second alone.

With respect to the law on the subject, it was clearly high treason to send such intelligence by letter, or otherwise, to the king's enemies, as would give them any advantage in the contest with his majesty.

During the course of the long trial, had any thing improper been urged by the counsel, either for the crown or the prisoner, it would have been his duty to correct them; or had he then omitted his calling them back to the just line of their duty, he would, in his address to the jury, have made such observations as should occur to him on that subject: but the conduct of both sides rendered his interference in that respect unnecessary. Almost all the letters produced in evidence appeared to refer to trade only; and not, as has been supposed, to convey any hidden political meaning, except, perhaps, that in which mention was made of the family at Shields, which had been supposed symbolic of the French government. That, very probably, might be mysterious, as it had been stated by J. H. Stone, in a subsequent letter to the prisoner, where he said, that the meaning was abstruse; but Mr. Jackson, who was shortly to come, would explain it to the prisoner. The jury would be best able to form their own opinion with respect to the influence J. H. Stone's share in the whole transaction ought to have on their minds. He was the prisoner's brother, and seemed on every occasion to have domiciliated himself a Frenchman, as was particularly evident in his letter to the prisoner, where, when he spoke of the people of England, he uniformly used the expression *you*; but when speaking of

of that of France, he constantly employed the word *we*.

Of all the written evidence, two papers only were of any material importance in the cause. Those emphatical papers he would lay before them. They had been found in the possession of the prisoner, and had been written, the one by Mr. W. Smith, and the other by J. H. Stone, from whom it had been sent to the prisoner, through the medium of Jackson. His lordship read both to the jury, and Mr. Smith's paper was found to express the impolicy in the French of invading this kingdom, as the union of the people here, their satisfaction in respect of the government, and other circumstances, combined to render the execution of such a project impracticable. The second paper, which was also in the form of a letter, expressed the same opinion in relation to England, though it stated that things might not be so in Ireland. After several apposite comments, his lordship observed, it was very material for the jury to consider the intent with which these papers had been written. Under several circumstances, the writing of such papers would be no legal crime; but, however useful they might have become to the enemy, if an evil intention did not accompany the writing of them, it would amount to a strong degree of indiscretion, but not to high treason. The jury were, nevertheless, attentively to consider the motives with which they had been kept in the prisoner's custody; and, if it should appear to them that they had been so for the purpose of transmitting information of the state of the country to France, in order to be serviceable to their government,

then no doubt could remain of the criminality.

His lordship proceeded to state the oral evidence; during the course of which he observed, that copies of the above-mentioned papers had been found on Jackson in Ireland, and the originals on the prisoner at the bar at the time of his apprehension. It was for them to consider, whether he had them for any improper or traitorous purposes.

Mr. justice Lawrence remarked, it was for the consideration of the jury, whether the information, sent through Jackson to France, had for its object a design of serving the French, or averting an invasion.

The jury retired at eight o'clock, and, at about eleven, brought in their verdict, *Not Guilty*.

The words were scarcely pronounced, when an instantaneous shout arose in the court, which was loudly joined by a numerous crowd in the hall. A gentleman, named Richard Thomson, was observed to have joined in the shout, and was immediately ordered by his lordship into the custody of Mr. Kirby. Mr. Thomson apologized to the court, by saying, that his feelings on the joyful occasion were such, that, if he had not given utterance to the joy which arose within his breast, he should have died on the spot.

Lord Kenyon answered, that it was his duty to suppress the emotions of such tumultuous joy, which drew contempt on the dignity of the court. His lordship ordered, that he should pay a fine of 20l. for his misconduct, and remain in custody till payment. Mr. Thomson tendered his draught for the sum, but this was refused, and he was taken into custody.

FEBRUARY.

F E B R U A R Y.

2. Yesterday evening, as the royal family were returning through Pall-mall to Buckingham-house, from Drury-lane theatre, some evil-disposed person flung a stone at the coach, in which were their majesties and the lady in waiting, with such violence as to break the window, and enter the carriage, where it fell into lady Harrington's lap. [*A reward of 1000l. has been since offered for the discovery of the offender.*]

6. Yesterday, at a court of common council, the lord mayor rose to state to the court, the conference he had had with the prince of Wales, on the subject of not receiving the congratulatory address of the city in the usual form; observing, that in a matter of so delicate a nature, he had thought it his duty to commit the purport of this conversation to writing, which, with the leave of the court, he would wish to be read. The communication was as follows:

'In consequence of a letter from lord Cholmondeley, dated January 31, 1796, stating, that his royal highness the prince of Wales wished to speak to me at Carlton-house, and to give me a private audience on Tuesday (but which appointment was afterward, by a second letter, fixed for Monday last, at one o'clock), I had the honour of waiting on his royal highness, who addressed me by saying—that he had seen with concern in the public papers, a statement of what had passed in the court of common-council on Thursday last, respecting a letter written by lord Cholmondeley, at the command of his royal highness, and sent to the city remembrancer, conveying his sentiments on the intended address of

congratulation to their royal highnesses, which sentiments he conceived had been mistaken, or misunderstood; or at least a very different construction had been given to them than he meant, or was intended to be conveyed by that letter. His royal highness said, that he thought it incumbent on him to preserve a consistent character; that as his establishment, for certain reasons, had been reduced, and that the necessary state appendages attached to the character and rank of prince of Wales, did not in consequence exist, his royal highness conceived he could not receive an address in state, and particularly from the corporation of the city of London, for which he entertained the highest veneration and respect. His royal highness, therefore, thought it would appear disrespectful to the first corporate body in this kingdom, to receive the members of it inconsistently with their character and his own dignity.

After some observations, and precedents being looked into, it was unanimously agreed, that the particulars should be entered on the records. *See page (5).*

7. The prince of Wales received in private the congratulatory compliments of both houses of parliament, presented by committees, in consequence of his royal highness, from having reduced his establishment, being unable to receive them with the proper dignities of his rank.

8. In the court of king's bench, Ben Lara, who had been convicted for defrauding John Spicer of lottery tickets of the value of about 2000l. by giving him a check upon sir Robert Ladbroke and co. who, he pretended, were his bankers, but with whom he kept no cash, was brought up, to hear the opinion of
the

the court on the motion in arrest of judgment.

Lord Kenyon said, that the defendant was a very bad man, and had the conviction affected him in the most serious manner, he should not have been sorry for it; but infamous as he was, the court must dispose of him according to law, and he was bound to say, that the judgment in this case ought to be arrested.

The other judges agreed, and judgment was therefore arrested, and the prisoner *discharged*!

Carlton-house, Feb. 16. On the evening of Thursday last, between eight and nine o'clock, her royal highness the infant princess, daughter of their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Wales, was christened in the great drawing-room by his grace the archbishop of Canterbury: her royal highness was named Charlotte Augusta: the sponsors were their majesties in person, and her royal highness the duchess of Brunswick, represented by her royal highness the princess royal.

20. Came on in the court of king's bench, the trial of Kyd Wake, indicted for hooting and hissing his majesty in his way to the house of lords, throwing a stone at the royal carriage, and calling out "Down with George, no war," &c. on the first day of the present session. Mr. Stockdale, bookseller in Piccadilly, and Mr. Walford, linen-draper, having acted as constables on the day, proved the fact, and the jury pronounced the prisoner guilty. *See Vol. XVI. p. 162).*

21. On Friday came on, at the Old Bailey, the trial of Mr. Richard England, for the murder of William Peter T. Rolle, esq. in a duel, about twelve years ago. The jury brought

in their verdict manslaughter; and the court sentenced him to be fined one shilling, and to be confined in Newgate twelve months.

23. Last week, at the Old Bailey, Mrs. Phipoe, who had been convicted at a former sessions for forcibly robbing Mr. Courtoy of a promissory note, of the value of 2000l. but whose case had been referred to the judges, (*see Vol. XVI. p. 57.*) was put to the bar, when Mr. justice Ashurst informed the court, that the judges were unanimously of opinion, that the offence of which she had been convicted did not come under the statute of the 2d of Geo. II. chap. 25; nor was any such case in the mind of the legislature at the time they passed that law; for the paper, which she had been convicted of extorting, could not be said to be of any value after he had obtained his liberty. Besides, it was necessary, to constitute the robbery, that the party should have been in peaceable and quiet possession of the property; which, supposing the paper of value, the prosecutor here never had had; for even the paper on which the note was drawn was not his. The judgment therefore must be rescinded. On her application to be discharged, her counsel informed her, that she must go back for the present; but if her solicitor came to him, he would instruct him how to proceed.

Yesterday, George Crossley, an attorney, was indicted for forging an instrument, purporting to be the will of the rev. Henry Lewis, deceased, late of the county of Hereford; by which will the property of the deceased would devolve to lady Briggs, and through her to Sir John Briggs, bart. with intent to defraud the heir at law.—After a trial which lasted till four this morning, the

the jury brought in a verdict—not guilty.

This day John Henry Gade was indicted for causing and procuring to be made, a forged transfer at the bank of England, for the sum of 50*l*. The facts were: the grandfather of William Harrison, a lad enlisted in the militia, died, leaving 500*l*. among some poor relations, 50*l*. of which fell to the share of Harrison. By his will, the prisoner was made one of his executors, and he took his own son, a lad resembling Harrison in years and appearance, to the bank of England, where he passed him as Harrison, and caused him to make the transfer, with the design of defrauding Harrison, and the bank of England. The jury found the prisoner guilty; but the court reserved a point of law for the judges, respecting the validity of the transfer.

Yesterday, Thomas Sanders Gillett was tried at the session-house, Clerkenwell-green, under an indictment (under the late act of parliament) for quitting this kingdom, and repairing to France, without a licence from his majesty, under his sign manual, order of council, or proclamation, first had and obtained; he was found guilty, and ordered to be imprisoned in Newgate two months. This is the first indictment under the act of parliament.

M A R C H.

1. An action for *crim. con.* was lately tried at Dublin, the earl of Westmeath plaintiff, and ——— Bradshaw, esq. son of sir Henry Cavendish, bart. defendant. The facts, in proof of the adulterous intercourse with the countess of Westmeath, being fully proved, the jury brought in their verdict *guilty*. Damages 10,000*l*.

8. The Dedalus transport, from Port Jackson in New South Wales, on her passage home, touched at Otaheite. There, to the no small surprise of the captain and crew, they found nine of their countrymen married, settled, and living in the greatest ease and comfort; who, being asked how they came there, informed them, that they sailed from England in a South-sea whaler, belonging to messieurs Calvert and co. called the Amelia, which had the misfortune to bulge upon a rock. Finding it impossible to save the ship or any part of the stores, they got into the boat, committed themselves to the mercy of the waves, and were safely waisted to the shores of Otaheite. The natives, not unaccustomed to the colour of their skin, or the sound of their language, received them with every token of affection and joy; assigned them lands, and servants to cultivate them; adopted them into the order of nobility, and, as a proof of the insignia of their elevation, tattowed them from top to bottom.

Dublin, March 4. Yesterday, about two o'clock, James Weldon, late a private in the 7th dragoons, was executed at the front of Newgate, for high treason. See *Vol. XI. p. (66)*.

13. The following is the sentence passed at Portsmouth, on captain Thomas Affleck, late of the Amethyst frigate, for the loss of that ship: 'That the loss of his majesty's ship Amethyst was occasioned by her striking on a rock near the island of Guernsey, and by a hole being thereby beaten in her bottom; and that the same was attributable to the misconduct of the said captain Thomas Affleck; and the court do adjudge him to be reduced from his rank on the list of post-captains to the bottom of the

the said list, and to be incapable of being again employed in his majesty's naval service for the remainder of his life; and the court further agree, that the loss of the said ship was not attributable to any misconduct in any other of the officers or company of the said ship, and do adjudge them to be acquitted.'

Derby, March 16. At the assizes, which ended this morning, Susannah Morton, aged twenty-three, for the wilful murder of her bastard child, and James Preston, aged seventy, for aiding, abetting, and assisting her to commit such murder, received sentence of death, and are ordered for execution.

18. On Saturday last, David Downie, sentenced to suffer death at Edinburgh, for high treason, was liberated from his confinement in the castle, in consequence of the remission granted by his majesty on the recommendation of the jury. The terms of the remission are, that he shall depart from his majesty's dominions of Great Britain and Ireland, within ten days after being set at liberty, and never be found therein during all the days of his natural life, under pain of the former sentence being put into execution against him; unless he shall obtain a licence for that purpose under the royal sign manual. *See Vol. XVI. p. (28).*

20. This day came on, at Kingston assizes, the trial of captain Brereton Watson, for the murder of major Sweetman, in a duel, which took place in January, at Cobham. Captain Watson, still very ill of his wounds, was carried, on a sofa covered with black, into court. The surgeons refusing to be examined, through fear of implicating themselves in the crime

with which the prisoner stood charged, the trial was very short, and the result was, that captain Watson was acquitted. *See p. (4).*

24. On Monday at one o'clock, the court martial assembled at the horse-guards, to pass sentence on colonel John Fenton Cawthorne, of the royal Westminster regiment of militia. A certificate was read from Dr. Reynolds, stating the colonel's indisposition, and consequent inability to attend. The judge advocate then intimated his majesty's pleasure, that sentence should be pronounced, notwithstanding the absence of the prisoner. The opinion and sentence of the court upon the different charges, fourteen in number, were then read.

The following is an accurate copy of the first: "That the said colonel Cawthorne received from the receiver-general of the land-tax for the county of Middlesex, in the year 1793, when the said regiment was ordered into actual service, the guineas, by an act of parliament, passed in the twenty-sixth year of his present majesty, entitled, 'An act for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the militia in that part of Great Britain, called England,' directed to be paid by the said receiver-general to the captain or other commanding officer, of every company of militia so ordered out, for the use of every private militiaman belonging to his company, and for the use of every recruit, while in actual service aforesaid, commonly called the marching guineas, and did withhold the said several guineas so by him received, or some part thereof, from the respective captains, or other officers commanding companies in the said regiment, whereby the said captains or other officers commanding com-
panies.

panies were prevented from laying out such money for the advantage of such respective militiamen, according to the direction of the said act; and which receipt of the said money for marching guineas, by colonel Cawthorne; and the withholding of the same from the captains of the regiment, are in direct violation of the 101st section of the said militia act: and a misapplication of monies with which colonel Cawthorne was entrusted, for the payment of the soldiers under his command, against the 4th article of the 13th section of the articles of war; and also against the 2d article of the 23d section of the said articles of war."

The other charges were generally of a similar nature, accusing him of speculation, of receiving money to excuse persons from serving in the militia, and putting it in his pocket without providing substitutes, &c.

On twelve of the charges he was adjudged to have acted in a *scandalous* and *infamous* manner, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, and he was therefore sentenced to be *cashiered*; and declared incapable of ever serving his majesty in future.

The sentence, by his majesty's order, is to be given out in general orders, and read at the head of every militia regiment in the kingdom.

[In consequence of this sentence, colonel Cawthorne was, in the sequel, expelled from the house of commons.]

25. The sentence of the court-martial upon lieutenant-colonel O'Kelly was delivered on Tuesday. Upon all the charges but one he was honourably acquitted. The charge upon which he was found guilty is as follows:

"VI. For misapplying and converting to his own use, a part of the government allowance of coals to the militia embodied, and when in barracks; by causing, while at Winchelsea, at different times between the month of December 1794, and the 10th of May 1795, part of such coals so allowed by government to the men of the said regiment then in barracks, to be carried into his (the lieutenant-colonel's) own house, and there consumed; he, the said lieutenant-colonel being, during that time, commanding officer at Winchelsea."

The sentence is—"That lieutenant-colonel O'Kelly be fined one hundred pounds, and dismissed his majesty's service."

Vienna, March 13. The princess royal of France was presented yesterday at court to a very numerous and brilliant circle. Her royal highness was presented by the empress herself to the ambassadors and their ladies, and to some other ladies of the first rank; after which, the other ministers and nobility were presented to the princess. The scene was interesting and affecting, and particularly so to the imperial family. The princess royal was much touched at the attention shewn to her, and her embarrassment upon her entering the room added lustre to her beauty, as well as to the grace and affability with which she returned the compliments paid to her. Her royal highness said the handsomest things possible to marshals Lasoy, Clairfait, Colloredo, Pellegrini, and to count Trautmansdorf, when they were presented to her. Six noble emigrants were also presented to the princess, who received them with much sensibility.

(B) APRIL.

A P R I L.

1. At the last assizes at Leicester, the only cause of importance which came on to be tried, was an action for crim. con. in which the rev. John Thoroton was plaintiff, and Mr. John Whitechurch, an apothecary and man-midwife, defendant: the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, 2000*l.* damages. It is somewhat remarkable, that the lady's enamorado is near 60 years of age; she is just 24, and her husband about her own age, by whom she has three children; the defendant is a married man, and has 18 children.

5. Yesterday came on at Gloucester assizes, the trial of Mrs. Mary Reed, charged with the wilful murder of her husband William Reed, esq. in the month of May 1794, at Swanley, in the parish of Berkeley. By the evidence of Robert Edgar, it appeared that Watkins (Mrs. Reed's brother) and Mrs. Reed, had long concerted a plan to murder Mr. Reed by poison; that Edgar was averse to it, though he acknowledged that in case of Reed's death, he was to have married the widow. An illicit connexion had certainly subsisted between them. Mr. Brook, of Bristol, agent to the Royal Exchange company, proved Watkins coming to him about insuring the life of Mr. Reed, whom he afterwards saw in company with his wife and three children: he then appeared in perfect health: his life was insured for seven years, and a premium of 48*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* was paid on the 22d of April 1794, which sum was to be annually paid for seven years; and in case of Mr. Reed's death in that time, his widow was to receive 2000*l.* On the 18th of the same month Mr. Reed died,

having been cruelly beat about the head, while in bed, by Watkins, who, a few days after, killed himself.

Mr. Jenner, surgeon, of Berkeley, deposed his being called in to Mr. Reed, in consequence of the wounds he received; which he, however, did not think were the cause of his death, but supposed to be occasioned by some poison administered; that, on opening the body, he found the stomach inflamed, and some liquid in it, some spoonfuls of which he gave to two dogs, and it killed them.

Several other witnesses having been examined, Mr. justice Lawrence, in his charge to the jury, descanted upon the testimony of the witnesses with the nicest discrimination; when the jury withdrew, and after an absence of an hour and a quarter, returned with a verdict—Not guilty; at which the court were evidently surprised. See p. (3). The trial lasted seventeen hours.

9. On Tuesday came on at the sessions-house, in Clerkenwell, the trial of Mrs. Philipoe, who stood indicted for an assault on Mr. Courtoy. Some months ago she was tried at the Old Bailey, on a charge of feloniously and forcibly obtaining from the said Mr. Courtoy a promissory note for 2000*l.* but her case being left to the twelve judges, they decided in her favour, a promissory note not being considered as a thing of value; but was ordered to be detained for the assault, but which she gave bail to answer. The same circumstances were adduced in evidence against her as at the Old Bailey, and on which the jury found her guilty.

The chairman then said, that the court would take time to consider the sentence, and ordered her to be brought

brought up on the last day of sessions. Accordingly, this day, she was brought into court to receive sentence, which was, that she be imprisoned in Newgate for the term of twelve calendar months. See p. (14).

18. Yesterday, a court-martial was held on board the Orion, in Portsmouth harbour, upon vice-admiral the hon. William Cornwallis.

The members of the court were, President, earl Howe, admiral of the fleet.

Sir Peter Parker, bart. admiral of the white.

Lord Bridport, ditto.

G. Vandeput, esq. vice-admiral of the white.

Sir Alan Gardner, bart. ditto.

J. Colpoys, esq. vice-admiral of the blue.

Sir Roger Curtis, bart. rear-admiral of the red.

H. Harvey, esq. ditto.

R. R. Bligh, esq. ditto.

C. M. Pole, esq. rear-admiral of the blue.

E. E. Nugent, esq.

Ch. Powel Hamilton, esq. } Cap-

Edmund Dod, esq. } tains.

Judge advocate, sir George Jackson, bart.

No prosecutor appeared personally before the court, as the trial took place in consequence of an order from the board of admiralty, which was first of all read.

The next paper that was read was a copy of the orders that had been given to vice-admiral Cornwallis in the month of February last, by the board of admiralty, to proceed in his majesty's ship the Royal Sovereign, until he should arrive at Barbadoes; and, with the Squadron under his command, to convoy the several transports, victuallers, &c. which were then destined for the

West-Indies. The admiral's letter, informing the board of admiralty of his return, in consequence of the damages sustained by the Royal Sovereign, was then read; and after that, the second order of the board to admiral Cornwallis to proceed to the West Indies in the *Astrea* frigate, together with his answer, giving his reasons why he could not obey that order.

The charges, being three in number, were then read. The substance of them is as follows: first, that admiral Cornwallis, after having sailed from England for the West Indies, and proceeded a considerable way in his voyage, did return, contrary to the orders he had received. Secondly, that not having a sufficient regard to the importance of the situation of a commander in chief, he omitted to shift his flag on board of some other ship of his Squadron, after the Royal Sovereign had been disabled, in order to proceed, as he ought to have done, to the place of his destination; but that, instead of doing so, he gave his instructions and the command of the convoy to another officer. And, thirdly, that after his return, he had disobeyed another order of the board of admiralty, by not hoisting his flag on board the *Astrea* frigate, and proceeding to the West Indies, as he had been ordered by their lordships.

The charges being read, the first evidence produced was the correspondence that had passed between admiral Cornwallis and the board of admiralty, by which it appeared, that the admiral had proceeded to sea, as above stated, in the Royal Sovereign, which in the night had come *athwart hawse* of, and became entangled with, the *Belisarius* transport, by which accident the Royal Sovereign had the copper

near her rudder torn off, and was otherwise so damaged as to be unable to proceed to the West Indies. This circumstance was stated in the letter sent by the admiral to the board on his return, which was dated March 14, in which he said he could not proceed in any other ship where he could not have the accommodation and comfort he enjoyed in his own, and which the precarious state of his health rendered necessary. It also stated, that he did not wish to delay the convoy, and he had sent it on under the command of another officer. His other letter, in answer to the order of the board of admiralty to proceed in the *Astrea* frigate, stated, that his health would be endangered by going in a frigate, and requested that the board would permit him to wait until the *Royal Sovereign* should be ready. This letter was produced to support the charge of disobedience.

Sir Charles Cotton was called as the first witness. He had sailed in the squadron of admiral Cornwallis, and, upon arriving in a certain latitude, had delivered certain orders from the lords of the admiralty to him on board the *Royal Sovereign*.

The master carpenter of the ship was then called, to give an account of the damages sustained by the *Royal Sovereign*, in consequence of the accident with the *Bellisarius*. He said, that as soon as the weather permitted him, he had examined the ship: the damages were such as to prevent him from proceeding to the West Indies. They could not be repaired at sea, because it would be necessary to heave the ship down; nor could they be repaired, unless the ship was taken into dock. The repairs, therefore, could not be made in the West Indies, after she should arrive there.

THE DEFENCE.

Admiral Cornwallis then requested leave of the court for his friend to read his address for him; which being granted, Mr. Erskine, as counsel for the admiral, read a long and able speech, of which the following is a sketch:—After expressing his concern, that such heavy charges should be made against him, who had so often distinguished himself in the service of his country, he proceeded to state, that on the 1st of February he had received his commission to go to the West Indies. This station was not imposed on him, he took it voluntarily; therefore, if his health had been so bad at that time as to make him desirous to decline the service, he might have done so. He thought, therefore, that he could quit the service at a subsequent period, when his health was so bad as to make it necessary; and particularly so, as his services in the West Indies could be only of a secondary nature, there being an admiral (sir John Laforey) already there, who was superior to him in command; and he did not know whether that officer was to give up the command to him or not. With respect to the duty which he (admiral Cornwallis) thought himself obliged to perform, he conceived it to be no more than that of conveying those ships which the *Vengeance* had left behind; but he thought it would be presumption in him to suppose that his personal services were necessary in the West Indies. He thought his only business was to guard the convoy. While he was proceeding to the West Indies, the *Bellisarius* transport ran against the *Royal Sovereign*, and was intangled with him for an hour. The weather was at the time so bad, and the night so dark,

dark, that he could not speak with the *Belifarius*, nor could he hold any communication with any of the convoy, which, however, he was determined to push forward. On the 5th of March, he examined the ship, and found he could not proceed in her to the West Indies; and as he had no other ship to go in, and did not wish to delay the convoy, he delivered it over to the care of captain Lewis. He could not go in the *Mars*, the *Minotaur*, or the *Quebec*, for they had their private orders; and he did not even know that they were to accompany him, until sir Charles Cotton came and delivered his orders on board the *Royal Sovereign*. He thought, if he had gone in any of them, he should have been liable to a court-martial. The situation he was then in, was one in which he conceived he might exercise his own discretion. It was not an action, nor any thing that required his personal attendance; and if he had at the time gone on board any other ship, he must have endangered his health to such a degree, as to render such conduct an unnecessary zeal, which could not benefit the service. He was not in a state to go to a strange place, where he should have no comfort or accommodation. Besides, the court must see how difficult it would have been, and how great a delay it would cause the expedition, if he had shifted his flag. They must know what a time must be taken up in removing stores, ammunition, &c. from one ship to another. Besides, he did not think the service required such a change, not that there was such a pressing urgency as required his presence with the convoy. If, therefore, he had not done that which was best to be done, he lamented it much;

but he did what in his judgment was the best: no disadvantage happened in consequence of that; and had that been the first command he ever was entrusted with, such an exercise of his judgment could not be ascribed to the abandonment of his duty. It was well known that he had, on a former occasion, exerted himself in the service of his country. He could not conceive that the board of admiralty would apply to his conduct any base or criminal purpose; but that it was at most only an error in judgment, for which every description of courts in this country had always made ample allowance, and punished nothing but wilful misconduct. He had received a letter, upon his return, from the first lord of the admiralty, lamenting the disaster which had caused him to come back, and, without making any complaint against him, desiring that he would continue the command of the *Royal Sovereign*; therefore he was at a loss to know at what time his conduct had assumed the criminal shape in which it came forward that day. So far he had vindicated his conduct against the two first charges. As to the third charge, which was certainly the heaviest of all, he would not, in the defence he was going to make against it, attempt to sap the foundation of discipline, by saying any thing like a justification of it; but he would say at once, that he did not disobey any order. His state of health was so bad, that when he should arrive at the West Indies, he should only be fit for an hospital, instead of an arduous command. He said in his letter to the lords of the admiralty such was the case, and as it might be highly injurious to him to go out in a frigate, he was ready, he said, to go out in

the Royal Sovereign, when she should be repaired. This letter was no more than a proposition to the board; and how, then, could it be called disobedience? If the lords of the admiralty had repeated the order, he should have gone: but they did not; and the first answer he had to the proposition which he made, was the order for that court-martial which was then enquiring into his conduct. He had submitted his reasons for not being able to go in the *Astrea*, and he received an order to remain in his ship at Spithead. He was written to by the first lord of the admiralty, as one who was declining a particular service. It was very difficult to lay down a fixed rule for persons in a high command; they were to act by the best of their judgment and discretion; and if they were to be charged with the consequences of such conduct, there was an end of all that confidence that ought to be placed in officers of high rank.

Captain Whitby, of the Royal Sovereign, was then called in behalf of admiral Cornwallis, who desired him to relate to the court the account of the accident that happened to the ship, and what he (the admiral) felt on the occasion; because it had been insinuated, that he was glad the accident happened, inasmuch as it furnished him with a pretext for returning to England.

Captain Whitby said, that the order to sail had come down to the admiral on the 25th, at Portsmouth, and that he sailed on the 28th; and as there was 100 sail of merchantmen ordered to go, it was impossible that any person could have used more expedition in setting out than he did; nor did he ever see more zeal displayed on any occasion. The admiral expressed

great concern and anxiety on the melancholy accident that happened to the ship, though it was not usual for him to be dejected by disasters. He appeared, by his words and actions, to be struck with real regret; and he thought it best for his majesty's service to return to Great Britain. He wished to stop at some port where the damages could be repaired, and for that purpose he repeatedly examined the charts, but could find none fit for the ship to go into. With respect to the admiral's health, he was frequently very ill. He would get up of a morning apparently well; in the course of the day he would catch cold from some unknown cause, and in the evening be dangerously ill in bed.

Mr. Alexander, master of the Royal Sovereign, confirmed the evidence of the last witness, as to the regret which the admiral expressed in being retarded in his voyage.

Mr. Thomas Kain, the surgeon of the Royal Sovereign, called to give evidence as to the admiral's health, said it was very precarious. He had frequent complaints in his bowels, and was so ill at times, that he used to be obliged to sit up with him almost the whole night. He had many great and sudden changes of the gout.

Admiral Cornwallis then informed the court, that he had no more witnesses to call, nor any more evidence, except some letters which had passed between him and the lords of the admiralty.

Earl Howe informed him, that the court would hear those letters read, but could not receive them as evidence, nor lay them on the table as documents.

The first letter was then read: it came from the secretary of the board

board of admiralty, desiring him to continue on board the Royal Sovereign till further orders, as he had declined going out in the *Astrea*. This letter was dated the 16th of March; another was read which the admiral had written on the 17th.

Admiral Cornwallis said, he had a great many more letters, but did not wish to take up the time of the court by reading them.

Earl Howe desired him to take his time, and said, the court was ready to hear every thing which he might deem necessary for his defence.

One was then read from earl Spencer, in which he censured the admiral for declining to go out, and said he could not continue him in command without injuring the service.

Earl Howe said, that lord Spencer had desired every use to be made of his letter that might be thought necessary; but, at the same time, these letters coming as from a private person, and not from the board, had nothing to do with the question.

After the reading of some other papers, the trial was closed a little before one. The court was then cleared, and the members remained there till four o'clock, when they broke up without determining their sentence.

On Friday, at nine o'clock, the court assembled, and remained deliberating from that time until one, when the court was opened and strangers were admitted.

The judge advocate then proceeded to deliver

THE SENTENCE :

‘ That the court having heard the evidence in support of the charges exhibited against the honourable William Cornwallis, vice-

admiral of the red; and having heard his defence, and the evidence in his behalf; and having maturely weighed and considered the same, were of opinion,

‘ That, with respect to the two first charges, of his returning without leave, after having been ordered to proceed to Barbadoes, and of his disobeying the orders he had received, *misconduct was imputable to him*, for not having shifted his flag on board the *Mars* or *Minotaur*, and proceeded in either of them to the West Indies.—But in consideration of other circumstances, the court *acquitted him of any disobedience* in his conduct on that occasion.

‘ With respect to the third charge, of his having after his return disobeyed the orders of the board of admiralty, in not going out to the West Indies in the *Astrea* frigate, the court were of opinion that the charge *was not proved*; and therefore *acquitted* admiral Cornwallis upon that charge.’

Admiral Cornwallis heard the sentence read without any emotion; and then, making a slight bow to the court, retired with Mr. Erskine and some other friends.

As soon as the sentence was communicated to the people on board the Royal Sovereign, which lay at a short distance from the *Orion*, they all got upon deck, and gave three cheers.

23. A letter was received at the admiralty on Tuesday night, from the first lieutenant of the *Diamond* frigate, off the coast of France, containing an account of the capture of sir Sidney Smith.—Sir Sidney, in the night of Monday last, went in his boat to cut out a French lugger in the port of Havre. This he accomplished, after some resistance, by which one French-

man was killed; but, deterred from immediately sailing by the rapidity of the current, he cast anchor. During the night, however, the ship drove from her anchor, the cable, it is said, having been cut by one of the prisoners, and was carried by the current above the town. In this situation he was attacked on the morning of Tuesday, by all the gun-boats and other vessels which the enemy could muster; and after a gallant and even desperate resistance, against a force so infinitely superior to his own, he found himself at length obliged to surrender.

25. The greater part of the town of Frampton, near Sherbourne, was, on Wednesday, destroyed by a fire, supposed to have originated from some sparks, blown from the leads of the church, which was repairing by the plumber. All the houses to the north of the church were consumed, together with the greater part of their furniture, in less than two hours.

27. The London Gazette of last night contains a letter from sir Edward Pellew, bart. dated Falmouth, April 20, announcing the capture of L'Unité French frigate, of 38 guns, on the 13th instant, by La Revolutionnaire, captain Cole, without the loss or hurt of a man. Of the French, the captain and nine sailors were killed, and eleven wounded.

And another letter dated the 23d, advises the capture, by himself, of La Virginie, of 44 guns, the finest and fastest sailer in the French navy, on the 20th instant, after a sharp action of one hour and forty minutes, which would probably have lasted much longer, had not La Concorde appeared in sight. Sir Edward lost not a man; but

the French had 15 killed, 17 badly, and 10 slightly wounded.

M A Y.

4. Mr. Bond moved the court of King's-bench for judgment against Isabella Williams. This person was a woman of very genteel appearance, and it was rather a novel spectacle in the court, and excited a good deal of surprise, to hear that she had sallied forth at the head of 20 men armed with swords, pistols, and tomahawks, had assaulted and obstructed two revenue officers in the execution of their office, and had rescued a lugger containing uncustomed goods, near Bodmyn. Lord Kenyon said, this was a very distressing case to the court. Mr. justice Ashurst observed, that if this woman were to go unpunished on account of her sex, he was afraid this sort of business would pass into female hands, and that men would withdraw themselves from the danger of punishment. The court, however, had taken her sex into consideration, and meant to pass a lighter punishment than, perhaps, for the sake of example, they ought. Her sentence was, to be committed to the jail of the county of Cornwall, for the space of twelve calendar months.

6. In the court of common-pleas came on to be tried, by a special jury, an important cause between the earl of Cholmondeley and lord Walpole, in consequence of an issue directed from the court of chancery on this question of fact. — Whether the late earl of Orford devised, by his last will, any lands and effects to the earl of Cholmondeley?

The case is briefly this. — On the 25th

25th of November 1752, the earl of Orford made a will, in which he bequeathed his principal estates, after the demise of his immediate heir, the present earl of Orford, to the earl of Cholmondeley, whose grandfather had married the daughter of his ancestor, sir Robert Walpole, the first earl of Orford. In 1756, the earl of Orford made a second will, in which he changed the order of succession, and gave a preference over the earl of Cholmondeley to lord Walpole, who is descended in a direct line from the second brother of the first earl of Orford.—This, of course, annihilated the first will: and, had nothing farther occurred, no question could have arisen on the subject. But, in 1776, the earl of Orford signed a codicil, the purport of which was to make various provisions which had been omitted in his wills, and declared this codicil to be a codicil to his last will signed on the 25th day of November 1752.

On the part of the plaintiff, it was contended, that this codicil, which was duly signed and attested, was a revival and setting up of the will to which it referred; and that, of course, that will retained the same force and effect as if the second will had never been made.

On the part of the defendant it was maintained, in the first place, that the codicil was destitute of those forms expressly required by the statute of wills, which could alone give it the effect of reviving a first will in preference to a second, where a real estate was devised; and, 2dly, that it was the intention of the testator to annex the codicil to the second, and not to the first will. To establish these points, it was proposed to adduce parole evidence; but the court in-

terfered, and were unanimous in their opinion, that the established law of the land forbade the admission of parole evidence to contradict a written and perfect instrument, such as the will and codicil together appeared to be: that the word *last*, on which the council for the defendant had laid so much stress, was an expression which had no determinate meaning until the death of the testator, when it operated to explain the intended last act of his life; that neither the will of 1752, nor the will of 1756, was, in fact, a will until the testator was dead; that an alteration of the date of the codicil would be making a new disposition for the dead, which no court on earth was entitled to do; the only power vested in a court on the subject of wills, being that of explaining the intention of the deceased, which, in this case, was perfectly clear; that the wills ought to be considered as ambulatory instruments, subject to the pleasure of the owner, and to be used by him as his judgment or caprice might direct; and that the will of 1752 was absolutely revived, and made his last act by the codicil of 1776.

The jury, agreeing with the court, found a verdict for the plaintiff; in consequence of which, the earl of Cholmondeley will succeed, at the death of the present earl of Orford, to an estate of the annual value of 10,000*l.* exclusive of the magnificent seat at Houghton, which is supposed to have cost upward of 200,000*l.*

7. A cause came on in the court of king's bench, which deserves the attention of some ladies and gentlemen at the west end of the town, as well as of the magistrates of Westminster.

The action was brought on a
note

note of hand for 12l. Mr. Min-
gay, for the defendant, observed,
that the plaintiff was a publican,
and lived near Carnaby-market;
and that the defendant was former-
ly a butcher, but now had also be-
come a publican. The answer that
he had to make to this demand was,
that the consideration of this note
was money won at play.

It appeared clearly in evidence,
that the plaintiff and defendant sat
down in the plaintiff's house to
play at whist on a Sunday morn-
ing; and that the defendant lost
12l. for which he gave the plaintiff
the note in question, payable in 18
months. It was also proved, that
the plaintiff had afterward offered
to sell this note to a third person
for two guineas. Lord Kenyon,
in summing up, lamented that
gaming had so deeply pervaded the
whole mass of the public. 'it
is extremely to be lamented,' said
his lordship, 'that this vice has de-
scended to the very lowest orders
of the people. It is to be regretted,
that it is so prevalent among the
highest ranks of society, who have
set the example to their inferiors,
and who, it seems, are too great
for the law. I wish they could be
punished. *If any prosecutions are
fairly brought before me, and the par-
ties are justly convicted, whatever may
be their rank or station in the country,*
THOUGH THEY SHOULD BE THE
FIRST LADIES IN THE LAND, *they
should certainly exhibit themselves in
the PILLORY.* When I speak of
the highest classes of society, I must
be understood to mean *subjects*; for
these observations do, in no re-
spect, apply to those of the very
highest rank in this country; who
hold out for the imitation of their
subjects, the brightest example of
every public as well as private vir-
tue.'—Verdict for defendant.

8. Yesterday, Kyd Wake, who
was convicted at the sittings after
last Hilary term, of having, on the
first day of the present sessions of
parliament, insulted his majesty in
his passage to and from parliament,
by hissing, and using several inde-
cent expressions, such as, 'No
George—No war,' &c. was brought
up to receive the judgment of the
court.

The sentence of the court was,
That he be imprisoned, and kept
to hard labour, in Gloucester gaol,
during the term of five years: that,
during the first three months of his
imprisonment, he do stand for one
hour, between the hours of eleven
and two, in the pillory, in one of
the public streets of Gloucester, on
a market-day; and that, at the ex-
piration of his imprisonment, he
do find security for one thousand
pounds for his good behaviour for
ten years. *See p. (14).*

11. William Austin was con-
victed at the Old Bailey, of forg-
ing, or aiding and assisting in forg-
ing, a will, purporting to be the
will of the Rev. Mr. Henry Lewis,
of Hyga, in the county of Mon-
mouth. Of this crime, sir John
Briggs, bart. is accused, and
George Crossley, an attorney, was
lately tried for it, and acquitted.
Austin was convicted principally
on the evidence of Jacob Igar,
an accomplice, who declared, that
the prisoner received 100l. for this
forgery.

12. Yesterday, at nine o'clock in
the morning, Richard Thomas
Crossfield, Paul Thomas Le Maitre,
George Higgins, and John Smith,
charged with conspiring to com-
pass the death of the king, were
put to the bar at the Old Bailey.
The indictment was then read: it
contained six overt acts of conspir-
ing to kill and put to death our
sovereign

sovereign lord the king, with a poisoned arrow, to be thrown by the means of a brass tube. The jury being sworn, the three prisoners, Le Maitre, Smith, and Higgins, were ordered to withdraw, and the trial of Crossfield commenced.

Sir John Scott, the attorney-general, opened the case for the crown; and, after explaining the law of treason, said, he forbore commenting upon the evidence to be adduced, as it might tend to prejudice the jury. He called

John Dowding, a workman with Mr. Fenton, a brass-founder, in New-street-square, who swore, that in September 1794, three persons called at his master's shop; one of them he particularly remarked was lame, that he afterward understood that his name was Upton (since dead). The lame man asked him, if he could make a tube three feet long, one eighth inch thick, made smooth in the inside as a cylinder. The witness asked him, what it was intended for, and was answered, that it was a secret. They, however, obtained a tube (but not from the witness) which was afterward returned, not being useful. The counsel for the crown pressed the witness hard, to know whether he could recollect the two persons who came into the shop with the same man (Upton); but he had not the least recollection of either of them.

Mr. John Fenton, the employer of the above witness, gave a similar testimony.

James Bland Wood, brass-founder, in Shoe-lane, was next called.—In September 1794, two men came into his shop, one of them asked for a tube, or barrel, the witness said, it was out of his way, and advised them to go to a clock-

maker. The two persons left the shop, and then a third came in, and asked, if two persons had not been in the shop? The witness replied, they were just gone out.—He knew nothing more of the circumstance.

David Cuthbert, a mathematical instrument-maker, of Arundel-street, swore, that he knew the late Mr. Upton, he was a watchmaker; he saw him about the middle of September, and shewed him an air gun.

Peregrine Palmer swore, that he knew the prisoner. They were both members of the London Corresponding Society. Being questioned by Mr. Garrow, whether he was not acquainted with the prisoner's hand writing, he positively denied that he knew any thing of his writing, but that of his signature.—The witness then gave the same description of calling at the several brass-founders' houses, and described the business in a very similar manner. He was shewn a drawing, which was laid before the privy-council, and desired to recollect, whether that was the same he saw there?—He could not recollect.

The lord chief justice interfered, observing, that the evasive manner in which this evidence was given entirely destroyed the credit of it. Upon the whole, the witness could not, from his memory, bring any charge home to the prisoner.

John Hill, turner, in Bartholomew Close, swore, that in September 1794, Upton, Palmer, and another man, came to his house; and Upton asked him, if he could turn a model in wood, according to a plan which was produced. Upton produced a sketch. A drawing was shewn, and the witness thought it was the same that was then produced.

duced. It was drawn in his presence ; the paper was very particular on which the draft was made, having at the back the words " A house to be let, enquire within." The whole of the three had a share in the drawing, and seemed to be active in the business.—The witness was informed, by Upton, he should be paid for his model.

A very long argument took place, whether the remaining evidence, namely, the confessional evidence of the prisoner himself, should be admitted. Mr. Adam contended, that no overt act of treason had been proved by two witnesses.—The court determined, that the confessional evidence ought to be taken, in order that the jury might discover the intent of the prisoner's mind, and, of course, bring the overt act home to him.

Jonathan Le Briton stated himself to be a boatsteerer to the Pomona South Whaler, and that they sailed from Portsmouth on the 29th of January 1794. About a fortnight before that time, the prisoner came on board as their surgeon, and, as was usual for gentlemen in that capacity, was generally called doctor. They went round to Falmouth, whence they sailed February 13, and were captured on the 15th, by a French corvette, La Vengeance, by whom they were carried into Brest. The prisoner then wrote his name R. T. Crossfield, and on his being put on board another ship, he wished the witness good-bye ; said that he was happy he was going to France, and that he would much rather be there than in England. They were soon after put into the same prison ship, where they remained until a cartel was ready for their exchange. On the day after they sailed from Portsmouth, he told the witness, that

he was one of those who invented the air-gun to shoot, or assassinate, his majesty ; and described that, it was to be done by an arrow, barbed like their harpoons, through a kind of a tube, by inflammable air. When the cartel was ready, the prisoner set himself down in the list, by the description of H. Wilson, of the Hope brig, which was also taken by the same ship as they had been.—In his cross-examination, he said, he knew nothing of the muster-list ; that their crew consisted of twenty-three men, and that captain Charles Clarke came back with them, who had not, however, attended the privy council, though he had seen him at Mr. White's, the solicitor's ; at his lodgings ; and at Mr. Smith's, at Wapping ; but denied he had ever conversed with him on this subject. He admitted, that after they were taken, they had a scheme to seize the French ship, in which Crossfield, as well as the rest, was engaged. He remembered, that they were allowed to take out some of the private trade, but denied that he and the prisoner had ever quarrelled.

Thomas Dennis, mate of the Pomona, stated, that the prisoner, the night after they sailed from Falmouth, said to him, that Pitt would send a frigate after him, if he knew where he was ; that his majesty was to have been assassinated by a dart, blown through a tube, at the playhouse, and that he knew how it was constructed.—The other part of his testimony was similar to that of the former witness. In his cross-examination, he acknowledged he had written a certificate to the consul, that he was an American : he believed, the prisoner had stated himself a naturalised Hollander. He had heard that the prisoner

prisoner charged the loss of his ship to his negligence, but they never quarrelled.

James Winter described himself to be the owner of the *Susanna*, a Newfoundland vessel, which was captured, and carried into Brest: after being confined some time in the castle, he was put on board the prison ship where he was introduced to the prisoner, by a capt. Yallerley, by the name of Crossfield; but he said, No; his name was Tom Paine; they lived in habits of intimacy for five months, constantly supping and dining together; during which, he frequently said, he had shot at his majesty between Buckingham-house and the palace, but unluckily missed: he afterward shewed the witness a hollow piece of iron, about a foot and a half long, as a similar instrument to that with which he had made the attempt; that he had shot a cat through it, with a poisoned dart, and that she had died immediately after. Another day he said, he hoped he should live to see the day that the streets of London would be up to his ankles in the blood of the king and his party. Interrogating him about his shooting at his majesty, he said, that, after he had shot at him, he was pursued by two king's messengers; but that he escaped to Portsmouth, got aboard a South whaler, was a few days after luckily taken, and brought into Brest. One day, after dinner, a capt. Collins, who was a prisoner with them, said, he wished, he had the cutting off the heads of the king, Pitt, and the parliament; the prisoner replied, 'Have patience, I hope to have the cutting off of some of them myself.'

When the cartel ship was ready, the prisoner went into the cabin with the French commodore, and

when he came out, said, "Now every thing is settled to my satisfaction;" having, previously to this, often boasted that the French had offered him great encouragement. They were three days on their passage, but immediately, on their arrival at a port near Fowey in Cornwall, the witness sought out a magistrate, gave information against the prisoner, and had him taken into custody.

Richard Penny, master of arms of his majesty's ship *Active*, was a prisoner at the same time, and gave testimony of similar expressions.

Walter Colmer and Edward Stoker, two constables of Fowey, gave an account of the apprehending of the prisoner, and that, as they were taking him to Bodmyn, he offered to give them two guineas a-piece, to let him go; and on their asking, what was to become of the postboy? he said, lend me one of your pistols, and I will soon pop him out of the way.

Elizabeth Upton swore, that she had not seen her husband for some time. He had suddenly disappeared, and was supposed to be dead.

Two other witnesses were called to prove that Upton had been seen at one of the meetings of the corresponding society, with a tube like that which was taken in his house.

Mr. Mortimer, the gunsmith, believed, what was shewn him, and the drawings, to be intended for parts of an air-pump.

Mr. Wood, a barrister, saw one of these drawings in the possession of Upton, at his own house, in September 1794. He went to Mr. Pitt, the next day, to give him information. And here ended the evidence for the crown.

Mr. Adam, counsel for the prisoner,

soner, wished to be allowed some little rest before he entered upon the defence.

On Thursday, May 10, the court sat at eight. The chief justice Eyre and the recorder consulted for a few minutes, when it was ordered, that the trials of the three other persons, indicted for treason, should be adjourned to Thursday next.

Mr. Crossfield came to the bar, and was indulged, as on the first day, with a chair.

Mr. Adam then entered upon the prisoner's defence. He first of all called some witnesses to prove that Upton was a very bad character, and was actuated by motives of resentment against the parties implicated in this charge. Then reviewing the evidence that had been adduced against the prisoner, he called witnesses to contradict the confessional part, which was deposed by Le Briton and Dennis. He called William Claveling, who was going out as agent to the Canaries, and was a prisoner with Mr. Crossfield in Brest harbour; he messed with him for months; he never heard him make any declarations respecting attacking the king. He was always known by his real name, Crossfield. He never heard him mention any plot against the king. The prisoner was of a turn of mind inclining to mirth, and frequently sang jolly songs. Upon cross-examination, the witness had twice heard him sing republican songs.

He next called capt. Anthony Collins, who swore, that he Crossfield, when a prisoner in Brest water, was invited to go on board the vessels that had the sick people; that he behaved very well; and, by his skill and application, he had saved, at least, fifty or sixty lives. He messed with the prisoner many

months; and during that time, he never heard him speak any disrespectful words of the king, or any confession respecting a plot to destroy his sovereign; on the contrary, he seemed to be much pleased when he was certain of returning to England in the cartel. The prisoner had also refused a very advantageous offer to be inspector-general of the hospital-prisons at Brest, but had declined it. Upon cross-examination, he acknowledged, that there was a levity about him that might give cause of suspicion.

Several respectable witnesses were called, who gave the prisoner an excellent character for humanity and kindness.

Mr. Gurney made an excellent and most energetic speech, in which he summed up the evidence.

The lord chief justice.—‘Mr. Crossfield, you have been heard by your counsel very fully; but you are allowed the right of being heard yourself: now is your time, and the court will listen to you with attention.’—The prisoner replied, ‘My lord, I have only one circumstance to add, that from my inmost soul I have ever detested any acts of cruelty, much less premeditated assassination of my sovereign.—I am fully satisfied with the great exertions of my counsel, and rely upon your lordship's candid consideration of my case, and the honour and justice of an English jury.’

The attorney-general then took a review of the whole of the evidence, and the arguments which had been used by the prisoner's counsel, and observed, that he had full conviction in his own mind, he was entitled to a verdict of guilty; but, if the jury felt otherwise, he should be fully satisfied that the prisoner ought to be acquitted.

The lord chief justice Eyre summed

med up the evidence, and declared, that, in his mind, the second overt act had been sufficiently proved to be left to the jury; the first, respecting the poisoned dart, certainly had not, as that had been spoken to only by Dennis. The case, however, rested very much upon the prisoner's own declaration, as, without that, no purpose could be assigned for the instrument, which had been ordered, and intended to be made.

The jury retired for an hour and forty minutes, and then gave their verdict—Not guilty.

14. Henry Weston was capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, of forging and uttering a warrant of attorney, by means of which he transferred 5,000*l.* three per cent. stock, the property of general Tonyn. He had likewise transferred 11,000*l.* of the same stock belonging to the general; but he was indicted only for the former. The fact being fully proved, a letter, written by the prisoner to his employer, Mr. Cowan, on his absconding from London, was read in court. It mentioned, that he (the prisoner) had lost, by speculating in the funds, 7,000*l.* entrusted to his care by sir Hugh Palliser Walters, bart. that he afterwards had ventured immense sums in speculation at Messrs. Mackay and Forbes's, and continuing still unlucky, he had recourse to the gaming-table, where his ill-fortune followed him, and he was under the necessity of imposing on the credulity of Mr. Cowan, by forging two powers of attorney in the name of gen. Tonyn, the one for 11,000*l.* the other for 5,000*l.* stock, belonging to that gentleman. That he had paid an immense sum to Mr. C. K. at Forbes's, beside losing 1,600*l.* in the last lottery, and other great losses which he had

experienced at different gaming-tables. The letter then took notice of several debts which were owing to him, and concluded by a declaration, that he was so dreadfully affected by his misconduct, that he could live no longer, with the words, 'God forgive me,' signed Henry Weston.

The prisoner being called upon for his defence, made none. Several respectable gentlemen were called to his character, the excellence of which, prior to the fatal transactions that preceded his ruin, was manifest to the whole court.

The judge summed up the evidence; and the jury, returned the verdict, guilty. When it was pronounced, the prisoner addressed the court as follows: "I hear the verdict against me with a calmness and resignation I am happy in possessing upon so awful an occasion. I hope the numerous young men who surround me will take example by my fate, and avoid those excels which have brought me to ruin and disgrace, and that those farther advanced in years will be cautious of indulging, with too unlimited a controul, persons at too early a period of life. At the time I was ushered into life, I possessed that controul over property, the value of which I could not justly estimate, from which I date my present dreadful situation. The justice of my condemnation I acknowledge, and shall submit to it with patience, and I hope with fortitude."

19. This day was heard at Guildhall, before lord Kenyon and a special jury, an information filed by the attorney general, by order of the house of commons, against John Reeves, esq. for a libel on the British constitution.

The libel was contained in a pamphlet, intitled, "Thoughts on the
the

the English Government." Of this pamphlet the defendant was charged to be the author and publisher.

The attorney-general opened the case on the part of the crown. He said, that he was not sorry that it had fallen to his lot to conduct the present prosecution, because, in the discharge of his duty, he had lately had occasion to institute a great number of prosecutions for libels on the government and constitution of a very different nature from the present. He then took a general view of the principles of the British constitution, as established at the revolution, and quoted the bill of rights to prove, that James intended to overturn the protestant religion, and that he had been justly excluded from the crown of England. He cited, from the pamphlet in question, the strongest and most exceptionable passages, on which he commented with great learning and ability. The most important passage, to which he called the serious attention of the jury was, that in which it is said, "that the king can carry on the functions of government without the lords and commons; that the monarch is the ancient stock, and that if the lords and commons were lopped off, the *trunk* would still remain." He then went into a long argument, to prove the justice and legality of the revolution in 1668, and the wisdom and excellence of the present constitution, which, he contended, the defendant had libelled in the pamphlet in question. He concluded by requesting, that the jury would attentively peruse the whole pamphlet, and form their judgment on a fair examination of it, whether it was merely an unadvised and erroneous publication, or written with an evil intent, to libel

and vilify the constitution and the two houses of parliament. If they believed the defendant intended to libel the constitution, they were bound to find him guilty; if not, they would find him not guilty.

The pamphlet was then read throughout, and proved to have been published by the defendant, which, indeed, his counsel admitted.

Mr. Plomer addressed the jury in behalf of the defendant, whom he represented as one of the most zealous friends of the British constitution, and the last man in the world who would intentionally libel either branches of it. He concluded, by entreating the jury, to consider with what intention the pamphlet was written. It was a mere question of libel, or no libel. It was for the jury to judge of the *quo animo*; and the result of their judgment, he felt a persuasion, would be a verdict of—Not guilty.

Lord Kenyon recommended to the jury to take the pamphlet and record out of court with them, to compare one with the other, and form their judgment—Whether the construction put upon the pamphlet in the record was the true one, namely, that it was a wilful and malicious libel?

The jury withdrew for about an hour, and, on their return, the foreman thus addressed the judge: "My lord, we think this pamphlet a very improper publication; but not being convinced that it was written with a libellous intention, we, therefore, say—Not guilty."

20. Yesterday, Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, were brought to the bar at the Old Bailey, charged with being concerned with Crossfield in a plot to assassinate his majesty by means of a poisoned arrow. The jury being called over,
the

the attorney-general said, that Crossfield having been acquitted, he did not mean to follow up the proceedings against the men now at the bar. The death of Upton, the principal witness, had occasioned a deficiency of that evidence which was necessary in cases of high treason. He had every reason to believe that Upton was dead; but should the fact be otherwise, he would certainly take measures to bring to condign punishment the persons who had deceived him in that particular. The jury found the prisoners not guilty. After an attempt to address the court, in which they were not allowed to proceed, they were discharged from the bar. See p. (26).

28. An examination took place yesterday, at the public office in Great Marlborough-street, respecting the sudden and unfortunate death of lord Charles Townshend, who had the very day before been returned member for Yarmouth in Norfolk, and was returning thence with his brother lord Frederick Townshend, in their own chariot with four post-horses. The last stage was from Ilford. One of the postillions deposed, that he was ordered to drive to Hanover-square, by a gentleman in the carriage, dressed in black (lord Frederick Townshend), he saw no other gentleman in the carriage; and was positive that there was no other on the seat, because if there had been, he must have seen him. The gentleman in black paid the Stratford turnpike. They then drove on, and he heard no noise whatsoever, until they came near the Globe, at Mile-end, when he heard the report of a pistol in the carriage, and turning about, saw lord Frederick throw the pistol out of the window into the road; he still drove

on, and he saw lord Frederick wave his hat, and heard him holla several times, and make a great deal of noise. When they arrived at the corner of Argyle-street, in Oxford-street, he alighted to ask the gentleman where he was to drive him to? who said to the bishop of Norwich's; but upon saying that he did not know where the bishop lived, the gentleman came out of the chariot, and struck him over the face, and swore he'd knock him down. Lord Frederick walked about without attempting to make off, and stripped off his coat, waistcoat, and shirt; opened the knees of his breeches, and talked of fighting. He (the deponent) then went to the door of the carriage, and saw a dead man lying on the cushion. The people then came up, surrounded lord Frederick, and took him to the watch-house.

This evidence was confirmed by the other driver. Sir Edward Layton, mayor of Yarmouth, gave several strong instances to prove insanity in both lord Frederick and his brother lord Charles. Their behaviour to each other, at Yarmouth, evinced every mark of mutual affection; but their conduct was such, that their friends wished to get them out of Yarmouth as soon as possible; and he himself had followed them to London in the mail coach, in order to inform the marquis, their father, of their situation. Lord Frederick's servant deposed, that his master had been confined for insanity two years ago, and that from his behaviour at Yarmouth he was apprehensive another fit was coming on. It appeared, from the observations of Mr. Kerrison, apprentice to Mr. Barnham, chymist, No. 330, in Oxford-street (to whose house the deceased was conveyed) that the pistol must have

(C)

been

been put into the mouth, as the teeth were not injured; but he could not say whether it was suicide, or death by the hand of another: he thought the deceased had been dead two hours.

An examination again took place, at a quarter past ten in the evening, before the coroner's inquest, which lasted till within a quarter of twelve, when they brought in their verdict, "Death, occasioned by a pistol shot, but by whose hands they could not tell."

28. At the admiralty sessions at the Old Bailey, William and John Mitchell were brought to the bar, under an indictment for murder, committed on the high seas, upon the body of Colin, alias Ezekiel Franklin. The circumstances of this case, as stated by the counsel for the prosecution, were marked with the greatest enormity. The prisoners were owner and master of the vessel John and Elizabeth of 36 tons burden. This vessel was lying at Jersey in December last, when the Somerset fencibles were discharged. The quarter-master of that regiment agreed with the owner of the vessel to convey 120 of the soldiers to England, and to supply them with water. When the vessel left Jersey, she had only two hogheads of water on board. In the passage between Jersey and Guernsey, the passengers were in great want of water, and in answer to their complaints, the master assured them that they should get a plentiful supply at Guernsey, which they reached on the same day that they set sail. The master would not permit any of them to go on shore that evening. Next morning he gave them liberty, but had it not been for the supply they received from some vessels lying along side

of them, they would have been parched to death during the night. They left Guernsey with a very inadequate supply, and on their passage to England were overtaken by a storm. When the gale sprang up, the captain and master forced the whole 120 passengers into the hold, and nailed down the hatchway. While they were about this operation, one of the prisoners thinking that Colin Franklin was not making haste enough, beat him violently, and thrust him down headlong, by which means he was severely bruised. In this small hold, these 120 people remained all night without any communication either of air or water, though they were constantly calling out to the captain for God's sake to bring them some relief. In this horrible state many of them became delirious, and beat, bruised, and stabbed one another. When the storm abated, the hatchway was opened, and no less than 57 persons were found dead, among whom was Colin, alias Ezekiel Franklin, who seemed to have suffered some very severe contusions, charged to have been given by the owner and master of the vessel.

The principal facts were proved; but it appeared from the evidence that the prisoners were necessitated by the storm to shut up the passengers in the hold, and it did not appear whether Franklin had died in consequence of the confinement, or the blows given him by his companions, or of the rough usage he received from the owner and master of the vessel.

The court delivered a charge favourable to the prisoners, and the jury brought in a verdict—Not guilty.

J U N E.

1. On Monday, during the whole day, there was a very violent storm, which was particularly felt in St. James's and Hyde parks, where the trees have suffered even more than in the memorable hurricane of November last. In the Pool several ships were driven from their moorings, and dashed with such violence against each other, as to occasion the sinking of some, and the very material injury of others. At flood tide, the wind and current being opposite, it was impossible to navigate the river with boats. Inconceivable damage has likewise been done to the fruit trees, garden grounds, &c.

2. On the 25th of May, a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the purpose of nominating proper representatives for the city of London to serve in the ensuing parliament. The candidates were the lord-mayor, aldermen sir Watkin Lewes, Anderson, Lushington, Pickett, and Combe. After the usual forms were gone through, and the candidates had severally addressed the livery, the poll was opened, and the numbers for each day were as follow :

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.
Lushington	104	659	746	568	959	722	611
Curtis	108	677	741	576	852	718	601
Combe	169	608	678	462	814	604	528
Anderson	75	521	536	408	646	506	478
Pickett	136	408	484	336	543	452	436
Lewes	77	453	379	331	511	328	276

Total of the poll for

Alderman Lushington	4369
The lord-mayor	- 4313
Alderman Combe	- 3863
Anderson	3170
Pickett	- 2795
Lewes	- 2355

13. Mr. Park, in the court of king's-bench, obtained an attachment against admiral Bligh, for the

disrespectful manner in which he had treated a writ of habeas corpus. When the person who wished to serve the writ got on board the Brunswick, the admiral ordered the men to get ready a 32lb. shot. He then tied the habeas corpus to a boat, and told the person who brought it, that he would sink him and the boat too, if he did not go back, and carry his habeas corpus along with him.—Lord Kenyon said, it was a very ill-advised thing, and if the admiral had a minute to pause, he had no doubt but he would do what was right in this business.—Mr. Park told the court, the ship was under sailing orders, and by a late rule of the court, the rule for the attachment was absolute in the first instance.—Lord Kenyon said, since that was the case, the attachment must go, and he was sorry for it.—[On a subsequent day, the rule was discharged, the admiral having complied with the requisition of the habeas corpus.]

The same day Mr. Erskine moved, that a satisfaction be entered for 300l. being part of the fine imposed upon Andrew Robinson Bowes, esq. and which his majesty had been pleased to remit.—The attorney-general gave his consent to Mr. Erskine's motion.—Mr. Erskine then said, that his majesty having taken Mr. Bowes' case, and his good conduct while in confinement, into his most gracious and humane consideration, had been pleased to remit that part of the sentence by which Mr. Bowes was to find two securities in 5000l. each, for his good behaviour for fourteen years. Mr. Erskine then delivered to their lordships his majesty's warrant for the above purpose, with the sign manual.—Lord Kenyon said, he had inquired into Mr. Bowes' behaviour while in prison, and found

that his conduct had been exemplary.—Mr. Bowes then gave his own security in 10,000*l.* for his good behaviour.

14. Yesterday, the poll for the city of Westminster finally closed; when the numbers appeared as follows:

Mr. Fox - - - 5160

Admiral Gardner - - 4814

John Horne Tooke, esq. 2819

18. The Gazette of this evening announces the capture of *Les Trois Couleurs* of 10 guns and 70 men, and of *La Blonde* of 16 guns, and 95 men (two corvettes) off Ushant, by the *Indefatigable* frigate of 44 guns, captain sir Edward Pellew. —It also contains a letter to admiral Kingmill, at Cork, from captain Martin, of the *Santa Margaritta* frigate, containing an account of the recapture of the *Thames* frigate; another letter to the said admiral from captain Williams of the *Unicorn* frigate, announcing the capture of *La Tribune* of 44 guns; and a letter from lord Amelius Beauclerk, captain of the *Dryad* frigate, to Mr. Nepean, with advice of his having taken *La Proserpine* frigate of 38 guns, off Cape Clear. These letters were as follows:

Santa Margaritta, at Sea, June 11.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 7th instant, being in company with his majesty's ship *Unicorn*, 18 leagues west of Scilly, we discovered, at two o'clock in the morning, three sail of ships about a mile on our lee beam. As the day opened, we perceived them to be frigates belonging to the French nation, which I communicated to captain Williams by signal, who immediately made sail to join me, and on his near approach made our signal to pass within hail, for the purpose of giving him informa-

tion of the enemy's force. The statement of their superiority encouraged him in his eager pursuit, having said that he would attack the largest ship, and desiring me to engage the next in strength. This noble example inspired every person with confidence of success, and each ship steered for her opponent; but the enemy, determined to evade an action, steered away large under a press of sail, the smallest ship at the same time making off to windward. At half past eleven o'clock, by our superior sailing, we arrived within gun-shot of the enemy; but as they appeared to close, for the mutual support of each other, and the *Unicorn* being some distance astern, I judged it prudent to postpone our attack till she was sufficiently advanced to occupy the attention of the French commodore. At this time the enemy commenced a fire from their stern-chace guns. At one o'clock, having approached them within three quarters of a mile, we fired our bow guns, whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself, the enemy at the same time yawing to discharge their broadsides. At two o'clock, the *Unicorn* being on our weather beam, we made sail, keeping up a running fight till a quarter past four o'clock, when the sternmost ship finding it impossible to escape, put his helm a port, and endeavoured to rake us; but being fortunately baffled in this effort, afforded us an opportunity of placing ourselves abreast of him within pistol-shot, when a quick and well directed fire compelled him to surrender to his majesty's ship, in less than 20 minutes. She proved to be the *Thames*, commanded by citizen Fraden, mounting 36 guns, and 320 men. The ship, which the *Unicorn* continued in chace of, is *La*

La Tribune of 40 guns, and 320 men, bearing the broad pendant, citoyen Moulton, commander of a division: the other, which made off to windward, is La Legere, of 24 guns, and 180 men. I am glad to observe that our loss is very disproportionate to the enemy, having only two seamen killed, and the boatswain, and two seamen, wounded; and her's 32 killed, and 19 wounded, and many of the latter have since died.

It is with extreme pleasure that I seek the present opportunity of testifying my gratitude to the officers and ship's company, for their active zeal and steady unanimity at all times and in all situations, but more particularly in the capture of the Thames, on which occasion their courage and exemplary conduct is worthy the greatest praise. The readiness of Mr. Harrison, the first lieutenant, and his prompt execution of my orders, did essentially facilitate our success. It is my sincere wish to particularize each individual, but where general merit claims the greatest approbation, to discriminate becomes a difficult task. In addition to the officers and ship's company, may I also be permitted to beg you will offer to the consideration of the admiralty the meritorious conduct of captain Joseph Bullen, a master and commander in the navy, serving in the Santa Margarita as a volunteer, by permission from lord Spencer: his desire to have some active employment induced me to beg he would assist in the management of the main deck guns, as I well knew that his long services and approved courage in various situations would be a proper example to the younger part of the ship's company. I am, sir, &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

Vice-admiral Kingmill.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Williams, of his Majesty's Ship Unicorn, to Vice Admiral Kingmill, dated Unicorn, at Sea, June 10.

Hol. Head, SSE. dist. 8 Leagues.

SIR,

I have the honour to lay before you a narrative of the proceedings of the squadron under my command, since my departure from Cork, on the 19th ult. On the following day, in consequence of my having received intelligence of the enemy's privateers being on the coast, to the northward of Cape Clear, I dispatched his majesty's sloop Hazard, with orders to lieutenant Parker, her commander, to cruise between the Cape and the mouth of the Shannon, while I, for the more effectual protection of our trade, cruised with the Santa Margarita in the vicinity of Cape Clear. I had the satisfaction a few days afterwards to learn that the Hazard had retaken two prizes, and had chased the privateer off the coast that captured them, after a narrow escape from being taken. On the 5th inst. having met with other ships of the Irish station, I concluded upon making a circuit on the outer limits of my station, accompanied by the Santa Margarita, and at dawn of day on the 8th instant, Scilly bearing E half S 17 leagues, we discovered three ships of war on our lee beams, distant two or three miles, to which we immediately gave chase, and soon afterwards perceived them to edge away, and that they were enemy's ships, two frigates and a large ship corvette. At nine, A. M. they formed themselves in a close bow and quarter line, and continued to run from us in that position, the largest ship under easy sail, for the support of his squadron. In this situation we approached them very

(C 3)

fast,

fast, and must have speedily brought them to action. I therefore made the signal to form for battle, the *Margaritta* being at this time ahead of the *Unicorn*, and at the same time directed her by signal to come within hail, to learn from captain Martin his opinion of the enemy's force, who informed me, that the largest ship was a 38 gun frigate, the *Thames*, and a corvette. I ordered captain Martin to attack the *Thames*, acquainting him with my intention to fight the largest ship with the *Unicorn*. On our nearer approach, the corvette, which detained the other ships, gradually hauled out to windward, and passed our weather beam in long gun-shot, steering afterward the same course as the other ships, and with the intention, I then imagined, to be in readiness to give support to either of her friends eventually most needing it.

At one, P. M. the two frigates hoisted French colours, the largest ship a commodore's pendant, and at the same moment commenced a quick and well-directed fire on us with their stern chaces. The corvette at this time hauled more up, and to our great astonishment, brought to, to board a sloop passing us on the contrary tack. As the commodore continued to wait for the *Thames*, we thereby approached them both, but were considerably retarded by the effects of their shot. At four, P. M. the *Thames* being the sternmost ship, bore round up to avoid the fire from the *Unicorn*, and to pour a broadside into the *Santa Margaritta*'s bow, when I had the pleasure to see captain Martin manœuvre his ship with the greatest judgment, and with the utmost gallantry he laid himself close alongside his opponent. The superior and well-directed fire from the

Santa Margaritta marked the discipline of his ship, and soon put the *Thames* into his possession. The commodore, on seeing his companion fall, made all sail, and by a sudden and judicious, though unsuccessful manœuvre, endeavoured to gain the wind of the *Unicorn*. We were at this time chasing him toward the entrance of the Irish channel, and soon after passed close to the Tusker rock. The parity of sailing in the two ships, aided by the judgment of the enemy's commander, kept us at running fight for ten hours; during which period we were much annoyed in our sails and rigging, and were for some time unluckily deprived of the use of our main top-sail; but on its falling less wind after dark, we were enabled to use our supernumerary sails, royal steering sails, &c. which, by slow degrees, brought us so near his weather-quarter as to take the wind from his sails; when, at half past ten at night, after having pursued 210 miles, we shot up alongside of our antagonist, gave him three cheers, and commenced close action, which had continued in that position with great impetuosity on both sides for thirty-five minutes; when, on clearing up of the smoke, I observed that the enemy had dropt on our quarter, was close hauled, attempting, by a masterly manœuvre, to cross our stern, and gain the wind. This was happily prevented by our instantly throwing all aback, and giving his ship strong sternway, by which we passed his bow, regained our situation, and renewed the attack. The effects of the fire soon put an end to all manœuvre, for the enemy's ship was completely dismantled, her fire ceased, and all further resistance appearing to be ineffectual, they called to us they had surrendered. The ship

ship proves to be *La Tribune*, commanded by commodore John Moulston, mounting 44 guns, though pierced for 48; on the main deck 26 twelves, on the quarter deck and fore-castle 16 long sixes, and 42 lb. carronades; had on board at the commencement of the action 337 men, 37 of whom are killed, 13 badly, and two slightly wounded. The ship is quite new, launched since the commencement of the war, sails extremely fast, is of large dimensions, being on the gun deck two feet broader, and 13 feet longer than the *Unicorn*. Commodore Moulston, who I am sorry to add is among the wounded, is by birth an American, but has served sixteen years in the French navy, and during the present war has always had the command of a division. The squadron late under his orders, consisting of *La Tribune*, *La Proserpine*, the *Thames*, and *La Legere*, of 24 nine-pounders, had left Brest two days only, had taken nothing. *La Proserpine* separated the preceding evening in a fog. I will not attempt to find words to convey to you, sir, the sense I feel of the conduct of the officers and ship's company under my command, for if it was possible for me to say any thing that could add to the glory of British seamen, I have ample field for so doing in the situation I held this day. Indeed nothing less than the confidence of the most gallant support from them, and the high opinion I entertain of the *Santa Margaritta* our second, could induce me to risk an action with a force apparently so much our superior; and while I congratulate myself upon the happy effects of their valour in the capture of two of the enemy's frigates, that have done so much mischief to our commerce during the war, and on their present cruise

were likely to do so much more, you may easily conceive what my feelings are, when I inform you, sir, this service is obtained without the loss of one of the brave men in the ship under my command. My happiness will be complete, if I find the *Santa Margaritta* has been equally fortunate.

In justice to the officers of the *Unicorn*, I must beg of you to recommend to the notice of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, my first and second lieutenants, Messrs. Palmer and Taylor, Mr. Quayle, the master, and lieutenant Hart, of the marines. I had great reason to regret the absence of Mr. Carpenter, the third lieutenant, of two mates, and some of my best seamen, who were the evening before put on board a valuable ship from Surinam; but the able assistance I should have derived from lieutenant Carpenter, I was made to feel the less by the exertion of Mr. Collier, the purser, who voluntarily offered and undertook to supply his place to the best of his abilities, and whose name I beg you to include in your recommendations to their lordships. We are now using our utmost exertions to put the *Unicorn*, and her shattered prize, in a condition to proceed to Cork. I am, &c.

THOMAS WILLIAMS.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Amelius Beauclerk, Captain of his Majesty's Ship *Dryad*, Plymouth Sound, June 16, to Mr. Nepean.

SIR,

Please to inform their lordships, that, on the 13th instant, at one, A. M. Cape Clear bearing west by north, dist. 12 leag. we discovered a sail standing toward us from the southward, but on nearing us hauled her wind and tacked. I immediately

diately chased, and came alongside of her at nine, P. M. when, after a close action of 45 minutes, she struck; proves to be the national frigate *La Proserpine*, mounting 26 eighteen pounders, 12 nines, and and four thirty-two pound carronades, with 348 men, commanded by citizen Pevrieu; sailed from Brest the 6th instant, in company with *La Tribune*, *Thames*, and *La Legere* corvette; had not taken any thing. I feel myself much indebted to the officers and men under my command for their steady and spirited exertions during the action. I particularly recommend the senior officer, lieutenant King, as truly deserving their lordships' notice. It is with pleasure I add, that our killed consisted only of two, and seven wounded; *La Proserpine*, 30 killed, and 45 wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. BEAUCLERK.

22. Yesterday, at the sessions held at Clerkenwell Green, Joseph Stan-nart, shoemaker, was tried upon an indictment charging him with being a seditious person, devising and intending to stir up the minds of the people to withdraw their allegiance from his majesty, by having seditiously spoken and published the following words—"I wish for no king—a king is a useless thing—I wish the king may come to the gallows—the first king was a curse to this country."

The jury withdrew for a short time, and returned with a verdict, guilty.—He was sentenced to be imprisoned six calendar months in Clerkenwell-bridewell.

23. Yesterday, intelligence was received of the capture of the *Triton* East Indiaman, off Ganjam, on the coast of Coromandel, on the 29th of January last.

By the American ship *Sanfom*,

capt. Smith, arrived on Tuesday morning, which left Bengal the 2d of February, we have received the following particulars: the *Triton* was taken in the Belasore Roads by a party of Frenchmen in a schooner, which had been captured a few days before by the *Modeste* French privateer. The whole number did not exceed 25, who, it was proved, had broken their parole, escaped from Calcutta in a dingey, and contrived to get possession of the *Pilot* schooner, under which description they were permitted to come alongside the *Triton*. The moment they had boarded her, they killed every person who had the misfortune to be upon deck; those who unfortunately fell victims to the treachery of these savages were: capt. Philip Burnyeate, the commander, a very meritorious officer; lieut. William Pickett, of the infantry (the only son of the worthy alderman), who was bound to Bengal; a midshipman, a quartermaster, and a seaman. It was reported, that Mr. Gribble, the second mate, had also been killed; but a gazette, published at Ganjam, did not mention his name. They then fired at the crew down the hatchways, and wounded six, who were at dinner; the rest called for quarter, and obtained it. The remaining passengers, officers, and crew, were put on board the *Diana*, another prize, off Ganjam. It had been reported, that Mr. Bell, the chief mate, had been taken to the Isle of France. A Mr. Fairlie is said to have received a letter from Mr. Philip Jackson, the purser of the *Triton*.

The following is a correct list of the persons who were passengers for Bengal, and of the officers belonging to the *Triton*:

James Hodgson and William Pickett, lieutenants of infantry; Richard

Richard Fleming, proceeding to practise as an attorney in the mayor's court; Charles Marsac, a native; Walter Stirling Glas, proceeding to superintend an indigo manufactory belonging to his father; Mrs. Wade and Miss Elizabeth Carruthers; captain Philip Burnyeate, commander; Mr. E. J. Bell, first mate; Charles Bisley Gribble, second; Richard Davis, third; John Martin, surgeon; Philip Jackson, purser.

The invoice goods of the Triton, for Madras, amounted to about 15,000*l.* which had been safely landed. Those for Bengal and Bencoolen were comparatively trifling.

The French behaved with great politeness to Mrs Wade and Miss Carruthers: the officers and passengers were allowed to bring on board the Diana as much as they could carry in bags or bundles, of their wearing apparel, but no bureau or trunks. The officers, crew, and passengers, are got on shore, and likewise six wounded men.

The Diana, Tapsen, commander, has been taken up to carry them to Bengal, as soon as they are refitted.

27. The following dreadful circumstance occurred on Saturday morning about nine o'clock, in Houghton-street, Clare Market. Two old houses, occupied by lodgers, fell in one minute into the street, and 17 persons, who were in them at the time, out of twenty or thirty, who resided there, were buried in the ruins. Of these, 13 had been taken out before noon; one of them a man about 60, nearly crushed to atoms. The only symptom immediately preceding their fall was, that some of the window frames flew into the street; the two houses were then seen to part, and

in a very few minutes afterward both fell so entirely, that only a few feet of the wall of each are remaining above the pavement.

J U L Y.

1. Mary Nott was tried, at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of the count de Greffiere de Laval, a French emigrant.

It appeared in evidence, that she had the care of a house, which was let out in lodgings, in Monmouth-court, Whitcomb-street, the front room in the first floor of which was occupied by the count. The lodger in the room adjoining, not hearing the count as usual, had, for several mornings, enquired after him; when the prisoner said, she supposed he was gone into the country with a French man and woman who used to call on him, but had not been there since his absence, for she had not seen him; that the key was not in his door, and, upon looking through the key-hole, she observed the room was just as she had left it. To another witness, who had called on the 2nd of June, to see the count, she said, that he had gone out very early that morning, and that she did not expect him home until it was late. Some doubts, however, arising from his absence, a ladder was procured, perfectly with the consent of the prisoner, to look into the room of the deceased; and, upon the person's calling out that there was a man upon the bed, she cried out, that she would not have remained there last night if she had known there was a man dead in the house; and upon which she alarmed the neighbourhood. A smith was sent for, and the door forced open: the deceased was found lying on the bed with all his clothes on but his coat; he

he was wrapped up in the bed-clothes, and pillows covered his head: there was a great deal of blood in the room, a wound was observed in the neck, and the body was nearly in a state of putrefaction. A woman, who lived in an opposite house, and who had observed the prisoner shut one of the windows, which prevented her seeing into the prisoner's room, on the day the murder was supposed to have been committed, went up with her at the time the door was opened, and observing his right-hand pocket was turned out, said, he had been robbed; to which the prisoner instantly replied, "he did it himself;" upon this witness making a similar remark that he must have been murdered, she again said, "he did it himself;" and upon her noticing a wash-hand basin with some water in it tinged with blood, as if some person had rinsed their hands therein, the prisoner said, "it is not strange, not strange at all; what do you come here to raise suspicions for?" Another neighbour had heard a scream about two o'clock on that day, but could not say whence it came. The deceased was seen coming toward home between twelve and one o'clock, and as the lodger in the next room went home as early as five, the supposition was, that the murder had been committed in that time. The surgeon who examined the body swore positively there was no wound in the side of the deceased, but that the raised skin, supposed to be such, was from the putrefaction; nor would he undertake to say what was the cause of his death, although a considerable quantity of blood might have issued from the wound in his neck.

Beside this testimony, which included all that related to the pri-

soner, it appeared that the deceased's portmanteau had been cut; that there was a knife upon the table, which was by no means bloody; that in his left hand pocket he had a knife and a key, the latter of which opened a drawer, wherein were several pieces of French coin and three guineas; that the deceased had been possessed of a very considerable property in France, and upon emigrating to this country, an agent in the city had allowed him twenty pounds per month: but affairs taking such a turn there, that pittance had been stopped, and he was so reduced, that a friend had forced upon him the loan of four guineas; he having no other clothes than those on his back. The prisoner denied the charge generally, and called three persons to her character, one of whom said she was of so humane a disposition, that if a worm lay in her way, she would turn aside rather than do it an injury. The jury went out of court about half an hour, and then returned a verdict of guilty. She is aged 63.

Richard Ludman, Ann Rhodes, Eleanor Hughes, and Mary Baker, were likewise indicted for the murder of George Hebner. This murder was committed in King-street, East Smithfield, in one of those obscure receptacles of debauchery with which this metropolis abounds. The body of the deceased was found on the morning of Sunday, the 22d of May, suspended by the neck from a bed-post, in a room on the second floor, with his hands tied behind his back. This unfortunate man was a tailor, and had, it seemed, been in very distressed circumstances, which produced a propensity to intoxication: when much in liquor, his wife said, he slept so found, that it was almost impossible to wake him. It was proved that
the

the four prisoners were in the house (which belonged to Eleanor Hughes) on the evening of Saturday the 21st, and next morning. They were seen, and some of their conversations heard, by two women who lived in an adjoining house: this house was separated from that in which the deceased was found by only a lath partition, perforated in several places, and the holes and crevices affording a distinct view of almost all the apartments of the latter.

The manner in which the hands of the deceased were bound with a piece of a tape was described in the court. The knot that had been used was what seamen call a timber hitch, and it was obviously such as could not have been done by himself. There was no direct and positive proof of the guilt of the prisoners; but there was a chain of most suspicious circumstances pointing strongly against Ludman and Hughes. The lord chief baron summed up the evidence with great precision, candour, and humanity. It was on the expressions used by the prisoners that the proof chiefly rested, and his lordship nicely discriminated between those which seemed to arise from surprise, on the discovery of the situation of the deceased, and those which could be supposed to proceed only from a knowledge of the murder. The jury retired about an hour, and returned with a verdict, finding Richard Ludman and Eleanor Hughes guilty.—Ann Rhodes and Mary Baker not guilty.

Eleanor Hughes pleaded pregnancy, to stay the execution of her sentence. On which a jury of matrons was collected and sworn, to examine her, and report their opinion to the court. They retired with the prisoner about half an

hour, and at their return declared her to be “with child, but not quick with child.”

Admiralty-Office, July 2.

Copy of a Letter from Vice Admiral Onslow, commanding his Majesty's Ships and Vessels, at Plymouth, to Mr. Nepean, dated June 30.

Herewith I have the pleasure to inclose a letter from captain Tomlinson, of his majesty's sloop *La Suffisante*, containing particulars of his success in capturing the Morgan French privateer, and recapturing the six English merchant ships named in the inclosed list, that had been taken by her, and which you will be pleased to lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

So complete a piece of service, performed by a vessel of such small force as the *Suffisante*, I am persuaded their lordships will admit, reflects great credit on captain Tomlinson, his officers, and men.

La Suffisante, Plymouth, June 30.
SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that his majesty's sloop *La Suffisante*, under my command, has retaken two English merchant ships, on the 27th instant, near the Isle de Bas (from Oporto, laden with wine). I gained intelligence from the prisoners that the French privateer which they belonged to carried 16 guns, and 10 swivels; and that on the preceding day she was to the northward of Scilly, in chase of several English vessels; I therefore immediately dispatched the prizes, with orders to go to Plymouth, and stood in for the French coast, between Ushant and the Isle de Bas, in hopes of meeting her on her return, or any other prizes that she should send into Morlaix or Brest.

On

On the following morning I had the good fortune to discover the above-mentioned privateer and four loaded merchant ships (her prizes) standing toward us; and, as I fetched within gun-shot of the privateer, we gave her several broadsides as we passed on opposite tacks; and, on our putting about to follow him, he made the signal for his prizes to disperse. They were then about seven miles from us to the NW.

At one, P. M. we fetched very near her lee-quarter, and opened a well-directed fire of musketry upon them from forward, which obliged them to strike before we could get alongside to bring our great guns to bear upon her.

As the greatest dispatch was necessary, to enable us to overtake the prizes, which were endeavouring to escape by steering on different directions, I ordered lieutenant Pickford to take the command of the privateer, to send the French captain and officers on board the *Suffisante* immediately, and then to make sail and assist me in taking the merchant ships; which service was performed very much to my satisfaction, he having taken two of them; one of which I had not the least hopes of his being able to come up with, as she was very far to the windward.

To the spirited and active behaviour of the officers and crew of the *Suffisante*, I consider myself in a great measure indebted for our success, which is as complete as I could wish it to be; for, exclusive of the privateer, which is a fine copper-bottomed brig, capable of doing much mischief, we have likewise retaken six valuable English merchant ships, which are all that she had captured.

Inclosed I have the honour to

transmit you a list of the prizes and their cargoes; and am, sir, &c.

NICHOLAS TOMLINSON.

The vessels re-captured as above, are from 110 to 200 tons, and are laden altogether with above 1500 pipes of wine, 250 chests of tea, beside cotton, lemons, vinegar, porter, with steel, and other dry goods.

Admiralty Office, July 5.

Copy of a Letter from Vice Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Coast of Ireland, to Mr. Nepean, dated L'Engageante, Cork Harbour, June 29.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the whole of the squadron which had sailed from Brest under the orders of commodore Moulton, is in our possession; *La Legère*, a fine coppered ship corvette, of 22 guns, being now brought in here by his majesty's ships *Apollo* and *Doris*; further particulars of which are contained in the accompanying letter to me from captain Manley. Separated as those French ships were, the capturing of them all is a rare instance of success, and a proof of the activity of his majesty's cruizers on this station. I have the honour to be, &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Manley, of his Majesty's Ship *Apollo*, to Vice Admiral Kingsmill, dated Cork Harbour, June 29.

Agreeably to your order of the 21st ult. I cruised in his majesty's ship under my command, accompanied by his majesty's ship *Doris*, until the 22d inst. and at nine o'clock in the morning of that day, in lat. 48 deg. 30 min. north, and long.

long. 8 deg. 28 min. west, discovered the French national corvette, *La Legère*, very close to us to windward. We immediately gave chase, with the wind at WNW, blowing a double-reefed topsail gale; but, from her being a very fast sailer, did not arrive within gun-shot until seven o'clock in the evening, at which time the two ships were a like distance from her; and, after exchanging a few shot, we had the satisfaction to see her strike her colours.

She is copper-fastened and copper-bottomed, and a remarkably fine ship, possessing every good quality for a man of war. She is commanded by *monf. Carpentier*, has 168 men on board, and is pierced for 22 guns, nine-pounders.

She sailed from Brest on the 4th inst. in company with three frigates, and has taken six prizes. I am very much pleased to find that the whole division are taken by the Squadron under your command.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. MANLEY.

Admiralty Office, July 16.

Extract of a Letter from Sir John Jervis, K. B. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to Mr. Nepean, dated Victory, off Toulon, June 10.

I acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that last evening, having observed a French cruiser working up to Mieres Bay, within the islands, I called captain Macnamara, of his Majesty's ship *Southampton*, on board the *Victory*, pointed the ship out, and directed him to make a dash at her, through the Grand Pass, which he performed with admirable spirit and alacrity: and I beg leave to refer their

lordships to his statement inclosed, for the detail of this gallant action.

Southampton, off Toulon, June 10.

SIR,

In obedience to the orders I received from you on the *Victory's* quarter deck last evening, I pushed through the Grand Pass, hauled up under the batteries on the north-east end of Porquerolle, with an easy sail, in hopes I should be taken for a French or neutral frigate, which I have great reason to believe succeeded, for I got within pistol shot of the enemy's ship before I was discovered, and cautioned the captain through a trumpet not to make a fruitless resistance, when he immediately snapped his pistol at me, and fired his broadside. At this period, being very near the heavy battery of Fort Brenganfon, I laid him instantly on board, and lieutenant Lydiard, at the head of the boarders, with an intrepidity no words can describe, entered and carried her in about ten minutes, although he met with a spirited resistance from the captain (who fell) and a hundred men under arms to receive him. In this short conflict the behaviour of all the officers and ship's company of the *Southampton* had my full approbation, and I do not mean to take from their merit by stating to you that the conduct of lieutenant Lydiard was above all praise. After lashing the two ships together, I found some difficulty in getting from under the battery, which kept up a very heavy fire, and was not able to return through the Grand Pass before half past one o'clock this morning, with the *L'Utilité* corvette of 24 guns, French six pounders, commanded by citizen François Veza, and 136 men, several of whom escaped on shore in the launch. I am happy to inform you

you that I only lost one man, William Oirton, marine, who was killed by a pistol shot near me on the quarter deck. From the best information I can obtain, the enemy had killed and wounded 25.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. MACNAMARA.

3. This day came on in the court of king's bench, an action brought by the proprietors of the Telegraph against the proprietors of the Morning Post. The action was founded on the remarkable forgery of the *L'Eclair* (a French newspaper) of the 10th of February last, containing the pretended articles of a new armistice, and the preliminaries of a treaty of peace between the emperor of Germany and the French republic.—The declaration stated, that the forgery was made by the proprietors of the Morning Post, who had conspired to send it to the Telegraph, to discredit the character of that paper.

The fact being proved in evidence, the jury, after a few minutes consultation, found a verdict for the plaintiffs—damages 100 l.

Lord Kenyon gave to the prosecutors much credit for the present action, and desired it to be understood as his opinion, that a criminal prosecution would lie against the persons concerned in the forgery.

4. An action was brought by Mr. Goldsmidt against Mr. Dickinson, for falsely charging the plaintiff with having promised to defray the expences of printing the forged *L'Eclair* mentioned in the preceding article, with a malicious intention to injure the plaintiff in his reputation, and to effect his ruin. He laid his damages at 20,000 l. and evidence on both sides being heard, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff—damages 1,500 l.

5. On Friday, came on to be

tried before lord Kenyon, an information, filed by the attorney-general, against Daniel Isaac Eaton, for publishing a scandalous and malicious libel, called the "Political Dictionary," in which certain explanations were given of certain words, and, among others, a crown was defined to be a bauble, which the people gave a million a year to support. "A king—from the Saxon word *koning*, meant cunning and craft, and would soon be in disrepute in this country." "A niggard—a king who had defrauded his subjects of nine millions of money." "Oh! Mr. Guelph, where will you go when you die?" &c. By these the defendant had endeavoured to cause it to be believed, that our sovereign lord the king had oppressed his subjects, and defrauded them of nine millions of money. The information further charged the defendant with saying, in the same book, that a guillotine was necessary to be employed in this country, as a merciful mode of destroying kings and queens, because their heads might be cut off with less pain by that machine than by an axe.

The attorney-general explained to the jury the several charges stated in the information. He desired them to read the whole book, and they would find every passage in it equally libellous with those already read to them; they would find in it the grossest attack against religion, which was defined to be—"a superstition invented by the archbishop of hell, in order to deceive and oppress the people," &c. Nobility was there declared to be—"a titled order of men, so called from their hereditary profligacy," &c. "Nefasti Dies—Modern days, in which it was not allowed to administer justice; this was the case, since

even lord Kenyon presided in the court of king's-bench." Upon reading this passage, the attorney-general paid many handsome compliments to the noble judge on the bench, who was the object of this unmerited abuse. He then declared the whole book was altogether the most scandalous and inflammatory libel that ever was published, as well as the grossest attack upon private worth.

After Mr. Vaughan had spoken for the defendant, and the attorney-general in reply, lord Kenyon summed up the evidence, in the course of which he desired the jury not to regard that part of the libel that respected himself.—The jury found the defendant guilty.

6. This day, was tried another information against Daniel Isaac Eaton, for publishing a book, called "A Summary of the Duties of Citizenship," written for the use of the corresponding society of London. It stated a variety of remarks upon the regal power, the military, clergy, and law, which we deem it improper to recapitulate.

The attorney-general observed, there would be an end of government, and the laws by which society was bound together, if he did not offer publications of so dangerous and pernicious a nature to the consideration of a jury. He said he should produce the same kind of evidence of the publication of the book which he had lately offered, and which had always been deemed sufficient.

Two witnesses deposed as to purchasing the book at the defendant's house, in Newgate-street, of his wife.

Mr. Vaughan argued against receiving such slight evidence of the publication. He insisted that Mr. Eaton knew nothing of the book

being sold at his house; that he was absent when it was sold, and had previously given orders that it should not be sold. He called two or three witnesses, for the purpose of proving that fact, but their evidence by no means seemed to satisfy either the court or the jury.

The attorney-general replied, and lord Kenyon addressed the jury, remarking the misapplication of the law, as laid down by the defendant's counsel to the court for their consideration.

The jury found the defendant—guilty.

Joseph Burks, bookseller, in Sun-street, Bishopsgate-street, was found guilty of publishing the same pamphlet.

12. On Saturday last, at the assizes at Winchester, an action was brought by sir Hyde Parker, against major Hugh Baillie, for crim. con. with the lady of the former. The defendant allowed judgment to go by default, and the damages allowed were 3000l.

23. The London Gazette of this evening contains the following extract of a letter from captain Trollope, of his majesty's ship the Glatton, to vice admiral Macbride, commanding his majesty's ships and vessels in Yarmouth Roads, dated the 21st instant.

I beg leave to inform you, that, in pursuance of your orders, I sailed in his majesty's ship Glatton on the 15th of July from Yarmouth Roads, in order to join captain Savage and a squadron under his command: and on the 16th, at one P. M. we observed a squadron about four or five leagues off Helvoet. Owing to light winds and calms it was seven P. M. before we were near enough to discover the squadron to consist of six frigates, one of which, the commodore's ship,

ship, appeared to mount near 50 guns; two others appeared about 36 guns, remarkably fine long frigates; and the other three smaller, and which mount about twenty-eight guns each. There were also a very fine brig and cutter with them. We soon suspected, from their signals, and their not answering our private signals, that they were enemies, and immediately cleared for action, and bore down to them. From their manœuvring it was ten at night before we got close alongside the third ship in the enemy's line, which, from her size, we supposed to be the commodore; when, after hailing her, and finding them to be a French Squadron, I ordered him to strike his colours, which he returned with a broadside, and, I believe, was well repaid by one from the Glatton within twenty yards; after which the action became general with the enemy's squadron, the two headmost of which had tacked, and one of the largest had placed herself alongside, and another on our weather bow, and the sternmost had placed themselves on our lee quarter and stern: in this manner we were engaged on both sides for a few minutes, with our yard arms nearly touching those of the enemy on each side; but I am happy to acquaint you, that in less than twenty minutes the weight of our fire had beat them off on all sides; but when we attempted to follow them, we, much to our regret, found it impossible. I have no doubt, from the apparent confusion the enemy were in, we should have gained a decisive victory, but unfortunately, in attempting to wear, we found every part of our running rigging totally cut to pieces, and the major part of our standing rigging; every stay, except the mizen, either cut or badly wound-

ed, and our masts and yards considerably damaged. In this situation, although every officer and man exerted themselves to the utmost the whole night, it was seven in the morning before the ship was in tolerable order to renew the action. The enemy, who appeared in the morning in a close line, seemed to have suffered very little in their rigging, although I am certain they must have received much damage in their hulls, at which the whole of our fire was directed. As they did not choose to come near us again, although they must plainly have seen our disabled state, but made the best of their way for Flushing, we followed them as close as we could till the 17th at nine A. M. when they were within three leagues of that port, with the hopes of meeting with some assistance to enable me to destroy them; but it coming on to blow hard at west, in the disabled state the ship was in, we were forced to haul off the shore; but although we were not able to take any of them, I trust you will think the officers and men whom I have the honour to command in the Glatton, to whom I have reason to give every merit for their steady, gallant, and cool behaviour in the attack, have done their utmost, and also some good, in driving so very superior a force into port to refit, that might have done very considerable damage to our trade had they got to sea. I cannot conclude this without recommending to your notice, in the strongest manner, lieutenant Robert Williams, my first lieutenant, who gave me every assistance in his power on the upper deck; as also lieutenant Schomberg, second lieutenant, and lieutenant Pringle, third lieutenant, who commanded on the lower deck; and also captain Strangeways,

Strangeways, of the marines, who, I am very sorry to acquaint you, has received a bad wound from a musquet ball in his thigh, which is not extracted yet, who after he had received it, and had a tourniquet on, insisted on coming on deck to his quarters again, where he remained, encouraging his men, till he was faint with the loss of blood, and I was under the necessity of ordering him to be carried down again; and all the warrant officers and petty officers and ship's company behaved as English sailors always do on such occasions. And I am particularly happy in acquainting you, that I have not lost one life in so warm an action, and only one wounded besides captain Strangeways, viz. William Hall, the corporal of marines, who also received a musquet ball through his thigh bone; the ball passed out on the opposite side. Our small loss can only be attributed to their firing totally at our rigging to disable us, in which they too well succeeded; and his majesty's ship *Glatton* being unfit to keep the sea from the damage she has received in her masts, yards, and rigging, I have thought fit, for the good of his majesty's service, to come to Yarmouth roads to refit.

16. At Reading assizes, an indictment was preferred against a mother and her son, a child about ten years of age, which may prove a useful lesson to those parents who are so wicked and inconsiderate as to encourage their children in pilfering and stealing. Stephen Lee, the child, having at different times stolen money from his fellow servants, carried it to his mother, Mary Lee, who used to receive and keep the same; but this being at last discovered, the child was indicted for stealing two guineas, half

a crown, and a shilling, from Thomas Allen, one of his fellow-servants, and which he carried to his mother; he was found guilty; but the lord chief baron, who tried him, with his usual humanity and discernment, being convinced a child of such tender years was more to be pitied than severely punished, sentenced him to six months imprisonment: but the mother, who was at the same time indicted for encouraging, aiding, and abetting her son in the robbery, being found guilty (as a punishment for a crime of so deep a dye as that of training up her child in such vile practices, and which in all probability would at last bring him to the gallows, and as a warning to other parents) after many pointed observations on so unnatural an offence, was ordered to be transported for seven years.

28. At Warwick assizes, John Gale Jones, John Binns, and Francis Bathurst, who had been apprehended at Birmingham for seditious practices, were brought to trial. They were severally indicted for uttering seditious words. Jones and Binns, declaring they were not ready to take their trial, traversed their indictment. Bathurst declared, that he was ready to take his trial immediately; but Mr. Percival, counsel for the crown, declared it would be impossible to proceed on his trial with safety, on account of the absence of a material witness; and Mr. White, solicitor for the crown, producing three writs of certiorari, to remove the several indictments into the court of king's bench, the prisoners were respectively discharged on giving bail for their appearance.

30. At the assizes at Guildford, came on the trial of Theophilus Bridges, of Temple-street, Prospect-place, St. George's-fields, for the wilful

(D)

wilful

wilful murder of Elizabeth Monk. Mr. Garrow stated, that the prisoner followed the business of an army button-maker; and that he had taken as apprentices seven girls from the guardians of the Asylum; that he kept them at work, in a close apartment, from four in the morning to eight, and sometimes ten in the evening; that any inability or neglect was punished, not only with beating severely, but a deprivation of their usual allowance at meals, which at best were but scanty, having a little meat on Sundays only; that the deceased was of a delicate constitution, and unable to do the same portion of work as the other apprentices, which frequently caused her to be severely beaten; that on the 7th of January 1795, the prisoner beat the deceased severely, and, after striking her down, kicked her in the side; that notwithstanding the injury she had sustained, she endeavoured to continue her work until bed time, but complained to the girl who slept with her, that her side was so very painful, she could not sit up, nor bear it; but such was the experience they had of his cruel disposition, they durst not utter a complaint in his hearing; that she continued endeavouring to work until the 15th of that month, when, being so affected with the pain in her side, as to be utterly unable to sit at her work, the prisoner again beat her, and, particularly, took her by the arms, and beat her head against the pump; that, soon after, she was put to bed, and was found dead in the morning; that, to conceal his guilt, the prisoner sent for a surgeon to the deceased; but previously to his obtaining a sight of her, informed him, by his wife (Mrs. Bridges) "that the girl had been long in a consumption, which was

now got very bad; and that she was very much troubled with a pain in her side constantly:" that the surgeon, on viewing the girl, saw her so much emaciated by her disorder (as he was led to suppose, by Mrs. Bridges' account) and being of opinion that it was not in the power of medical aid to save her—told her mistress so, and left her; that the prisoner some days afterward, sent for an undertaker, and had her buried: that one of the girls having communicated to her friends the circumstance, it was communicated to the guardians of the Asylum, who instituted the present prosecution. Mr. Saumarez, the surgeon, who saw the deceased, could not speak decisively on the subject, not having (on account of the artful information he received from Mrs. Bridges) examined the patient any further than to feel her pulse. The undertaker had observed her back and shoulders to be very much bruised; and one place, in particular, appeared as if she had had a blister recently applied to her back.

The evidence being closed, lord Kenyon thus spoke: "Gentlemen of the jury, the evidence of the surgeon and undertaker renders the case so very doubtful, that I do not see how we can proceed any further, as the law requires proof that some actual violence inflicted by the prisoner, was the cause of the girl's death. It happens unfortunately, that the distance of time since it happened renders it impossible to obtain such information as the law requires.

"Now I am on this subject, I will say, and I hope it will have its due effect, that persons like the prisoner taking children from charitable foundations as apprentices or servants, must not consider themselves

selves as task-masters, they must consider that the kindness as well as the authority of a parent is transferred to them; and when they take upon themselves to exercise the authority of correction as a master, let them remember they owe also the kindness of a parent."—His lordship concluded with some very handsome compliments to the guardians for their conduct in the present prosecution.

The jury immediately returned a verdict—not guilty.

The grand jury were not discharged: Mr. Garrow moved that he remain in custody: a bill was then preferred against him for a rape, which was found a true bill: the counsel not being prepared, he was ordered to remain in custody till the next assizes, then to take his trial.

AUGUST.

3. Mr. Banks has finished a very fine model of marquis Cornwallis, for the purpose of making a statue in marble, which is to be sent to Madras, and placed in a conspicuous station, as a mark of the gratitude of the East India company, for the military services of the gallant veteran. The figure appears in parliamentary robes. On the pedestal there is to be a basso relievo, expressing the surrender of the sons of Tippoo to the British hero. The figure is well conceived, and the attitude is heroic, without affectation. The likeness is the most exact of any that have been made of the estimable original.

This artist is also employed on an urn, which is to be erected in honour of the late colonel Kyd, in Calcutta. Colonel Kyd was an amiable and intelligent character. He was distinguished for botanical re-

searches; and India is indebted to him for many valuable plants, which he brought from various quarters, and which are now in the most flourishing state in Calcutta, and its vicinity.

Bath, Aug. 3. Friday last an alarming accident happened at the coal-pits at Highgrove, near Timbury, in this county, owing to the forgetfulness of a boy leaving a lighted candle against one of the timber-props placed to support the roof of the pits. This taking fire, communicated to a large quantity of coal near it that was ready for landing; this communicated to the other timbers, and in a short time the whole pit was on fire—at least forty loads of wood were supposed to be in the pit. Sunday, three men went down another pit that had a communication with that on fire, but the air-shaft being entirely stopt, the foul air, being stagnated by the smoak, immediately suffocated them; by the greatest exertions, two were drawn up, one totally dead, and the other apparently so; by the assiduity, however, of a surgeon, he was brought to life, but there are little hopes of his recovery: the others are totally lost. They have both left wives and children. The fire is still extending through the works, and it is feared will communicate to other pits near it. The damage already done amounts to many thousand pounds, beside the loss of working the coals, as the fire still continues, and it will be some months before the pits will be able to work again.

4. At Stafford assizes an extraordinary incident took place: one of the prisoners (William Cotterell) was indicted for a burglary and robbery in the house of Mr. Forman of Handsworth, to which he pleaded guilty; nor could he be

(D 2) persuaded

persuaded to offer any plea, until the judge threatened, in case he persisted, to order him for speedy execution. He then pleaded not guilty, and his trial proceeded. However, sufficient evidence not appearing to convict him, he was of course (though very unexpectedly) acquitted.

13. David Downie, who was sentenced to suffer with Watt at Edinburgh, for high treason, has arrived safe at New York with his family, in the Amsterdam packet, from Greenock.

20. Thursday se'nnight, was executed on Bodmin common, pursuant to his sentence at the last summer assizes, John Hoskin, tinner, for being principal in a riot, and bearing and taking from Samuel Phillips, miller, a quantity of wheat. At the place of execution he harangued the spectators for a considerable time, with the most unaffected calmness, adjusted the rope (to use his own expression) that it might put him out of pain the sooner, sung a hymn with the cap drawn over his eyes, and to the last moment persisted that he never struck the man, nor saw any of the corn.

Great Yarmouth, Aug. 20. Yesterday a riot took place here, at a lecture delivered by Mr. Thelwall, on a subject from Roman history. About eight o'clock a pretty numerous company were assembled at the room appointed for the purpose of delivering the lectures, when a number of persons, supposed to be from the ships of war riding in the roads, burst into the room, armed with cutlasses and bludgeons, attacked and dispersed the company. The lecturer himself made a narrow escape. We are sorry to hear that several persons who were present have been seriously hurt.

Such is the first account we have heard of the business: we trust that the magistrates will take proper measure to investigate the circumstances, and bring to justice the authors of the riot.

23. This morning, a young whale came up the river as far as Rotherhithe, and was killed near Execution Dock, after having overset two boats. It measured nineteen feet in length.

24. On Sunday morning, a duel was fought in Hyde-park, between Mr. Pride and Mr. Carpenter, two American gentlemen, in which the latter received a shot, which terminated in his death, on Tuesday, at Richardson's hotel, in Covent-garden, to which the body had been removed. The duel originated on Saturday evening, at the said hotel, in a dispute on the subject of American politics. The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict, wilful murder against a person, or persons unknown; nothing having appeared in evidence to criminate Mr. Pride, or any one individual in particular.

25. Yesterday the coroner's inquest sat on the body of Mr. Thomas Yates, who was unfortunately shot on Monday, the 22d, at his house in Pimlico.

Mary Thompson, a girl, who lived servant with the deceased and his wife, deposed, that they had removed from their late residence in Panton-street, and come to reside wholly at No. 9, Stafford-place, in which house, miss Elizabeth Jones, who had some pretensions to the house, as having been left her by the late Mr. Yates, uncle to the deceased, resided. The witness deposed, that Mr. Yates did not dare to venture at any time out of his house to the street, for fear of being locked out by miss Jones, and that

that he therefore occasionally used to amuse himself with his children in the garden; that, about a week ago, Mr. Beard, a proctor, sent a person of the name of John Sellers, to the house, for the purpose, as was alleged, of protecting the person of miss Jones from violence; and, on Sunday last, another person came to the house, of the name of Footner, a linen-draper, who was an acquaintance of Mr. Sellers; they dined with miss Jones, and Footner staid all night in the house, under the pretence that the Park-gate was shut, and he could not get through.

The next morning, about the usual hour of breakfast, the deceased had gone to lie down upon the bed, and miss Jones missing him, and supposing he was gone out, went down and locked the doors, and declared that no person should come in, but that those who were in might go out. Mrs. Yates, in the mean time, sent the witness out to purchase some articles, and there was a good deal of altercation about admitting her again. Mr. Yates, the deceased, soon after came down; Mrs. Yates went out in a hackney coach, leaving the deceased in the house. About half past four in the afternoon, Sellers, miss Jones, and Footner, dined together; and the deceased, after his dinner, took a walk in the garden.

The witness was, at this time, in the back kitchen; she distinctly heard miss Jones and Footner shut the doors that led from the passage to the yard, and from the yard to the garden. The deceased discovering their intention, endeavoured to prevent them; but not being able, he went to the kitchen window, which he desired the witness

to lift up; she did so, and he endeavoured to force himself between the bars, but without effect, being a very lusty man. Sellers then came into the back kitchen, with a pistol in his right hand, and told the deceased he must not come in. The deceased endeavoured to draw himself back. The witness cried out to Sellers, 'For God's sake, don't shoot—for God's sake, don't kill him.' She saw him put his thumb upon his pistol to cock it; the deceased stretched forth his hand as far as he could, endeavouring to turn the pistol away, when Sellers immediately fired it off, and the ball struck the deceased in the breast; who immediately exclaimed, I am wounded, put his hand to the place, ran toward the garden, and fell down. The witness then rushed to the front kitchen, notwithstanding the endeavours of Sellers to prevent her, and got out of the window into the area. The report of the pistol, and her cries, soon brought a number of people about, who lifted her over the rails. Sellers, in the interim, opened the street door, when the witness said, that was the man who shot her master, and he was directly secured. Mr. Cruikshank and Mr. Brown, surgeons, were next examined with respect to the wound; and Robert Jaggett and Henry Clapton, as to what passed when Sellers was apprehended and brought into the presence of the wounded gentleman. A person, who lived the next door, deposed, that when Sellers was apprehended by Jaggett and Clapton, he went with him into the garden, when he fell on his knee, and asked the deceased to forgive him, for that he did not intend it; to which the deceased made no reply, but

(D 3)

only

only observed to the persons about him that he was the man who did it.

The coroner informed the jury, that they were to judge whether the parties were all participant in the murder, and knew it was to take place, or could have prevented it, and did not; in either case they were equally culpable, and alike punishable by the laws of the country. If they were satisfied, from the conduct of the parties during the whole of the day, that they acted in concert, it was quite sufficient to implicate them in the guilt of the party who actually did commit the murder which had been so unequivocally proved.

The jury consulted about ten minutes, and returned a verdict of wilful murder against John Sellers, Elizabeth Jones, and Richard Footner.

S E P T E M B E R.

Sept. 16. This day, John Sellers, Elizabeth Jones, and Richard Footner, were tried at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of Thomas Yates. The question on which the whole trial turned, with respect to Sellers, was, whether he fired the pistol *maliciously* or *accidentally*. After a long trial, the jury brought in their verdict—John Sellers, not guilty of murder, but guilty of manslaughter, Elizabeth Jones and Richard Footner—*Not Guilty*.

The principal points which affected the verdicts will appear from the following charge to the jury delivered by baron Rooke.

Gentlemen of the jury,

This is an indictment against the three prisoners, John Sellers, Elizabeth Jones, and Richard Footner; and the indictment states, that

John Sellers has murdered Thomas Yates, by shooting him with a pistol; and that Elizabeth Jones and Richard Footner were present, aiding and abetting at that murder. The question for you to try, therefore, will be, whether Sellers is guilty of having wilfully shot Thomas Yates, and whether Elizabeth Jones and Richard Footner were, at the time of committing the murder, at the time of the killing, either actually, or by any rule of law, constructively present when he was so killed? In order to clear this case of any doubt in point of law, I shall first state to you what I take the law of the case to be, and then you will be better enabled to apply the facts to that law. I take it to be clear, that whoever had the title to this house, Mr. Yates, at this time, having been in the real joint possession, or permissive possession by himself, and his servant being there (to say nothing of the wife) if he took a walk in the garden, and they thought proper to bolt him out, if he attempted, by any force of breaking the windows, to get in again, he was justifiable in so doing; and if any person has wantonly shot him in that attempt, he is guilty of murder. That law I have not a doubt about; that Mr. Yates himself had a right to come in—he had never quitted the whole premises—was gone out to walk in the garden, and had (from being in what some of the witnesses call, a joint possession, and others speak of, as a permissive possession) a right to come into the house again when his servant assisted him; and if Sellers wilfully shot at him, he is guilty of murder. That is the principal point, and if you should think that Sellers has done

an

an act, which either amounts to murder or manslaughter, then you will have to consider whether Jones or Footner were abetting Sellers at the time he committed the fact. Now this I should hold to be abetting, that if they saw Mr. Yates coming into the house, and told Sellers to go down with a loaded pistol and shoot him, and said, don't let him come in, they (being in the house, and telling him to do that) would be guilty as abettors, and would have a sufficient constructive presence to warrant their being found guilty upon the allegations of this indictment. This I state only as general law : it will be necessary for you now to attend to the facts, as the witnesses have proved them, and then it will be for you to see whether this pistol was fired wilfully or accidentally : if wilfully, it is murder ; if accidentally, it is manslaughter ; and then you will have to pronounce how far Jones and Footner have been abettors in the killing.

[Here the learned judge summed up the evidence on both sides].

This is the whole of the evidence on the one side and on the other, and now to apply that evidence to the cases of the different persons : Elizabeth Jones and Richard Footner are charged then with being present, and aiding and abetting Sellers at the time he fired off this pistol. There is no direct evidence of their being present, of their having counselled him, or having had any thing to do with him. On the contrary, there is very strong evidence in favour of both of them. There is evidence in favour of Jones, that at the very first sight of the pistols she said she would rather leave the house than they should be there ; and that it was not till her attorney and Sellers had interposed,

and assured her that she need not be alarmed, that she would consent to the pistols being suffered to stay : after that, it seems miss Jones and Footner expected that there would be persons come on the part of Mr. Yates into the house on Monday, and thought it necessary, together with Sellers, to keep those persons out, to prevent Mr. Yates from turning the tables upon them and turning them out ; and, they for that purpose, locked all the doors with Sellers's assistance. There is no positive evidence as to what they did at the time Mr. Yates was endeavouring to get into the house, there being no positive evidence of that sort, and the story told by Mary Thompson not being that which warrants us in forming a rigid prejudice against miss Jones and Footner, it appears but justice for us to say that they speak the truth in their defence, when they say, ' they did not know the pistols were loaded ; ' and Footner, ' that he knew nothing of the matter till he heard the pistol fired.' If you are of that opinion you cannot conclude that they were present either by legal construction, or actually at the time the pistol was fired ; and, therefore, as to them, it seems you will have very good ground to acquit them as being accessaries, aiding and abetting in this act of shooting ; and I think it best to dispose of them first, because then it will leave Sellers's case to be considered wholly by itself, subject to your judgment. I think you will do no injustice to your country, but rather justice, if you acquit Jones and Footner of being accessaries ; there is hardly evidence to draw a conclusion that must affect their lives, if they are found guilty. Then, as to Sellers, the great point is, whether this pistol went off by

(D 4)

accident

accident or design; he had no previous malice against the deceased most clearly; he knew nothing of the deceased till he was invited into the house of Mr. Yates and Miss Jones by the recommendation of Mr. Beard and Mr. Biggs; and when he came into the house he tells you, that Mr. Yates behaved with a great degree of violence, and he was advised by those to whom he thought proper to refer, to have pistols for his defence. So far then it seems these arms were brought into the house to protect this man and Miss Jones, against any violence that Mr. Yates (whose temper was violent) might use against them; and that the pistols were brought in for that purpose; but the pistols are brought in unloaded. Sellers, therefore, at some time or other (and we are not informed when) must have loaded them. One of them is loaded at this hour; and he acknowledged it was loaded with ball; he knew therefore at the time he took that pistol up, that it was loaded with ball. We have no evidence to contradict him, as to his taking this pistol up upon the impulse of the moment; but when a man takes up so dreadful a weapon as that upon the impulse of the moment, without a provocation, it will not justify him in any improper use he may make of that pistol. He knew it was loaded, and he took it up upon the impulse of the moment, because he understood Mr. Yates was forcing his way into the house. He was advised, and they all agreed, if they could get Mr. Yates into the garden they would keep him there till the lawyers of both parties met, which was expected in the evening. Mr. Yates had clearly a right to come into that house again, and any per-

son who stopped Mr. Yates from coming into that house was a trespasser, for he was only coming out of the garden: some saying it was a joint and others a permissive possession. Well then, this was a sort of possession the attorney had told them in point of policy they were to deprive them of; but the attorney was not so wise as to advise them not to detain him from that possession by the means of deadly weapons; but he takes up this weapon, and he comes down stairs; no provocation was given to him; he sees Mr. Yates in a very helpless state, endeavouring to get in at the window; he tells Mr. Yates, 'he must not come in.' Mr. Yates is frightened and retreats, and in the time of retreating the pistol goes off. It may be said in Sellers's favour, that he fired it upon a retreating and not upon an advancing man. That circumstance is in his favour. It is said by Mr. Sellers, that Mr. Yates touched the pistol, and so gave the jar; it is positively said by the girl, that Mr. Yates did not touch the pistol, nor could touch the pistol; and the conversation between Mr. Yates and Sellers in the garden, if you believe the witness, is, that he asked whether they were in the act of a scuffle at the time the pistol went off; he said 'no, no;' but when he asked him if he thought the pistol was fired off maliciously, Mr. Yates said, in that very awful moment, 'yes, yes.' Whether he would consider the turning aside a pistol a scuffle or not, is for you to turn in your own minds. You have heard what the girl says now, that he put forth his hand, and he could not touch the pistol. Upon her deposition before the coroner she says this, that Mr. Yates put out one of his

his hands to push away the pistol, when it immediately went off and shot him; she does not say in that, whether he touched the pistol or not; but before the magistrate she says Mr. Yates put his hand toward the pistol to push it away, and did push it a little aside, and that then Sellers fired the pistol off. The girl, therefore, has varied in her testimony before the magistrate from the testimony that she has given this day; she has said at one time that he did touch the pistol, and at another time that he did not; she says to-day he did not; it cannot be imputed to any thing but error and mistake in the girl; for she has told her story with great simplicity, but it may be that her recollection is not perfect. Mr. Yates has said that he was shot maliciously; on the other hand, Sellers says, that Mr. Yates touched the pistol, jarred it in his hand, and that was the occasion of its going off. If you are of opinion that that was really the case, and that the pistol went off by accident, then I think you ought to find Sellers guilty of manslaughter only; if you think it went off wilfully, I think it is a murder of an atrocious nature. There are a few circumstances to be observed upon exclusive of the act of the pistol itself, that where a pistol does go off by accident, it is natural for a person to say immediately, it went off by accident; but he only says, he is not hurt, he is not hurt, and does not seem to be aware that he has done any mischief, nor does he before the deceased in the garden say it was an accident; though he does say so to a witness afterwards; he does not tell Mr. Yates so, he only asks him forgiveness; but the time to have observed that should have been the very instant, and that in

the hearing of Mary Thompson; that being the case you will take that circumstance into your consideration and see how far it should weigh in deciding upon his guilt, had not the girl stood contradicted by herself, upon the circumstance of the pistol not having been touched by Mr. Yates; she says one time he did touch the pistol, at another time he did not touch the pistol, but I must observe this, that this pistol must have been extremely carelessly used by Sellers; he must have cocked it before he went down, unless he was cocking it at the time; if he carried it down cocked at the time, he ought to have been very careful not to have put that pistol so near Mr. Yates as to endanger his life; but that is a matter perhaps that will affect the degree of guilt as to the punishment, if you find him guilty of manslaughter; then here is a circumstance that will lead you to decide whether the pistol was fired off accidentally or wilfully. If upon the whole you think it was fired off wilfully, you will find Sellers guilty of the murder; if, on the other hand, you think there is not evidence sufficient to lead you to say he fired off this pistol wilfully, but accidentally, there being no positive and direct proof that it was fired wilfully, you will find him guilty of manslaughter only; and you will remember this, that in a doubtful case, the character of a man ought always to weigh and stand him in good stead; and if a man has, during his whole life, as was stated by some of the witnesses ever since 1772, for 24 years; says another for 20 years; says another he has been uniformly marked for his humanity and the mildness of his disposition; it is a strong circumstance to weigh in a doubtful case

case in the man's fate. You will therefore say, under all these circumstances, whether you think there is evidence sufficient to believe he fired it wilfully; if you think so, you will find him guilty of a most serious murder; if you think he fired it accidentally, you will find him guilty of manslaughter, and less than that you cannot find him guilty of.

16. A court of common council was held, when the lord-mayor addressed the court on the expediency of taking into immediate consideration the present high price of bread. He observed, that although the stock of wheat in hand was very considerable, that great quantities were still importing; that the harvest had been attended with uncommon fine weather, and from universal report, with abundant crops, yet the price of flour was still very high, and he conceived disproportioned to the price of wheat. He observed that the mills in the southern part of the kingdom, which formerly supplied the London markets with flour, now, through the medium of canals, sent their produce to the country markets; again, that by the destruction by fire of the Albion mills, which had supplied the markets with flour, and which challenged a fair competition with other venders of flour, they now ceased to operate—in short the capital now depended on its supply of flour from a confined body of men, whose motives might be perfectly fair and honourable; but he could not reconcile the comparative statement of the price of wheat and flour at different periods with the present. In the year 1778, the price of wheat for 52 Mondays was 40s. 9d. $\frac{3}{4}$ —flour was sold at 36s. 6d.—again in 1787, wheat was sold at 41s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.—flour at 32s.

11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. but on the 15th of August 1796, when wheat sold at 40s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. flour was returned at 50s.; he therefore appealed to the honourable court, whether some enquiry ought not to be immediately made, or some method adopted to give every consumer of bread a fair opportunity of purchasing that necessary commodity at the most moderate price. It had been suggested in another place, and from respectable authority, that the erection of mills might benefit the public, and that the baker or private consumer might purchase his own corn, and have it ground on his own account. No doubt every society was bound to assist its members, and promote the general benefit; and he conceived that the corporate body of the capital would be highly praiseworthy in promoting the happiness of their industrious poor, and adopting such means as may best conduce to so desirable an end. He did not charge or criminate any set of men: his duty led him to consider the general interest of this great city, and while he thought it fair and honourable that the man of business should reap the profits of his labour, yet he also conceived it was an act of justice, as well as mercy, that the consumer should enjoy his commodity at a reasonable price.

Deputy Merry perfectly agreed with the lord-mayor, and moved, 'That it be referred to a committee to take into consideration the causes of the present high price of flour, and to make an immediate report;' which was seconded by Mr. Powell.

Alderman Pickett complimenting the lord-mayor for his public exertions, hoped that the motion would convey to the public that it originated from the information so properly conveyed by the lord-mayor;

mayor; but it was conceived by the court more proper, that the sentiments of the court should be made in a separate motion, and again Mr. deputy Metry moved, 'That the thanks of the court be given to the right hon. the lord-mayor, for his extensive information respecting the high price of flour, which operates so much to the prejudice of the public,' which was immediately seconded by alderman Pickett.

Deputy Merry then moved for 'A committee to be appointed, to consist of the lord-mayor, court of aldermen, and one commoner from each ward, to take into consideration the causes of the high price of flour, while grain is cheap, and to make a speedy return of the best means of removing so oppressive an evil.'

Liverpool, Sept. 17. This morning, a little before one o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out in a large warehouse, belonging to Mr. Hervey, in Cheapside; which, notwithstanding every possible exertion, could not be got under till the whole warehouse, with all its valuable contents, was consumed. The top part was occupied by Mr. Middleton, as a cotton manufactory, where the fire broke out; occasioned, as is supposed, by the friction of one of the wheels employed in the works. In the lower part were eleven thousand measures of wheat, belonging to messrs. Corrie, Gladstone, and co. which, with a large quantity of hides, rum, brandy, and other spirits, were entirely destroyed. About three o'clock, the front part of the warehouse fell into the street, directly upon one of the fire-engines that was then working, which occasioned a scene of horror impossible to be described; three men were

crushed to pieces on the spot; ten more were carried to the infirmary in a dreadful situation, two of whom died immediately. Two of the deceased were soldiers belonging to the Tay Fencibles; the others are a butcher and two of the people belonging to the engine.

17. William Clerk was indicted for the wilful murder of Michael Conner, a boy of ten years of age, by driving over him the Newmarket mail coach.—It appeared in evidence, that on the 16th of August, the duke of York's birth-day, a great concourse of people happened to be assembled in Bishopsgate-street, and this mail coach came driving up at a furious rate, in consequence of which the boy, Michael Conner, was run over, and wounded in such a manner, that he died. Several witnesses were called to prove that sufficient warning had not been given of the approach of the mail coach; but it was not clearly ascertained whether the noise of the persons assembled had not prevented the blowing of the horn from being heard. Several witnesses proved the general good character, sobriety, and good nature of the prisoner. He did not know of the accident having taken place till he was ten miles out of town, and had expressed much sorrow upon the occasion. Mr. Bolton, coachmaster, bore testimony to the prisoner's character, and likewise said, that the contractors for the mail-coaches were obliged to reach the place of their destination in a given time, which made it necessary to drive with great rapidity. Similar testimony was given by other persons. The jury withdrew, and were out of court upward of two hours. When they returned, they pronounced the prisoner, not guilty; but the foreman, in

in the name of them all, said, they thought that any party driving at the rate at which this coach was driven, would be highly reprehensible; they submitted that opinion to the learned judge, and wished to hear a declaration upon that subject from the bench; for it was a subject in which a great part of the public was deeply interested. Mr. baron Thompson said, it was the judgment of the jury to acquit this man. He could not make a stronger observation upon the impropriety of this furious driving than had already been made by the jury. The prisoner had been very fortunate, indeed, in this acquittal. He hoped he would never drive again with the same fury in the streets. He hoped also, that this would be a lesson to others, by which they would be taught to be careful. There was no excuse for such driving. The contracts of individuals were not to set at defiance the law of the land; nor were the lives of mankind to be put in danger in order to fulfil any contracts. He hoped that in future all mail-coachmen, as well as others, would be cautious how they drive in the public streets. The prisoner was then discharged.

This day, the sessions ended, when five capital convicts received sentence of death; 29 were ordered to be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years; 24 to be imprisoned in Newgate; 11 to be imprisoned in the house of correction for the county of Middlesex at Clerkenwell, four to be fined 1s. each and discharged; and three to be publicly whipped.

William Dean, John Williams, James Petty, Robert Simmons, William Chadwich, Michael Robinson, John White, Anthony Chandler, Joseph Salmon, Alex-

ander Colefworth, John Saunders, James Hardwick, alias Austin, William Miller, William Collins, James Vandercum, James Abbott, John Sharp, John Jacques, Richard Appletree, and Thomas Smith, prisoners who have been capitally convicted, but their judgments respited by his majesty during his royal pleasure, received sentence to be transported to the Eastern coast of New South Wales, or some one or other of the islands adjacent, for the term of their natural lives.

Among the prisoners ordered to be imprisoned in Newgate, is John Sellers, whose sentence is to be imprisoned six months, and fined 1s. The recorder said, that the prisoner had been tried for the wilful murder of Thomas Yates. That he had been found guilty of manslaughter. The jury had found him a trespasser, who had been guilty of negligence; and very gross negligence, in the use of a most dangerous weapon. It was much to be lamented that by the indiscretion of any man, so dangerous a weapon should have been sent to a house filled with strife, the occupiers of which were so much at variance, and had shewn a disposition which led to the disturbance of the public peace. To that indiscretion, which could not be too much reprobated, was to be attributed the crime for which the prisoner had to answer. If he had a proper sense of his fault, he would never be guilty of a like offence in future; and he should remember, that if he should commit another manslaughter, the punishment of the law for that offence would be death.

Plymouth, Sept. 23. Yesterday at four o'clock, the Amphion frigate of 32 guns, captain Israel Pellew, lashed along-side the Princessa hulk, blew up with a dreadful

ful explosion. The shock felt was like an earthquake. In a moment the fore part of the ship was scattered in 10000 shivers, and nothing but wreck to be seen. There were near 300 men, women, and children on board when this shocking accident happened. The returns this morning are, captain Pellew, one lieutenant, one purser, one midshipman, one mate, one boatswain and mate, and 33 seamen and marines saved: several of these badly wounded. The rest, shocking to relate, consigned to eternity! About 42 bodies were picked up, and carried to the bone-house of the royal hospital, and placed in coffins, among which are six young women. How this accident happened, is as yet unknown. Captain Pellew, captain Swaffield, of the *Overyffel* of 64 guns, and a lieutenant of the *Amphion*, were dining together; hearing some bustle, captain Pellew and the lieutenant ran into the quarter-gallery, and the ship instantly blew up forward. Captain Pellew was blown on the hulk, and the lieutenant into the water. Both were saved, but captain Pellew was wounded in the face, and the lieutenant in the leg. Captain Swaffield, Mr. Spry, jun. upholsterer, of Dock, and his son, were all sunk with the wreck. A serjeant of the North Devon was also blown up, with several other persons visiting their friends, it being the anniversary of his majesty's coronation. The master, gunner, carpenter, and mates, lieutenant Campbell, of the marines (nephew of colonel Campbell) are among the unfortunate sufferers.

O C T O B E R.

7. At the quarter sessions held

this day, for the county of Surry, Elizabeth Hale, pin-header, was put to the bar, on the prosecution of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, for assaulting and beating two female children, her apprentices—Jane Bray and Sophia Ingram. Jane Bray deposed, that she was bound to the prisoner as an apprentice, on the 5th of April last. The prisoner, for a little while, used them very well, but, after some time, began to beat and kick them about, and would drag them up and down stairs, making use of the most horrible expressions. She always kept a rod soaking in brine, with which she used to beat them on their bare skin, when they were undressed to go to bed: if she could not find the rod immediately, she would beat them with her fist, and sometimes with the kettle ladle. They both did as much work as they could; but their mistress made them begin at four o'clock in the morning, and continue close at it till ten or eleven at night, always beating them for no particular cause, and very frequently going out without leaving them either a dinner or supper. They never had a bellyful: sometimes they had nothing all day long, but six potatoes and a little salt for their dinner. Ann Harland served her apprenticeship to Hale, and wrought there three or four weeks with the children. She described them as very good girls, but rather weakly; and said they earned their mistress from 1s. to 14d. daily, which was as much as she could do when she had served twelve months of her time. She corroborated the evidence of the child, as to the beating and hours of labour, which, she said, were unusually long, as the custom of the trade is to work only twelve hours.

Mrs. Catharine Heman worked also for Hale, and generally carried her work home to the shop. On calling one day, the mistress was out, as she learned from the children, drinking. When she came to the door, and knocked, the children begged her, for God's sake, to go to the door, as their mistress would knock them down as soon as she came in. The witnesses accordingly went to the door, and as soon as the prisoner was admitted, she knocked the witnesses down. She then went down stairs, and brought up a board, with which she beat the children very severely. Bray had a large lump on her shoulder; and the little girl Ingram's arms and hands were so bruised by continual beating, as to be scarce able to hold her work.—The beadle of Bermondsey deposed, that he found the children straying in the street, between nine and ten at night. He took them home to the prisoner. On his going to leave them there, the children cried, and said they should be murdered. The mistress then said she would not take them in at all, as that was the case. He then took them to the master of the workhouse; and the parish, much to their credit, instituted the present prosecution. The evidence is given as it relates to both, though the assaults were tried separately, as the same witnesses were on both. Jane Bray, the eldest, is only eleven years of age, and Sophia Ingram, the youngest, is but nine years old. The jury found the prisoner guilty of both indictments; and the chairman passed sentence, that she should pay a fine of 3s. 4d. and be imprisoned in the house of correction six months for each offence.

8. William Swift, aged ninety-three, for an assault and an attempt

to ravish a young girl, has been sentenced, at York sessions, to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for two years.

14. Yesterday, a court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when Mr. Hodgson informed the court, that since he intended to bring his motion forward respecting an address and petition to his majesty, relative to the present calamitous situation of the nation, praying him to dismiss his ministers from his presence and councils for ever—his majesty's speech fully expressed all he wished to explain in his address, and he begged leave to withdraw the same, which was to have been seconded by Mr. Waithman, who was of the same opinion.

Mr. Deputy Leekey and Mr. Kemble gave it as their opinion, that the court being in possession of the motion, they had a right to dispose of it; they then moved the same, and Mr. Birch moved an amendment, by leaving out all the words after the word 'That,' and substituting 'a dutiful and loyal address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to express our grateful thanks for his most gracious communication to both houses of parliament, of his intentions to send a person to Paris with powers to negotiate a peace in general, and to express our most sanguine hopes that the measures may tend to an honourable and solid peace for Great Britain and her allies.—To congratulate his majesty on the general attachment of his people to the British constitution, and on the energy and wisdom of the established laws, which have repressed the endeavours of those who wished to introduce anarchy and confusion over the country. To assure his majesty, that if the event of the nego-

negociation prove ineffectual, and frustrate his endeavours to maintain and secure for the future the general tranquillity, the court will, to the utmost of their power, support and assist his majesty to oppose, with increased activity, the further efforts with which this kingdom may have to contend, as the only manner of obtaining, at a future period, the substantial peace we have all so great a right to expect.'

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Powell, and after a long debate was carried, the numbers being as follows: for the amendment 135; against it 14.

20. A circumstance occurred at the mayor's dinner at Bath, which reflects much honour on the police of that city, and the prudent conduct of its inhabitants. Great quantities of meat being taken away untouched from the tables, some gentlemen were observing what a feast it would be to the poor people at the prison; upon which the mayor informed the company, that he had the day before made inquiry at the gaol, and found the keeper its only inhabitant, there being not a single felon or debtor in it.

27. Yesterday, the lord-mayor, accompanied by the aldermen Le Mesurier, Clark, sir James Sanderson, sir Benjamin Hammett, sir J. Eamer, Newman, Boydell, Anderson, Lushington, the two sheriffs, recorder, and other city officers, and about fifty of the common-council, were introduced to the king at St. James', and presented the city address.—After receiving the address, the king was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on the two sheriffs, now sir Stephen Langston, and sir William Staines.

N O V E M B E R.

11. Last night, an affray took place at a public house, in Cow-crofs, near Smithfield, between a party of constables, watchmen, &c. and a number of disorderly persons of both sexes, assembled at what is called a 'cock and hen club.' The men being mostly armed with cutlasses and knives, made a desperate resistance, and wounded several of the peace officers in so shocking a manner that one is since dead. Three of the ringleaders were taken into custody, and underwent an examination before the magistrates in Hatton-garden, who committed them to Clerkenwell Bridewell.

14. On Saturday night died in St. Bartholomew's hospital, of the wounds he received on Thursday night, in Cow-crofs, Mr. Brewer, beadle of St. Sepulchre's parish without; he has left a widow and six children. The unfortunate persons continue dangerously ill.

17. On Monday night last a riot, very little inferior to that which occurred at Cow-crofs, took place in Broad-street, St. Giles': a number of people were desperately wounded, some of whom now lie dangerously ill. The affray originated at the house of one Stack, a publican, whose house for many years has been the resort of the lower and most abandoned class of Irishmen. They were all taken before Mr. Bond at the Public-office in Bow-street, where they underwent an examination.—The publican was committed, and, as a farther punishment, will be deprived of his licence.

20. This day, in the court of King's-bench, Joseph Burks was brought into court to receive sentence

tence, for publishing a false and scandalous libel, entitled 'A Summary of the Duties of Citizenship, written for the use of the London Corresponding Society.' Mr. justice Ashurst addressed the prisoner in a long speech, in which he pointed out the falsehood, calumny, and pernicious tendency of the libel, the object of which, he observed, was to bring into reproach, and overturn, the wise and most excellent establishments of the country. The prisoner's plea, that he was not the author of the libel, could not in the least avail him; for the publishers were much more dangerous and criminal in the eye of the law, than the authors of libels, because they diffused the calumny all over the country. After several other judicious remarks, the judge pronounced the following sentence, viz. That he be imprisoned in the house of correction at Cold-Bath-fields, and there kept to hard labour for the term of two years, and, at the expiration thereof, enter into a recognizance in the sum of 500l. for his good behaviour for seven years.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 21, 1796.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Bowen, of the *Terpsichore*, to Sir John Jervis, Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, dated at Gibraltar, October 23, 1796.

On the morning of the 13th instant, at daylight, we discovered a frigate to windward, standing towards us. About eight I could perceive her making every preparation for battle, and was then apparently in chace of us. Our situation altogether was such as to prevent my being over desirous of engaging her. Out of our small complement of men, we had left 30 at the hospital, and we had more than

that number still on board in our sick and convalescent lists, all of whom were either dangerously ill or extremely weak. We were scarcely out of sight of the spot where we knew the Spanish fleet to have been cruizing only two days before; and in fact we had stood on to look for them, with a view of ascertaining their movements. A small Spanish vessel, which we conjectured to be a sort of tender, was passing us, steering toward Carthagena, so that I could hardly flatter myself with being able to bring the frigate off in the event of a victory, or of even escaping myself, if disabled. On the other hand, it evidently appeared that nothing but a flight and superior sailing could enable me to avoid an action; and to do that from a frigate apparently not much superior to us, except in point of bulk, would have been committing the character of one of his majesty's ships more than I could bring myself to resolve on. I therefore continued standing on without any alteration of course.

Having, with infinite satisfaction and comfort to myself, commanded the *Terpsichore's* crew for two years and a half, through a pretty considerable variety of service, I well knew the veteran stuff which I had still left in health to depend upon, for upholding the character of British seamen; and I felt my mind at ease, as to the termination of any action with the frigate in sight only.

At half past nine, she came within hail, and hauled her wind on our weather beam; and as I conceived she only waited to place herself to advantage, and to point her guns with exactness, and being myself unwilling to lose the position

tion we were then in, I ordered one gun to be fired, as a trier of her intention. It was so instantaneously returned, and followed up by her whole broadside, that I am confident they must have done it at the sight of our flash. The action, of course, went on, and we soon discovered that her people would not or could not resist our fire. At the end of about an hour and forty minutes, during which time we had twice wore, and employed about twenty of the last minutes in chace, she surrendered. At this period she appeared almost entirely disabled, and we had drawn up close alongside, with every gun well charged and well pointed. It was, nevertheless, with considerable difficulty that I prevailed on the Spanish commander to decline the receiving of such a broadside by submitting; and from every thing which I have since learned, the personal courage, conduct, and zeal of that officer, whose name is don Thomas Ayalde, was such during the action, notwithstanding the event of it, as reflects on him the greatest honour, and irresistibly impresses on my mind the highest admiration of his character.

After (from the effect of our fire) all his booms had tumbled down, and rendered his waste guns unserviceable, all the standing rigging of his lower masts shot away, and, I believe, nearly every running rope cut through, and a great number of his people killed and wounded, he still persevered (though he could rally but few of his men) to defend his ship, almost longer than defence was justifiable. Had there been the smallest motion in the sea, every mast must inevitably have gone by the board.

Our loss (which will appear by
1796.

the inclosed list) has been less than could have been expected; but our masts, sails, and rigging were found to be pretty much cut up.

The spirited exertions of every officer, man and boy, belonging to the ship I command, as well in the action as in the securing two disabled ships, and bringing them instantly off from a critical situation by taking the prize in tow, and by their incessant labour ever since, will, I trust, when their small number is considered, place them in a light superior to any prize which I could bestow. I am even unwilling to speak of the particular conduct of any of the officers; but the talents displayed by the first lieutenant (Devonshire), who was but just out of our sick list, during the action, added to his uncommon fatigue in taking care of the prize, and the very able manner in which he conducted and prepared to defend her, entitles him to this distinction, and proves him highly deserving of the recommendation you gave him, with his appointment in the West Indies. And although I had rather any other person should observe the conduct of a brother of mine in action, and speak of it afterward, yet I feel it to be my duty, as captain of the ship, to state, that I thought Mr. Bowen's (the second lieutenant) conduct was particularly animating to the ship's company, and useful, from the great number of guns which he saw well pointed in the course of the action; added to which, from the absence of the first lieutenant on board the prize, the labouring oar of this ship had fallen on him; and, in my mind, the task we have had since the action has been infinitely more arduous than that of the action itself.

(E)

The

The name of the prize is the *Mahonesa*, carrying on the main deck 26 Spanish twelves, (weighing eighteen ounces more than ours) eight Spanish sixes on the quarter deck, and a number of brass co-horns, swivels, &c. had on board 275 men, beside six pilots, qualified for the Mediterranean as high as Leghorn, and to be put on board admiral Langara's fleet, which she had been sent from Carthage to look for. She was built in 1789, ~~at Mahon~~, is of very large dimensions, ~~measuring~~ 1114 tons and a half Spanish, was before the action in complete good condition, and is considered by the Spanish officers the fastest sailer, one of the best constructed, and, what they attach considerable importance to, the handsomest frigate in their navy.

Both the frigates have this moment anchored in safety. I am, &c.

(Signed) R. BOWEN.

Terpichore mounts 32 twelve and six pounders; complement of men 215.

Killed.—None.

Wounded.—Mr. Richard Hobbs (acting boatswain) slightly in the foot; John Roberts (quartermaster) lost his left thigh; and two seamen.

The *Mahonesa*, by the best accounts I have been able to collect, had about 30 killed or died of their wounds, the day of the action, and about the same number wounded, several of whom are since dead.

22. On Saturday, was apprehended on board the *Sans Pareil* guardship, at Spithead, by two of the officers belonging to the police office, Hatton garden, William Dunn, one of the persons concerned in the murder of Mr. Edward Brewer at the watch-house in

Cow-crofs, and safely lodged in Bridewell, Cold Bath-fields, on Sunday afternoon.

This day, William Arnold and William Ryan were committed to Newgate, by William Blamire, esq. for the wilful murder of David Brewer, at Cow-crofs.

DECEMBER.

3. Yesterday, at the Old Bailey, William Arnold, William Ryan, and Francis Dunn, were indicted for the wilful murder of David Brewer, the beadle of St. Sepulchre's parish, at Cow-crofs. (See p. (63). The jury acquitted Ryan, and found Arnold and Dunn guilty.

5. This day, soon after eleven o'clock, the subscription for eighteen millions sterling, for the service of the ensuing year, closed at the Bank; and such was the general desire to subscribe, that the court-room was a scene of the utmost confusion. Many gentlemen were altogether disappointed; and those who could get near the books to put down their names, did so with the utmost difficulty. There was very little remaining to be subscribed; for a great number of orders had been received by Mr. Newland in the morning from the country, which claimed a preference; and accordingly the doors were shut some time until these commissions were written down.

The same day, a court of common-council was held at Guildhall, to consider a motion for granting an aid to government on the present exigencies of affairs. The lord-mayor laid before the court the requisition he had received from several members of the court; also a letter from Mr. Pitt, and his lordship's answer thereto, which were

were read.—Mr. Dixon began by stating, that he had learned that the books were shut at the Bank, and that it was too late to subscribe; he had therefore a proposition to make, which was to refer it to a committee to consider of some further plan for assisting the exigencies of the state in the present conjuncture, and to submit the same to the consideration of the court. Debates ensued for a long time, in which it was urged that no notice ought to be taken of the report that the loan was filled up; but, on the contrary, the court should subscribe a sum equal to the dignity of the city. Alderman Newnham then moved for a subscription of 100,000*l.* on the terms proposed at the Bank, which was agreed to on a division, there being for the question eight aldermen, 71 commoners, and two tellers, and against it three commoners, and two tellers. The lord-mayor was requested to write in the name of the court a subscription of 100,000*l.* A committee of all the aldermen and a commoner out of each ward was appointed to consider the best means of raising the money on the credit of the city.—The chamberlain having stated the balance of cash in hand to be nearly 40,000*l.* Mr. Goodbehere moved an amendment, by leaving out all the words after the word ‘That,’ and substituting ‘this court feel highly gratified at the completion of the loan of 18 millions; and being desirous at all times to give every constitutional support to the country, this corporation will reserve its pecuniary aid to be hereafter brought forward, according to the ability of the chamber, and the exigency of the state; which, after a long debate, was withdrawn,

and the original question for a committee put and negatived.

6. Yesterday an indictment was preferred against John Smith, for publishing a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, entitled ‘The Duties of Citizenship, for the use of the London Corresponding Society,’ reflecting on the king and government of the country.—The fact of publishing being proved against the defendant, the jury, without hesitation, pronounced him guilty. He will receive sentence next term. This pamphlet is the same, for the publication of which Joseph Birks was lately sentenced to two years imprisonment in the house of correction, Clerkenwell.

Yesterday morning, Francis Dunn and William Arnold were executed opposite the debtor’s door of Newgate, for the murder of Mr. Brewer in the affray at Cow-cross.

10. The following was yesterday given in general orders, at Brighton, in consequence of two recent courts-martial.

*G. O. Head-quarters, Brighton,
Dec. 1796.*

Capt. Francis Gallini, of the West Middlesex regiment of militia, tried by a general court-martial; held at Canterbury on the 9th of November last, and on several subsequent days, on the following charges:

1. ‘Using provoking speeches to his superior officer, captain William Bird, on the general parade of the regiment.

2. ‘Giving a challenge to fight a duel with captain William Bird, on the general parade of the regiment.

3. ‘Sending a challenge to capt. William Bird, to meet him in capt. Bayly’s tent’—

Has been acquitted of the first arti-

ele of charge, and found guilty of the second and third articles, in breach of the 2d article of the 7th section of the articles of war; and sentenced to be cashiered. But the court, taking into consideration the whole of the circumstances, did most humbly recommend that his majesty will be graciously pleased to mitigate the sentence (which the court was bound to adjudge), in such a manner as his majesty might be pleased to direct.

Colonel N. Bayly, of the same regiment, tried by a general court-martial at Canterbury, on the 29th of the said month, and on subsequent days;

For behaving in a scandalous, infamous manner, such as was unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, by striking major Richard Wood a blow on the face, in a room adjoining the room in which the general court-martial was then assembled; and by reason of the very improper conduct and behaviour before the said court, prior to his retiring into the said room with the said major Wood, thereby betraying the utmost contempt and disrespect for the said president and members, has been found guilty of that part only of the article of charge which relates to the striking of major Wood, in defiance of good order, but not to the intent as is described in the said article of charge; and is adjudged to ask pardon of the said major Richard Wood, in the presence of the general, commanding in Canterbury, and the officers commanding corps in that garrison.

The following is a copy of a letter received by general sir Charles Grey, from the judge-advocate-general, on this subject; and his majesty's pleasure thereby signified, is

to be fully and immediately executed:

SIR, *Grafton-street, Dec. 8.*

I have had the honour of laying before his majesty the proceedings of a general court-martial, held at Canterbury, on the 9th day of November last, and on subsequent days, for the trial of captain F. Gallini, of the West Middlesex regiment of militia; and also the proceedings of a general court-martial, held at Canterbury, on the 29th day of the said month, and on subsequent days, for the trial of colonel N. Bayly, of the same regiment; the charges against whom respectively, together with the respective sentences of the general court-martial, are hereunto annexed.

The king having taken the same into his royal consideration, has commanded me to express, that his majesty had for a considerable time noticed, with concern, the dissensions and animosities which have prevailed in the West Middlesex regiment of militia; and when at last his majesty had entertained hopes of those animosities having subsided, has been much disappointed to find that some latent sparks of resentment have kindled and burst forth afresh.

With regard to captain Gallini, inasmuch as it appears that he had not a premeditated intention of quarrelling with captain Bird at the time in question, but hasty and petulant words, reciprocally used, gave sudden rise to the challenge—his majesty, adverting also to the recommendation of the court martial, is graciously pleased to overlook this instance of misconduct, and to remit the sentence. But his majesty expects that capt. Gallini and capt. Bird do respectively pledge

pledge their honour to the general officer commanding his majesty's forces at Canterbury, that their misunderstanding shall not have any further consequences.

As to colonel Bayly, whose superior situation of colonel of the regiment should naturally have led him to set an example of moderation, his majesty laments that he should have suffered a gust of passion so far to have got the dominion over him, as to have given a blow to the major of the regiment, and his majesty cannot but think the offence aggravated by the time and the occasion on which it happened; namely, when the question between them was actually under the consideration of the arbitrators, to whom it had been referred with their mutual consent; but as the court-martial has thought that the matter may be adjusted, consistently with the honour of both parties, by colonel Bayly's asking pardon of major Wood, in the manner prescribed by the sentence, his majesty is graciously pleased to assent to that measure, expecting that each of those officers do likewise pledge his honour that the affair shall not have any further consequences.

His majesty has further commanded me to intimate, to the end that it may be announced to the officers of the said regiment collectively, that if any officer shall in future suffer any quarrel or dispute to break in upon the peace and good order of the corps, his majesty will, however reluctantly, give orders for such officer being displaced.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES MORGAN.

General Sir Charles Grey,

K. B. &c.

14. Yesterday, there was a meeting of the livery in London in common hall, when the lord-mayor informed them, That, in consequence of a requisition signed by 55 gentlemen of the livery, he had called the meeting; that he intended to take no part in the question himself, and assured the livery they might rely on his acting with the strictest and most upright justice.

Mr. Hanson then moved as follows:

'That the representatives of this city in parliament be instructed to move, or support a motion in the house of commons, for censuring the ministers for having taken upon themselves to send the money of the people of Great Britain to the emperor of Germany during the sitting of parliament, without the consent of parliament.'

Aldermen Curtis, Lushington, Anderson, and Sanderson, opposed the motion, on the ground of the necessity of having Mr. Pitt's reasons. They were replied to by Mr. alderman Combe, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Waithman, and Mr. Hanson, who spoke in favour of the motion; and, after a debate of two hours, the hall was divided, when Mr. Hanson's motion was carried by a great majority.

16. Copy of the letter transmitted to all the admirals and captains, whose names were mentioned in the Gazette by earl Howe, as having signalized themselves in the action of the 1st of June, 1794, accompanying the medal which has been presented to them,

My Lord, or Sir,

The king having been pleased to order a certain number of gold medals to be struck, in commemoration

(E 3)

ration

ration of the victory obtained by his majesty's fleet under the command of earl Howe over that of the enemy, in the actions of the 29th of May, and 1st of June, 1794, I am commanded by his majesty to present to your lordship one of the medals abovementioned, and to signify his majesty's pleasure that you should wear it when in your uniform, in the manner described by the directions which (together with the medal and ribband belonging to it) I have the honour to transmit to you.

I am also commanded by his majesty to acquaint your lordship, that, had it been possible for all the officers on whom his majesty is pleased to confer this mark of his approbation, to attend personally in London, his majesty would have presented the medal to each of them in person; but that being, from various causes, at this time impossible, his majesty, in order to obviate all further delay, has therefore been pleased to direct them to be forwarded in this manner.

Allow me to express the great satisfaction I feel in being made the channel of communicating to your lordship so distinguished a mark of his majesty's approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SPENCER.

Admiralty, Nov. 30, 1796.

The admirals to wear the medal suspended by a ribband round their necks. The captains to wear the medal suspended to a ribband, but fastened through the third and fourth button hole, on the left side. The colour of the ribband blue and white.

17. At a court of common-council, Mr. Birch moved, That an address be presented to his ma-

jesty, to thank him for the measures he has graciously thought proper to communicate to both houses of parliament, on the recent manifesto of the court of Madrid, declaratory of war against Great Britain, and to assure his majesty of the steady and firm determination of this court to support the most vigorous measures to repel any hostilities that may be made against his majesty's crown, and the prosperity of these kingdoms.

The motion was seconded by Mr. deputy Leekey, and agreed to. A committee was appointed to draw up the address, which being done, was read, agreed to, and ordered to be presented by the whole corporation, &c.

Mr. Dixon informed the court, that he intended, at the next court, to bring forward the following motion, viz. 'That it is the opinion of this court, that the pecuniary aid recently furnished by his majesty's ministers to the emperor, has been productive of great advantage to Great Britain, and enabled the emperor, not only to withstand the desperate attempts of the French armies to overrun Germany, but also has given a decided and favourable turn to the war, and opened a fairer prospect of obtaining an honourable peace to this country and her allies.'

St. Petersburg, Nov. 18. Last night her imperial majesty, who had been seized with an apoplectic fit on the preceding day, expired at a quarter before ten o'clock.

Immediately after her Imperial majesty's decease, the emperor Paul was proclaimed before the palace in the usual form, and the whole court, which was there assembled in anxious expectation from the moment of the empress' accident

to the moment of her death, immediately took the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign, as did the four regiments of guards; and every thing passed with the greatest order and tranquillity.—*London Gazette.*

21. A common council was yesterday held at Guildhall, when Mr. Dixon, in a speech of some length, brought forward the motion before alluded to, which was supported by Mr. Woodbridge, Mr. Birch, aldermen Lushington and Glynn, Mr. Pearkes, sir Benjamin Hammet, and Mr. Sutherland; and opposed by aldermen Skinner and Combe.

Mr. Bodley moved, that all the words after 'this court' be left out, and the following substituted, namely, 'that no circumstance whatever shall alienate this corporation from its firm support of the three estates of these realms, in their distinct and sound rights, agreeable to the principles of our happy constitution,' which was negatived, there being two aldermen, 40 commoners, and messrs. Griffith and Simmonds, tellers, for it; and nine aldermen, 64 commoners, and messrs. Dixon and Birch, tellers, against it; majority 31.

Mr. Dixon's motion was then

put, carried by a great majority, and ordered to be published.

22. Yesterday morning when the turnkeys of Newgate were preparing to remove the convicts sentenced to Botany Bay, among whom was the noted major Semple, (who, it seems, had flattered himself with the hopes of a pardon) he requested permission to return to his cell, which was granted. Under pretence of searching for some necessities, in the presence of Mr. Kirby, jun. he suddenly drew a knife, and stabbed himself in the body. He now lies extremely ill, refuses every kind of sustenance, and declares he is determined to put an end to his existence.

21. Yesterday, the court of common-council agreed to a resolution, "That it is the opinion of this court that the pecuniary aid recently furnished by his majesty's ministers to the emperor of Germany, has been productive of great advantages to Great Britain, and enabled the emperor, not only to withstand the desperate attempts of the French armies, to overrun Germany, but also has given a decided and favourable turn to the war, and opened a fairer prospect of obtaining an honourable peace to Great Britain and her allies."

THE LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 8, 1795, to December 15, 1796.

Christened { Males 9648 } 18826, Buried { Males 9882 } 19288 Decrease in Burials this Year 1891.
 { Females 9178 }

Died under 2 Years	6772	20 and 30 -	1211	60 and 70 -	1115	100 - -	1
Between 2 and 5	2840	30 and 40 -	1537	70 and 80 -	891	102 - -	1
5 and 10	900	40 and 50 -	1657	80 and 90 -	357	104 - -	1
10 and 20	621	50 and 60 -	1338	90 and 100 -	55		

BIRTHS in the Year 1796.

Jan. 4. Countess of Aboyne, a daughter.

7. Princess of Wales, a princess.

14. Lady of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. M. P. a son.

—. Lady of col. Gerard Noel Edwards, M. P. a daughter.

Feb. 16. Lady of Samuel Whitbread, jun. esq. M. P. a son.

—. Hon. Mrs. Leigh, of Adelstrop, Oxfordshire, a daughter.

18. Lady Brownlow, a daughter.

19. Lady of sir William Elliot, of Stobbs, bart. a son.

27. Lady Le Despencer, a daughter.

28. Lady of lord Kilmaine, a daughter.

March 1. Lady of sir James Bland Burges, bart. a son.

18. Lady Eliz. Spencer, a son.

—. Lady of William Cunliffe Shawe, esq. M. P. a son.

—. Hon. Mrs. Vaughan, lady of Dr. Vaughan, a daughter.

22. Countess of Oxford, a daughter.

25. Viscountess Fielding, a son and heir.

27. Lady of sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart. a son.

30. Lady of George Sumner, esq. M. P. a son.

31. Duchess of Leinster, a son.

April 4. Lady of John Pardoe, jun. esq. a son.

—. Lady of sir John Turner Dryden, bart. a son.

9. Lady of the hon. Lt. Col. Forbes, a son.

12. Lady of sir William Smith, bart. a daughter.

Lately, lady of Reginald Pole Carew, M. P. a daughter.

May 6. Lady of Alexander Alardyce, M. P. a daughter.

9. Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.

15. Lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a daughter.

18. Marchioness of Blandford, a son.

31. Countess of Darnley, a daughter.

June 11. Lady of Richard Aldworth Neville, esq. a son.

16. Lady of sir John Sinclair, bart. of Ulbster, a daughter.

21. Lady Susan Ryder, a daughter.

July 1. Mrs Ainsworth, wife of Mr. Thomas Ainsworth, of Layland, in Lancashire, of her twenty-ninth child.

29. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.

—. Countess Paulett, a son.

—. Lady of Charles Duncombe, esq. M. P. a son and heir.

Aug. 1. Lady Rous, a son.

5. Viscountess Milintown, a son.

10. Lady Sondes, a son.

11. Lady of sir William Rowley, bart. a son.

16. Countess of Dalkeith, a daughter.

21. Marchioness of Titchfield, a son and heir.

25. Lady of sir Thomas Turton, bart. a daughter.

31. Lady Cuninghame, a daughter.

—. Hon. Mrs. Temple, a son.

Sept. 13. Lady Augusta Clavering, a son.

20. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.

22. Lady Cathcart, a daughter.

30. Lady of sir James Sander-son, bart. a daughter.

—. Dowager countess Winton, a son.

Oct. 2. Lady George Murray, a son.

3. Lady

3. Lady of Thomas Anson, esq. M. P. a son.

16. Lady of sir Montague Burgoyne, bart. a son and heir.

26. Countess of Breadalbane, a son.

Nov. 3. Lady of the right hon. Henry Addington, speaker of the house of commons, a daughter.

7. Lady of William Manning, esq. M. P. a son.

9. Lady of sir Charles Oakley, bart. a son.

MARRIAGES in the Year 1796.

Jan. 6. George Henry Rose, esq. M. P. for Southampton, and son of George Rose, esq. secretary of the treasury, and M. P. for Christchurch, to miss Duncombe, daughter and coheirs of the late Thomas Duncombe, esq.

10 Lady Wilson, relict of the late judge Wilson, to captain Griffiths, of the navy.

Feb. 6. Thomas Gardiner Bramston, esq. eldest son of Thomas Berney Bramston, esq. M. P. for Essex, to miss Blaauw, daughter of William Blaauw, esq.

9. Earl of Powercourt, to miss Brownlow.

— Robert Liston, esq. ambassador to the Sublime Porte, to miss Henrietta Marchant, of Antigua.

28. Earl of Guilford, to miss Coutts, daughter of Thomas Coutts, esq. banker, in the Strand.

March 1. Henry Thornton, esq. M. P. to miss Sykes, daughter of Joseph Sykes, esq. of West Ella, Yorkshire.

Lately, James Dalrymple, esq. to the countess dowager of Haddington.

16. Hon. Thomas Parker, brother to the earl of Macclesfield, to

miss Edwards, daughter of Lewis Edwards, esq. of Talgerth, Merionethshire.

29. Sir Robert Wilmot, bart. to miss Grimston, daughter of the late Robert Grimston, esq. of Neswick, Yorkshire.

April 16. Earl Temple, to lady Anne Elizabeth Brydges, daughter of the late duke of Chandos.

19. Edward Wilbraham Bootle, esq. M. P. to miss Taylor, daughter of the rev. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons, Kent.

27. Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, bart. to miss Maria Simpson, daughter of the late John Simpson, esq. of Bradley.

26. Mr. Taylor, surgeon, at Sevenoaks, to lady Louisa Stanhope, daughter of earl Stanhope.

— Lord Porchester, son of the earl of Carnarvon, to miss Ackland, daughter of Lady Harriet Ackland.

Lately, capt. Talbot, to Lady Elizabeth Strangeways, daughter of the earl of Ilchester.

May 3. Hon. and right Rev. Dr. William Stuart, bishop of St. David's, to miss Penn, daughter of the late hon. Thomas Penn, esq. proprietor of Pennsylvania.

11. Sir Edmund Head, bart. to miss Western, of Cokethorpe, Oxfordshire.

Thomas Sherlock Gooch, esq. eldest son of sir Thomas Gooch, bart. to miss Whittaker, sister of Abraham Whittaker, esq. of Lyston-house, Herefordshire.

14. Hugh Dillon Massey, esq. eldest son of sir Hugh Massey, bart. to miss S. Hankey, daughter of the late Thomas Hankey, esq.

June 3. George Wright, esq. only son of sir James Wright, bart. to miss Maclane, only daughter and

and heiress to the late Charles Maclane, esq. of Okingham.

11. Sir George Glyn, bart. to miss Catharine Powell, daughter and coheirs of the late rev. Gervas Powell, of Lanhara, in Glamorganshire.

25. Sir Richard Gamon, bart. M. P. to lady Amelia Cooke.

— Sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, bart. to miss Garway of Worcester.

27. Rev. Charles Talbot, second son of the hon. and rev. Charles Talbot, to lady Elizabeth Somerset, daughter of the duke of Beaufort.

30. Hon. William Leeson, brother of the earl of Miltown, to miss Buchanan.

July 4. Lord Andover, to miss Coke, daughter of Thomas William Coke, esq. of Holkam, Norfolk, M. P.

Lieutenant Sloper, son of general sir Robert Sloper, K. B. to miss Kent, daughter of Thomas Kent, esq. Ipswich.

5. Lord Blayney, to the hon. miss Alexander, daughter of lord Caledon.

16. Dr. Spencer Madan, bishop of Peterborough, to miss Vyse, sister of general Vyse.

25. Lieutenant-colonel Pigott, to miss Mary Monckton, daughter of the hon. John Monckton.

26. William Wingfield, esq. to lady Charlotte Digby, sister of the earl of Digby.

Aug. 3. Hon. William Hay Carr, brother to the earl of Errol, to miss Elliot, daughter of Samuel Elliot, esq. of Antigua.

6. Lieutenant-colonel Denzil Onslow, to the hon. miss Petre, daughter of lord Petre.

9. Joseph Mawbey, esq. son of

sir Joseph Mawbey, bart. to miss Henschman, daughter of Thomas Henschman, esq. of New Burlington-street.

12. Sir William Ramsey, of Banff, bart. to miss Biscoe, of Edward-street, Portman-square.

11. Francis John Brown, esq. M. P. for Dorset, to miss Francis Richards, daughter of the rev. John Richards, of Langbridge, Dorset.

30. Robert Dundas, esq. son of the right hon. Henry Dundas, to miss Saunders, daughter of the late admiral sir Charles Saunders.

Sept. 2. Sir Thomas Parkyns, bart. to miss Boultkes of Leicester.

6. Sir John Davies, bart. to miss Leman, daughter of sir William Leman, bart.

22. Edmund Hornby, esq. to lady Catharine Stanley, daughter of the earl of Derby.

29. Sir Thomas Gage, bart. to miss Charlotte Campbell, cousin to lord Cawdor.

Oct. 1. Rev. Samuel Wilson Warneford, of Broughton, Oxfordshire, to miss Loveden, daughter of Edward Loveden Loveden, esq. of Buscot Park, Berks.

7. Lord Templetown, to lady Mary Montagu, daughter of the earl of Sandwich.

11. John Thomas Stanley, esq. eldest son of sir John Stanley, bart. to the hon. miss Holroyd, daughter of lord Sheffield.

Nov. 18. John Wodehouse, esq. eldest son of sir John Wodehouse, bart. to miss Norris, only daughter of the late John Norris, esq. of Wilton Park, Norfolk.

24. His excellency count de Bruhl, to miss Chowne, heiress of the late Thomas Chowne, esq.

Dec.

Dec. 10. Hon. Cropley Ashley, brother to the earl of Shaftesbury, to lady Anne Spencer, daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

DEATHS in the Year 1796.

Jan. 7. Frances viscountess Kenmare.

10. George lord Hervey, son of the earl of Bristol (bishop of Derry), and captain of the *Zealous* of 74 guns.

16. Henry William Portman, esq. father of Henry Berkeley Portman, esq. M. P.

— Sir Charles Leving, bart.

18. Hon. Robert Fitzmaurice Deane, eldest son of lord Muskerry.

19. William lord Belhaven, a major in the army.

20. Sir William Burrell, bart.

27. Sophia Maria Josepha, viscountess Southwell, of Ireland.

29. Dowager lady Throckmorton, relict of sir Robert Throckmorton, bart. of Buckland, Berks.

Feb. 7. Admiral sir Francis Geary, bart.

9. Viscountess Landaff of Ireland.

13. Lady of sir John Smyth, bart.

15. Thomas Arthur, viscount Southwell, of Ireland.

17. James Macpherson, esq. of Putney Park, M. P.

27. Hon. Charles Vane, of Mount Ida, Nortolk.

March 8. Sir William Chambers, knt. of the Polar Star.

9. Lady Knowles, relict of the late admiral sir Charles Knowles, bart.

10. Hon. John Forbes, admiral of the fleet, and general of marines.

13. Lady Bridget Tollemache, relict of the hon. captain Tollemache, of the navy.

15. Countess Ludlow.

17. Marchioness of Winchester.

18. Countess dowager of Aldborough.

19. Sir Hugh Palliser, bart. admiral of the white.

21. Sir Thomas Gage, bart.

22. Lady of sir Thomas Parkyns, bart.

26. Humphry Minchin, esq. M. P.

28. Lady Mildmay, relict of sir William Mildmay, bart.

April 3. Countess of Welden, sister of lord Howard de Walden, and lady of the count de Walden, formerly ambassador here from the United Provinces.

10. Sir Archibald Edmonstone, bart.

11. Hon. Thomas Francis Wenman, brother to viscount Wenman, and fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, found drowned in the river Cherwell, at Oxford.

13. Lady of the hon. Everard Arundel.

— Sir Bellingham Graham, bart.

20. Lady Anne Maria Montague, sister of the duke of Manchester.

— In childbed, lady of John Pardoe, jun. esq. M. P.

— Lord Somerville, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland.

25. John Pardoe, jun. esq. M. P.

28. Spencer earl of Northampton.

30. Samuel Beechcroft, esq. many years a director of the bank.

May 3. Lady Gertrude Cromie.

Lately, Mr. Hoggins, of Bolas, Shropshire, father of the countess of Exeter.

19. Lady Charlotte Finch, eldest daughter of the late earl of Winchester.

22. Thomas viscount Falkland.

27. Lord

27. Lord Charles Patrick Thomas Townshend, youngest son of marquis Townshend. *See* p. (33).

23. Primrose lady Lovat.

30. Right hon. William Burton Conyngham, a lord of the treasury in Ireland.

June 6. Countess of Suffex.

11. Samuel Whitbread, esq. of Bedwell-park, Herts.

July 14. Lady Hay, relict of sir Thomas Hay, of Park, bart.

16. Field-marshal sir George Howard, K. B.

—. Right hon. William Gerrard Hamilton.

—. Rear-admiral Carteret.

26. Sir Roger Mostyn, bart. M. P.

21. Robert Burns, the celebrated Ayrshire poet.

Aug. 1. Mrs. Burrow, lady of Edward Burrow, esq. of Bromley, M. P.

—. Lieutenant-general sir Robert Pigot, bart.

—. Edward Blackett, esq. eldest son of sir Edward Blackett, bart.

5. Lady Gordon, wife of sir William Gordon, K. B.

8. Hon. Mrs. Marham, sister of the late lord Romney.

11. Delves Broughton, esq. eldest son of the rev. sir Thomas Broughton, bart.

12. Robert Beckford, esq. late M. P. for Leominster.

22. Richard Benyon, esq. M. P.

25. David earl of Mansfield.

28. John Askell Bucknall, esq. of Oxhey, Herts, uncle of lord Grimston.

31. Sir Joseph Brooke, bart. of Seaton, Yorkshire.

Sept. 13. Vice admiral John Ford.

14. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, of Coul, bart. major-general in the

service of the East India company.

20. Hon. Thomas Lyon, uncle to the earl of Strathmore.

21. Sir John Danvers, bart.

22. James lord Cranstoun.

24. Rev. and right hon. John earl of Glencairn.

27. Miss Emilia Lawson, daughter of the late sir Gilbert Lawson, bart.

30. Sir Archibald Grant, of Monymusk, bart.

Oct. 1. Rev. James Fordyce, D. D. author of *Sermons to Young Women*, &c.

6. Lady of sir Henry Dashwood, bart. of Kirtlington Park, Oxfordshire.

7. Rev. Thomas Reid, D. D. professor of Moral Philosophy in the university of Glasgow.

10. Juliana Maria, dowager queen of Denmark.

14. Sir John Hopkins, knt. alderman of Castle Baynard Ward.

15. Victor Amadeus Marie, king of Sardinia.

26. Sir Benjamin Sinclair, of Dúnbeath, bart.

27. Countess of Abergavenny.

—. Sir Michael Stewart, of Blackall, bart.

—. Hon. Peter John Bathurst, third son of earl Bathurst.

31. Archibald earl of Eglington.

Nov. 7. Mary duchess of Richmond.

16. Thomas Sommers Cocks, esq. brother of lord Sommers.

17. Catharine II. empress of Russia.

19. Hon. Mrs. North, lady of the bishop of Winchester.

—. Thomas marquis of Bath.

21. Edward Bearcroft, esq. chief justice of Chester.

—. Sir William Dick, bart.

21. Sir

21. Sir Edmund Head, bart.

— Hon. Mrs. Murray, mother to lord Elibank.

Dec. 17. William Picket, esq. alderman of London.

17. Lord John Cavendish, uncle to the duke of Devonshire.

19. Dr. William Buller, bishop of Exeter.

28. Prince Lewis, second son of the king of Prussia.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1796.*

Jan. 16. Major-general Prince Edward—a lieutenant-general.

Feb. 27. John earl of Bute—viscount Mountjoy, earl of Windsor, and marquis of the county of Bute.

20. Walter Farquhar, M. D.—a bart.

— Rear-admiral Hugh Cloberry Christian—K. B.

27. David Smyth, esq. of Methven—one of the commissioners of justiciary in Scotland.

— Allan Machononchies, esq. —one of the lords of session in Scotland.

March 10. Robert Liston, esq. ambassador to the Sublime Porte—envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

— Edward Thornton, esq.—secretary of legation to the said United States.

12. Earl Howe—admiral of the fleet and general of marines.

— Lord Bridport—vice-admiral of Great Britain.

— Hon. William Cornwallis—rear-admiral of Great Britain.

— Capt. sir Edward Pellew, knt.—a baronet.

18. Captain Charles Mitchel—a knt.

21. William Bellingham, esq.—a bart.

23. William Watson, esq.—a knt.

24. Samuel lord Hood—master of Greenwich hospital, and one of the commissioners or governors thereof.

April 6. George Pownall, esq.—a knt.

16. George earl of Stamford—baron Delamere and earl of Warrington.

29. Earl of Kinnoul and sir Grey Cooper, bart.—privy-counsellors.

30. John Coxe Hippisley, Whar-ton Amcotts, Edmund Cradock Hartopp, Thomas Turton and Robert Baker, esqrs.—baronets.

May 3. Earl of Leven and Melville—his majesty's commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

11. Francis d'Ivernois, esq.—a knt.

18. Charles earl of Northampton—lord-lieutenant of Northamptonshire.

14. Lieutenant-generals, sir D. Lindsay, bart. E. Maxwell Brown, Eyre Massey, George Warde, Flower Mocher, sir R. Sloper, K. B. Staates Long Morris, Ralph earl of Ross, sir R. Pigot, bart. sir J. Dal-ling, bart. Russel Manners, Thomas Hall, James Grant, sir W. Fawcett, K. B. William marquis of Lothian, K. T. sir C. Grey, K. B. sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, bart. George Morrison, Thomas Clarke, and Charles Rainsford—to be generals in the army.

Major-generals Anthony George Martin, Benjamin Gordon, hon. Thomas Bruce, George Ainslie, James Adeane, Edward Smith, Thomas Bland, Felix Buckley, Charles William Lyon, Henry Watson Powell, Thomas Stirling, George

George Garth and Richard Grenville—to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels, George Bernard, of the 84th foot, George Nugent, of the 85th foot, John Bowater, of the marines, Thomas Averne, of the marines, Thomas Duval, half-pay of the marines, James Barker, half-pay of the 56th foot, John Campbell, of the marines, Charles Tarrant of the engineers in Ireland, William Lewis, of the marines, John Barclay, of the marines, William Macarmick, half-pay, William Maddox Richardson, of the 64th foot, John Freke, half-pay of the 39th foot, Richard England, of the 24th foot, William Keppel, of a West India regiment, John H. Hutchinson, of the 94th foot, John Hamilton, of the late 81st foot, Alexander Hay, of the 100th foot, Thomas Goldie, of the late 82d foot, Robert Douglas of the 47th foot, Simon Frazer, of the 133d foot, Thomas Davies, of the artillery, Robert Manners, of the 3d foot guards, William Loftus, of the 24th dragoons, William Myers, of a West India regiment, Frederick George Mulcaster, of the engineers, Oliver Nicols, of a West India regiment, Alexander Mercer, of the engineers, George Hewitt, of the 92d foot, and James Hartley, of the 75th foot—to be major-generals in the army.

Colonels, Patrick Ross, John Erskine, Robert Stuart, Thomas Geils, Joseph Bilcliffe, Edward Ellerker, Gabriel Johnston, George Deare, William Sydenham, Edward Rawstorne, James Nichol, Charles Ware, and George Conyngham—to the major-generals in the East Indies only.

28. Charles lord Hawkesbury—earl of Liverpool.

28. Samuel baron Hood, of Ireland—viscount Hood of Great Britain.

31. Francis earl of Moray, of Ireland—baron Stuart of Castle Stuart, in Invernesshire.

— John earl of Galloway—baron Stewart of Garlies, in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright.

— James earl of Courtown of Ireland—baron Saltersford, in Cheshire.

— George earl of Macartney, in Ireland—baron Macartney of Parkhurst, in Surry.

— John Christian Burton, viscount Downe of Ireland—baron Dawnay of Cowick, Yorkshire.

— George viscount Middleton, of Ireland—baron Brodrick, of Peppes Harrow, Surry.

— Alexander baron Bridport of Ireland—baron Bridport of Great Britain.

— Sir John Rous, bart.—baron Rous.

— Sir Henry Gough Calthorpe, bart.—baron Calthorpe.

— Sir Peter Burrell, bart.—baron Gwydir.

— Sir Francis Basset, bart.—baron De Dunstanville.

— Edward Lascelles, esq.—baron Harewood.

— John Rolle, esq.—baron Rolle.

— John Campbell, esq.—lord Cawdor.

June 1. William Campbell, esq.—governor of the Bermuda Islands.

6. Edward Cooke, esq.—under secretary in the military department of the chief secretary's office in Ireland.

— William Elliot, esq.—under secretary in the civil department.

— Barry earl of Farnham and Sackville Hamilton, esq.—privy-counsellors of Ireland.

July

July 12. Lady Willoughby de Eresby—lady of the bedchamber to the princess of Wales.

13. Captain Thomas Williams of the royal navy—a knt.

16. Sir Joshua Vanneck, bart.—baron Huntingfield, of the kingdom of Ireland.

— Robert Smith, esq.—baron Carrington, of the kingdom of Ireland.

— Major-general Henry lord Mulgrave—governor of Scarborough Castle.

— Major-general Thomas Mulgrave—governor of Gravesend and Tilbury.

— Colonel William Goodday Strutt—deputy-governor of Stirling Castle.

20. Sir John Morshead, bart.—surveyor-general to the prince of Wales.

— Sir William Cuninghame, bart.—one of the state council to the prince of Wales, for the principality of Wales.

— Thomas Tyrwhitt, esq. private secretary to the prince of Wales—privy-seal and auditor of the duchy of Cornwall.

23. Francis James Jackson, esq.—ambassador to the Ottoman Port.

— Charles Medows Pierrepont—baron Pierrepont and viscount Newark.

Charles earl of Liverpool—to bear the arms of Liverpool, together with his family arms, by the express desire of the corporation of Liverpool.

— Hon. John Rodney—commissioner of the victualling-office.

— Marquis Townshend—governor of Jersey.

— General sir William Fawcett, K. B.—governor of Chelsea Hospital.

— Robert Cullen, esq.—lord of the session in Scotland.

— The prince of Wales—colonel of the 10th regiment of dragoons.

August 2. Generals John duke of Argyll, Jeffery lord Amhurst, Studholme Hodgson, George marquis Townshend, lord Frederick Cavendish, and Charles duke of Richmond—field-m Marshals.

20. Robert viscount Castlereagh—earl of Londonderry.

Sept. 1. Hon. Arthur Paget, secretary of embassy to the court of Madrid.

— Benjamin Garlike, esq.—secretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

21. John earl of Chatham—president of the council.

30. Earl of Kinnoul, and lord Dupplin, his son—lord Lyon king at arms for Scotland.

Oct. 10. General Henry Lawes earl of Carhampton—commander in chief of the forces in Ireland.

Nov. 3. Major-general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B.—colonel of the 2d regiment of dragoons.

— Major-general Welbore Ellis Doyle—colonel of the 53d regiment of foot.

— Major-general Gerard Lake—colonel of the 73d regiment of foot.

— General lord Adam Gordon—governor of Edinburgh Castle.

— Lieutenant-general Charles Rainsford—governor of Tinnmouth Castle.

30. John duke of Roxburgh—privy-counsellor.

30. Lieutenant-colonel Charles Green—governor of Grenada.

Dec. 3. Major-general John Graves Simcoe—governor of such parts of St. Domingo as are in the British possession.

3. Major-general the honourable Charles

Charles Stuart—general in Portugal only.

3. Major-general Simon Frazer—lieutenant-general in Portugal only.

3. Colonel sir James St. Clair Erskine, bart.—brigadier and adjutant-general in Portugal only.

3. Colonel William Anne Villetes—brigadier-general in Portugal only.

3. Brevet-major Robert Stuart—deputy adjutant-general and lieutenant-colonel in Portugal only.

— Lieutenant-colonel Hildebrand Oakes — quarter-general, with the rank of colonel in Portugal only.

15. William Elliot—minister plenipotentiary to the elector palatine, and minister to the diet of Ratisbon.

S H E R I F F S *appointed for the Year 1796.*

Berks, Michael Anthony, of Shippon.

Bedfordshire, George Brooks, of Flitwick.

Bucks, Thomas Hibbert, of Chalfont-house.

Cumberland, James Graham, of Barrock-lodge, esqrs.

Cheshire, the hon. Booth Grey, of Wincham.

Cambridge and Huntingdon, J. Gardener, of Chatteris.

Cornwall, John Enys, of Enys, esqrs.

Devonshire, sir Bouchier Wray, of Tawstock, bart.

Dorsetshire, Thomas Bowyer Bower, of Iwern-minster, esq.

Derbyshire, sir Robert Wilmot, of Osmaſton, bart.

Essex, Jackson Barwis, of Marſhalls.

Gloucestershire, Samuel Peach Peach, of Upper Torkington.

Hertfordshire, John Sowerby, of Lilley.

Herefordshire, Abraham Whitaker, of Liffon.

Kent, John Mumford, of Sutton at Hone.

Leicestershire, James Richards, of Ashby de la Zouch.

Lincolnshire, William Earl Welby, of Denton.

Monmouthshire, Henry Barnes, of Monmouth.

Northumberland, Adam Mansfield Lawson Decardonnell, of Chirton.

Northamptonshire, Allen Edward Young the younger, of Orillingbury.

Norfolk, Thomas Brown Evans, of Kirby Bedon.

Nottinghamshire, J. Wright, of Nottingham.

Oxfordshire, William Lowndes Stone, of Brightwell.

Rutlandshire, R. Tomlin, of Edith Weston.

Shropshire, Ralph Leake, of Longford.

Somersetshire, John Tyndale Warre, of Hestercombe.

Staffordshire, Henry Vernon, of Hilton.

Suffolk, John Clayton, of Sibton.

Southampton, H. Maxwell, of Ewshot-house.

Surry, Thomas Sutton, of Moulſey.

Sussex, John Fuller, of Rosehill.

Warwickshire, Edward Croxall, of Shustock.

Worcestershire, T. Hill the younger, of Broom.

Wilts, Gilbert Trowe Beckett Turner, of Penleigh.

Yorkshire, Godfrey Wentworth Wentworth, of Hickleton, esqrs.

SOUTH

S O U T H W A L E S.

N O R T H W A L E S.

Carmarthen, J. William Hughes
of Tregyth.

Pembroke, Nathaniel Philips, of
Slebetch.

Cardigan, Edward Warren Jones,
of Llanina.

Glamorgan, Herbert Hurst, of
Gabalva.

Brecon, P. Champion Crespigny,
of Tallyllyr.

Radnor, John Pritchard, of Doly-
velin, esqrs.

Merioneth, Thomas Lloyd, of
Cumhufion.

Anglesea, J. Morris Conway, of
Cellening.

Carnarvon, J. William Lenthall,
of Mainan.

Montgomery, John Dickin, of
Welch Pool.

Denbighshire, J. Hughes, of
Horseley-hall, esqrs.

Flint, Sir E. Pryce Lloyd, of
Pengwern-place, bart.

PUBLIC PAPERS.



Resolutions respecting a Negotiation with the French Republic, moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Grey, Feb. 15, 1796.

THAT an humble address be presented to his majesty, stating, that it is the wish of this house, that his majesty may graciously be pleased to take such steps as to his royal wisdom shall appear most proper, for communicating directly to the executive directory of the French republic his majesty's readiness to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of that government, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect.

The above motion was rejected by a majority of 189 to 50.

Resolutions concerning the Public Expenditure, moved in the House of Commons, on the 7th of May, 1796, by Mr. Grey.

Resolved — I. That at all times, and under all circumstances, it is the indispensable duty of the house of commons vigilantly to superintend the expenditure of the public money, and strictly to inquire into the application of the grants made

by parliament to the service for which they have been voted.

II. That by an act passed in every session of parliament, the particular sums granted for each particular service are specified, and the money that shall be paid into the exchequer is appropriated to their discharge; and that it is strictly directed that such aids and supplies shall not be applied to any use, intent, or purpose whatever; other than the uses and purposes mentioned in the said act.

III. That it appears from an account presented to this house on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 644,106l. 7s. 9d. was then due to the several colonels or commanding officers of his majesty's forces, for net off-reckonings and clothing for the years 1794 and 1795, although by acts passed in 1794 and 1795, money was granted to discharge the same; and although the said acts direct that the money so granted shall be applied in discharge of the same, and not otherwise.

IV. That it appears from an account presented to this House on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 146,900l. 12s. 4d. is now due to the general and staff-officers of his

his majesty's forces for the years 1793, 1794, and 1795; although by acts passed in the said years, money was granted for the payment of the said sum; and although the said acts direct that the said money, so granted, shall be applied in discharge of the said sum, and not otherwise.

V. That it appears from an account presented to this house on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 34,313l. 13s. 3d. is now due to the several governors, lieutenant-governors, and other officers of his majesty's forces and garrisons in Great Britain, and parts beyond the seas, for the years 1794 and 1795, although by acts passed in the said years, money was granted for discharging the said sum; and although the said acts direct that the money so granted shall be applied in discharging the said same, and not otherwise.

VI. That it appears from an account presented to this house on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 31,056l. 9s. 9d. due to the general staff officers of his majesty's forces for the year 1794, was paid out of grants for the service of the year 1796, although by an act passed in 1794, money was granted for discharging the said sum; and although the said act directs that the said money so granted shall be applied in discharging the same, and not otherwise.

VII. That it appears from an account produced to this house, on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 172,100l. due for off-reckonings to the 24th of December, 1794, and which remained due on the 21st of January, 1796, was discharged out of the vote of credit granted for the express purpose of defraying expences that may occur in 1796. By an act passed in 1794,

money was granted for discharging the said sum; and although the said act directs that the money so granted shall be applied in discharge of the same, and not otherwise.

VIII. That it appears to this house, that by an act passed in the 23d year of his majesty's reign, for the better regulation of the office of paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, it is enacted, that no money for the service of the army shall be issued from his majesty's exchequer to the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, or shall be placed or directed to be placed in his majesty's hands or possession; but the same shall be issued and directed to be paid to the governor and company of the bank of England, to be placed to his account.

IX. That it appears to this house, from an account produced on the 22d of April, 1796, that in open contempt and defiance of the said act, the sum of 430,200l. has been issued directly to the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, in exchequer bills on the vote of credit for 1796; and that a balance of 83,300l. was remaining unissued in his hands on the said 22d of April, 1796.

X. That it further appears to this house, that by the said act, the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces is directed and required to form his memorials and requisitions to the treasury, and to issue his drafts upon the governor and company of the bank of England, upon the 24th day of June, and 24th day of December, in every year, in equal payments, to such person or persons as have a regular assignment from the several colonels, lieutenant-colonels, commandants, majors, and captains commandant,

and captains, for the monies appropriated for the clothing of the non-commissioned officers and private men of his majesty's regular forces.

XI. That it appears to this house, that the sums of money appropriated for the clothing of his majesty's regular forces, and which, according to the provisions of the said act, ought to have been issued on the 24th of December, 1794, the 24th of June and 24th of December, 1795, had been diverted to other purposes and still remained due on the 1st of January, 1796, in open contempt and defiance of the said act.

XII. That it appears that an account is annually presented to this house, shewing how the money granted for the service of the preceding year has been disposed of, distinguished under the several heads, and the parts remaining unsatisfied with the deficiency thereupon.

XIII. That such account was intended to be what in its title it professes to be, a real account, shewing how the money given for the service of the year had actually been disposed of, in order that the house of commons might be informed of the state of the public expenditure, and satisfy themselves as to the application of the money voted, to those services for which it had been granted by them.

XIV. That an account, of the above description, has been presented to this house, in each of the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, in which the money granted for the services of each year is stated to have been applied to the services for which it was voted by parliament, although it now appears from accounts since presented to this house, that the sum of 644,106l.

granted for off-reckonings for the year 1794, and 1795; the sum of 146,900l. granted for the pay of the general and staff-officers of his majesty's forces for 1793, 1794, and 1795; the sum of 34,313l. granted for the pay of the several governors, lieutenant-governors, and other officers of his majesty's forces in Great Britain and parts beyond the seas, for the years 1794 and 1795, and severally stated to have been disposed of for those services, still remain unsatisfied.

XV. That in the instances above mentioned, his majesty's ministers have been guilty of presenting false accounts, calculated to mislead the judgment of this house, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a gross misapplication of the public money.

The above resolutions were negatived by a majority of 209 to 38.

Resolutions concerning the Public Expenditure, moved in the House of Lords, on the 2d of May, 1796, by the Marquis of Lansdown.

That as we see no effectual steps taken to realise those measures of reform, for which the present ministers, at their entrance into office, stood strongly pledged to the public, or those earnestly recommended in the reports upon the table, by two boards of commissioners, both appointed by parliament,

It is incumbent on this house to inquire into the cause of so extraordinary an omission, as well as,

Whether any new offices have since been created?

Whether any old salaries have been increased on slight pretences?

Whether any salaries have been granted

granted for special purposes, and continued, though the reasons for them have ceased?

Whether any warrants for beneficial grants have been directed? And on the whole,

Whether the public expences have increased beyond the supplies annually granted by parliament?

This, which would be a duty incumbent upon parliament, were the existing war ever so necessary, just, and successful, is become most urgent and indispensable, in a contest at once bloody and expensive beyond example, without plan or object, except such objects as the misconduct of the war first created; attended with a waste of money profuse almost beyond imagination; which has already reduced our trade to a dependence on the very warfare which is fundamentally destroying it, and has so exhausted our resources, as to drive us to the wretched expedient of reviving taxes which were a few years since repealed, upon the ground of thereby increasing the revenue—an effect which that repeal produced, and a policy which must, therefore, on the return of peace, be again resorted to, and which will consequently bring with it the necessity of finding new taxes, if new and productive taxes can be invented in our then exhausted state.

In a situation so alarming, and so manifestly tending to destroy the confidence of the people in parliament, which (as every reflecting man must have, with deep concern, observed) has for some years past been rapidly on the decline; it behoves parliament, by a timely revival of its ancient energy and integrity, to convince the people that their constitutional guardians are

awake to the common danger, and are determined to come forward with such firm measures of public order and reform, as will effectually relieve the subject, and remedy evils, which, if still suffered to accumulate, will be past all remedy, and must inevitably terminate in public confusion.

The above resolutions were negatived by a majority of 104 to 12.

Resolutions moved in the House of Commons, on the 10th of May, 1796, by Mr. Fox, for an Address to his Majesty, on the Conduct of Administration, in the Commencement and Progress of the War.

That an address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to offer to his royal consideration, that judgment which his faithful commons have formed, and now deem it their duty to, declare, concerning the conduct of his ministers in the commencement, and during the progress of the present unfortunate war. As long as it was possible for us to doubt from what source the national distresses have arisen, we have, in times of difficulty and peril, thought ourselves bound to strengthen his majesty's government, for the protection of his subjects, by our confidence and support. But our duties as his majesty's counsellors, and as the representatives of his people, will no longer permit us to dissemble our deliberate and determined opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country is now subjected, have arisen from the misconduct of the king's ministers, and are likely to subsist and increase, as long as the same principles which have hitherto guided these

these ministers, shall continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain.

It is painful for us to remind his majesty of the situation of his dominions at the beginning of the war, and of the high degree of prosperity to which the skill and industry of his subjects had, under the safeguard of a free constitution, raised the British empire, since it can only fill his mind with the melancholy recollection of prosperity abused, and of opportunities of securing permanent advantages wantonly rejected. Nor shall we presume to wound his majesty's benevolence, by dwelling on the fortunate consequences which might have arisen from the mediation of Great Britain, between the powers then at war, which might have ensured the permanence of our prosperity, while it preserved all Europe from the calamities which it has since endured. A mediation which this kingdom was too well fitted to carry on with vigour and dignity, by its power, its character, and the nature of its government, happily removed at an equal distance from the contending extremes of licentiousness and tyranny.

From this neutral and impartial system of policy his majesty's ministers were induced to depart by certain measures of the French government, of which they complained as injurious and hostile to this country. With what justice those complaints were made, we are not now called upon to determine, since it cannot be pretended, that the measures of France were of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of adjustment by negotiation; and it is impossible to deny, that the power which shuts up the channel of accommodation, must be the real aggressor in war.

To reject negotiation is to determine on hostilities; and whatever may have been the nature of the points in question between us and France, we cannot but pronounce the refusal of such an authorized communication with that country as might have amicably terminated the dispute, to be the true and immediate cause of the rupture which followed.

Nor can we forbear to remark, that the pretences under which his majesty's ministers then haughtily refused such authorized communication, have been sufficiently exposed by their own conduct, in since submitting to a similar intercourse with the same government.

The misguided policy, which thus rendered the war inevitable, appears to have actuated the ministers in their determination to continue it at all hazards. At the same time we cannot but observe, that the obstinacy with which they have adhered to their desperate system, is not more remarkable than their versatility in the pretexts upon which they have justified it. At one period the strength, at another the weakness of the enemy have been urged as motives for continuing the war: the successes, as well as the defeats of the allies, have contributed only to prolong the contest; and hope and despair have equally served to involve us still deeper in the horrors of war, and to entail upon us an endless train of calamities.

After the original professed objects had been obtained by the expulsion of the French armies from the territories of Holland and the Austrian Netherlands, we find his majesty's ministers, influenced either by arrogance or by insatuated ambition and the vain hope

of conquests, which, if realized, could never compensate to the nation for the blood and treasure by which they must be obtained, rejecting, unheard, the overtures made by the executive council of France, at a period when the circumstances were so eminently favourable to his majesty and his allies, that there is every reason to suppose that a negotiation, commenced at such a juncture, must have terminated in an honourable and advantageous peace: to the prospects arising from such an opportunity, they preferred a blind and obstinate perseverance in a war which could scarce have any remaining object but the unjustifiable purpose of imposing upon France a government disapproved of by the inhabitants of that country; and such was the infatuation of these ministers, that, far from being able to frame a wise and comprehensive system of policy, they even rejected the few advantages that belonged to their own unfortunate scheme. The general existence of a design to interpose in the internal government of France was too manifest, not to rouse into active hostility the national zeal of that people; but their particular projects were too equivocal to attract the confidence, or procure the co-operation of those Frenchmen who were disaffected to the government of their country. The nature of these plans was too clear not to provoke formidable enemies, but their extent was too ambiguous to conciliate useful friends.

We beg leave farther to represent to your majesty, that at subsequent periods your ministers have suffered the most favourable opportunities to escape of obtaining an honourable and advantageous

pacification. They did not avail themselves, as it was their duty to have done, of the unbroken strength of the general confederacy which had been formed against France, for the purpose of giving effect to overtures for negotiation. They saw the secession of several powerful states from that confederacy, they suffered it to dissolve without an effort for the attainment of a general pacification. They loaded their country with the odium of having engaged in a combination, charged with the most questionable and unjustifiable views, without availing themselves of that combination, for procuring favourable conditions of peace. That, from this fatal neglect, the progress of hostilities has only served to establish the evils which might certainly have been avoided by negotiation, but which are now confirmed by the events of the war. We have felt that the unjustifiable and impracticable attempt to establish royalty in France by force, has only proved fatal to its unfortunate supporters. We have seen with regret the subjugation of Holland, and the aggrandisement of the French republic; and we have to lament the alteration in the state of Europe, not only from the successes of the French, but from the formidable acquisitions of some of the allied powers on the side of Poland, acquisitions, alarming from their magnitude, but still more so from the manner in which they have been made, thus fatally learning that the war has tended alone to establish the very evils, for the prevention of which it was avowedly undertaken.

That we now therefore approach his majesty, to assure him that his faithful commons heard, with the

sincereſt ſatisfaction, his majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage of the 8th of December, wherein his majeſty acquaints them, that the criſis which was depending at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, had led to ſuch an order of things, as would induce his majeſty to meet any diſpoſition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earneſt deſire to give it the full-eſt and ſpeedieſt effect, and to conclude a general treaty of peace, whenever it could be effected on juſt and equitable terms for himſelf and his allies.

That from this gracious communication, they were led to hope for a ſpeedy termination to this moſt diſaſtrous conteſt; but that, with ſurpriſe and ſorrow, they have now reaſon to apprehend that three months were ſuffered to elap-e before any ſteps were taken towards a negotiation, or any overtures made by his majeſty's ſervants.

With equal ſurpriſe and concern they have obſerved, when a fair and open conduct was ſo peculiarly incumbent on his majeſty's miniſters, conſidering the prejudices and ſuſpicions which their previous conduct muſt have excited in the minds of the French; that inſtead of adopting that open and manly manner which became the wiſdom, the character, and dignity of the Britiſh nation, they had recourſe to a ſtyle calculated rather to excite ſuſpicion, than to inſpire confidence in the enemy. Every expreſſion which might be conſtrued into an acknowledgment of the French republic, or even an alluſion to its forms, was ſtudiouſly avoided; and the miniſter, through whom this overture was made, was in a moſt unprecedented manner inſtructed to declare, that he had

no authority to enter into any negotiation or diſcuſſion relative to the objects of the propoſed treaty.

That it is with pain we reflect that the alacrity of his majeſty's miniſters in apparently breaking off this incipient negotiation, as well as the ſtrange and unuſual manner in which it was announced to the miniſters of the various powers of Europe, affords a very unfavourable comment on their reluctance in entering upon it, and is calculated to make the moſt injurious impreſſion reſpecting their ſincerity on the people of France.

On a review of ſo many inſtances of groſs and flagrant miſconduct, proceeding from the ſame pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obſtinacy to the ſame miſchievous ends, we deem ourſelves bound in duty to his majeſty, and to our conſtituents, to declare that we ſee no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a ſyſtem radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our preſent calamities.

Unleſs his majeſty's miniſters ſhall, from a real conviction of paſt errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon ſuch a ſyſtem, we can neither give any credit to the ſincerity of their profeſſions of a wiſh for peace, nor re-poſe any confidence in them for conducting a negotiation to a proſperous iſſue. Odious as they are to an enemy who wiſh, ſtill to believe them ſecretly to cheriſh thoſe unprincipled and chimerical projects which they have been compelled in public to diſavow, contemptible in the eyes of all

Europe,

Europe, from the display of infincerity which has marked their conduct, our only hopes rest on his majesty's royal wisdom and unquestioned affection for his people, that he will be graciously pleased to adopt maxims of policy more suited to the circumstances of the times than those by which his majesty's ministers appear to have been governed, and to direct his servants to take measures, which, by differing essentially, as well in their tendency as in the principle upon which they are founded, from those which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country some reasonable hope, at no very distant period, of the establishment of a peace suitable to the interests of Great Britain, and likely to preserve the tranquillity of Europe.

This motion was negatived by a majority of 216 to 42.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, May 19, 1796.

My lords and gentlemen,

The public business being now concluded, I think it proper to close this session, and at the same time to acquaint you with my intention of giving immediate directions for calling a new parliament.

The objects which have engaged your attention during the present session, have been of peculiar importance; and the measures which you have adopted, have manifested your continued regard to the safety and welfare of my people.

The happiest effects have been experienced from the provisions which you have made for repressing sedition and civil tumult, and for restraining the progress of prin-

ciples subversive of all established government.

The difficulties arising to my subjects from the high price of corn, have formed a principal object of your deliberation; and your assiduity in investigating that subject, has strongly proved your anxious desire to omit nothing which could tend to the relief of my people, in a matter of such general concern. I have the greatest satisfaction in observing that the pressure of those difficulties is in a great degree removed.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I must, in a more particular manner, return you my thanks for the liberal supplies which you have granted to meet the exigencies of the war.—While I regret the extent of those demands which the present circumstances necessarily occasion, it is a great consolation to me to observe the increasing resources by which the country is enabled to support them. These resources are particularly manifested in the state of the different branches of the revenue; in the continued and progressive state of our navigation and commerce; in the steps which have been taken for maintaining and improving public credit, and in the additional provision which has been made for the reduction of the national debt.

My lords and gentlemen,

I shall ever reflect with heartfelt satisfaction on the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness which have appeared in all your proceedings, since I first met you in this place. Called to deliberate on the public affairs of your country in a period of foreign and domestic tran-

tranquillity, you had the happiness of contributing to raise this kingdom to a state of unexampled prosperity. You were suddenly compelled to relinquish the full advantages of this situation, in order to resist the unprovoked aggression of an enemy whose hostility was directed against all civil society, but more particularly against the happy union of order and liberty established in these kingdoms. The nature of the system introduced into France, afforded to that country, in the midst of its calamities, the means of exertion beyond the experience of any former time. Under the pressure of the new and unprecedented difficulties arising from such a contest, you have shewn yourselves worthy of all the blessings that you inherit. By your counsels and conduct, the constitution has been preserved inviolate against the designs of foreign and domestic enemies; the honour of the British name has been asserted; the rank and station which we have hitherto held in Europe has been maintained; and the decided superiority of our naval power has been established in every quarter of the world.

You have omitted no opportunity to prove your just anxiety for the re-establishment of general peace on secure and honourable terms; but you have at the same time rendered it manifest to the world, that while our enemies shall persist in dispositions incompatible with that object, neither the resources nor the spirit of Englishmen will be wanting to the support of a just cause, and to the defence of all their dearest interests.

A due sense of this conduct is deeply impressed on my heart. I trust that all my subjects are animated with the same sentiment, and

that their loyalty and public spirit will ensure the continuance of that union and mutual confidence between me and my parliament, which best promote the true dignity and glory of my crown, and the genuine happiness of my people.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, October 6, 1796.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is a peculiar satisfaction to me, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to recur to your advice, after the recent opportunity which has been given for collecting the sense of my people, engaged in a difficult and arduous contest, for the preservation of all that is most dear to us.

I have omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe, and to secure for the future the general tranquillity. The steps which I have taken for this purpose have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the issue of which must either produce the desirable end of a just, honourable, and solid peace for us, and for our allies; or must prove, beyond dispute, to what cause alone the prolongation of the calamities of war must be ascribed.

I shall immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object; and it is my anxious wish that this measure may lead to the restoration of general peace: but you must be sensible that nothing can so much contribute to give effect to this desire, as your manifesting that we possess both the determination and the resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the farther efforts

forts with which we may have to contend.

You will feel this peculiarly necessary at a moment when the enemy has openly manifested the intention of attempting a descent on these kingdoms. It cannot be doubted what would be the issue of such an enterprize; but it befits your wisdom to neglect no precautions that may either preclude the attempt, or secure the speediest means of turning it to the confusion and ruin of the enemy.

In reviewing the events of the year, you will have observed that, by the skill and exertions of my navy, our extensive and increasing commerce has been protected to a degree almost beyond example, and the fleets of the enemy have, for the greatest part of the year, been blocked up in their own ports.

The operations in the East and West Indies have been highly honourable to the British arms, and productive of great national advantage; and the valour and good conduct of my forces, both by sea and land, have been eminently conspicuous.

The fortune of war on the continent has been more various; and the progress of the French armies threatened, at one period, the utmost danger to all Europe; but from the honourable and dignified perseverance of my ally the emperor, and from the intrepidity, discipline, and invincible spirit of the Austrian forces, under the auspicious conduct of the archduke Charles, such a turn has lately been given to the course of the war, as may inspire a well-grounded confidence that the final result of the campaign will prove more disastrous to the enemy than its commencement and progress for a time were favourable to their hopes.

The apparently hostile dispositions and conduct of the court of Madrid have led to discussions, of which I am not yet enabled to acquaint you with the final result; but I am confident, that whatever may be their issue, I shall have given to Europe a further proof of my moderation and forbearance; and I can have no doubt of your determination to defend against every aggression the dignity, rights, and interests, of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I rely on your zeal and public spirit for such supplies as you may think necessary for the service of the year. It is a great satisfaction to me to observe, that, notwithstanding the temporary embarrassments which have been experienced, the state of the commerce, manufactures, and revenue of the country, proves the real extent and solidity of our resources, and furnishes you with such means as must be equal to any exertions which the present crisis may require.

My lords and gentlemen,

The distresses, which were in the last year experienced from the scarcity of corn, are now, by the blessing of God, happily removed, and an abundant harvest affords the pleasing prospect of relief in that important article to the labouring classes of the community. Our internal tranquillity has also continued undisturbed; the general attachment of my people to the British constitution has appeared on every occasion; and the endeavours of those who wished to introduce anarchy and confusion into this country, have been repressed by the energy and wisdom of the laws.

To defeat all the designs of our enemies, to restore to my people the blessings of a secure and honourable

able peace, to maintain inviolate their religion, laws, and liberty, and to deliver down unimpaired to the latest posterity the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, is the constant wish of my heart, and the uniform end of all my actions.— In every measure that can conduce to these objects, I am confident of receiving the firm, zealous, and affectionate support of my parliament.

Address of the House of Commons to the King, moved by Lord Morpeth.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble and unanimous thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We are truly sensible of your majesty's paternal regard for the interest of your subjects, in having omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe, and to secure for the future the general tranquillity; and we rejoice to learn, that the steps which have been taken for this purpose have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, which, we doubt not, will be so conducted on your majesty's part, as either to produce the desirable end of a just, honourable, and solid peace, for us and for our allies, or to prove, beyond dispute, to what cause alone the prolongation of the calamities of war must be ascribed.

We cordially join with your majesty in an anxious wish that the step, which your majesty proposes to take, of sending a person to Paris

with full powers to treat, may lead to the restoration of general peace; but we are fully sensible that nothing can so much contribute to give effect to this desire, as manifesting that we possess both the determination and the resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the further efforts with which we may have to contend; and we must indeed feel this to be peculiarly necessary, when an intention has been openly manifested of attempting a descent on these kingdoms; and, although it cannot be doubted what would be the issue of such an enterprize, we deem it an indispensable duty to neglect no precautions that may either preclude the attempt, or secure the speediest means of turning it to the confusion and ruin of the enemy.

In reviewing the events of the year, we have not failed to observe, with a just satisfaction, that, by the skill and exertions of your majesty's navy, our extensive and increasing commerce has been protected to a degree almost beyond example; and that the fleets of the enemy have, for the greatest part of the year, been blocked up in their own ports; and we have seen with pleasure the operations in the East and West Indies, which, while they have been productive of great national advantage, have also displayed the valour and good conduct of your majesty's forces, both by sea and land, in a degree highly honourable to the British arms.

Having contemplated with anxious solicitude the various fortune of war on the continent, and the danger with which all Europe was at one time threatened, we reflect with proportionable admiration and joy on the honourable and dignified perseverance of your majesty's ally the emperor, and on the intrepidity,

plidity, discipline, and invincible spirit of the Austrian forces, under the auspicious conduct of the archduke Charles; and we entertain the most sanguine hope that, from the turn lately given to the course of the war, the final result of the campaign may prove more disastrous to the enemy than its commencement and progress for a time were favourable to their hopes.

While we regret the hostile dispositions and conduct on the part of the court of Madrid, which have led to the discussions now depending, we entertain a just confidence, that, whenever your majesty shall be enabled to acquaint us with the final result, a farther proof will be given to Europe of the temper and prudence which govern your majesty's proceedings; and we cannot too strongly express to your majesty our fixed determination to support your majesty with our lives and fortunes, in defending against every aggression the dignity, rights, and interests, of the British empire.

We beg to assure your majesty, that you may at all times rely on the zeal and affection of your faithful commons for such supplies as may be necessary for the service of the year; and that it must afford us the most cordial satisfaction to find, that, notwithstanding the temporary embarrassments which have been experienced, the state of the commerce, manufactures, and revenue of the country, proves the real extent and solidity of the public resources, and will furnish such means as may be equal to the great and vigorous exertions which the present crisis peculiarly requires.

We acknowledge, with the utmost thankfulness and satisfaction, that the distresses, which were in the last year experienced from the scarcity of corn, are now, by the

blessing of God, happily removed, and that an abundant harvest affords the pleasing prospect of relief in that important article to the labouring classes of the community; and with equal satisfaction we reflect on the uninterrupted continuance of our internal tranquillity, on the general attachment of your majesty's faithful subjects to the British constitution, and on the happy effects produced by the energy and wisdom of the laws, in repressing the endeavours of those who wished to introduce anarchy and confusion into the country.

We beseech your majesty to believe that we are deeply impressed with the gracious and paternal expressions of your majesty's constant solicitude for the glory and happiness of your kingdoms; and we are persuaded that your majesty may at all times rely on the firm, zealous, and affectionate support of your parliament in those exertions which are directed to the great object of defeating all the designs of our enemies, of restoring to the people the blessings of a secure and honourable peace, and of delivering down unimpaired to the latest posterity those civil and religious blessings, by which these kingdoms have been so eminently distinguished, under the protection of your majesty's just and auspicious government.

*The Address of the House of Lords,
moved by Earl Bathurst.*

Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your
majesty's

majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We acknowledge with gratitude your majesty's gracious condescension in acquainting us that you have omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe, and to secure for the future the general tranquillity; and that the steps which you have taken for the purpose have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the issue of which must produce the desirable end of a just, honourable, and solid peace, for us and for our allies, or must prove, beyond dispute, to what cause alone the prolongation of the calamities of war must be ascribed.

We entirely concur in the anxious wish expressed by your majesty, that the step which your majesty proposes to take of sending a person to Paris, with full power to treat for the restoration of a general peace, may lead to the accomplishment of that object. But we are fully sensible that nothing can so much contribute to give effect to this desire, as our manifesting that we possess both the determination and the resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the further efforts with which we may have to contend.

We feel this peculiarly necessary at a moment when the enemy has openly manifested the intention of attempting a descent on these kingdoms. We are fully sensible that it cannot be doubted what would be the issue of such an enterprize; but we shall, nevertheless, think it our duty to take every precaution that may either elude the attempt, or secure the speediest means of turning it to the confusion and ruin of the enemy.

In reviewing the events of the

year, we have great pleasure in observing, that, by the skill and exertions of your majesty's navy, the extensive and increasing commerce of the country has been protected to a degree almost beyond example, and that the fleets of the enemy have, for the greatest part of the year, been blocked up in their own ports; that the operations in the East and West Indies have been highly honourable to the British arms, and productive of great national advantage; and that the valour and good conduct of your majesty's forces, both by sea and land, have been eminently conspicuous.

We have also observed, with the utmost satisfaction, that although the fortune of war on the continent has been more various, and although the progress of the French armies threatened the utmost danger to all Europe, yet, from the honourable and dignified perseverance of your majesty's ally the emperor, and from the intrepidity, discipline, and invincible spirit of the Austrian forces, under the auspicious conduct of his royal highness the archduke Charles, such a turn has lately been given to the course of the war, as may inspire a well-grounded confidence that the final result of the campaign will prove more disastrous to the enemy than its commencement was for a time favourable to their hopes.

We rely with the utmost confidence on your majesty's gracious assurances, that whenever your majesty shall be enabled to acquaint us with the final result of the discussions to which the apparently hostile disposition and conduct of the court of Madrid has given rise, they will afford to Europe a further proof of your majesty's moderation and forbearance; and we entreat your majesty to be assured that

we

We are firmly determined to defend against every aggression the dignity, rights, and interest of the British empire.

It has given us infinite pleasure to find that the distresses, which were in the last year experienced from the scarcity of corn, are now, by the blessings of God, happily removed, and an abundant harvest affords the pleasing prospect of relief in that important article to the labouring classes of the community; that our internal tranquillity has also continued undisturbed; that the general attachment of the people to the British constitution has appeared on every occasion; and that the endeavours of those who wished to introduce anarchy and confusion into this country have been repressed by the energy and wisdom of the laws.

Persuaded as we cannot but be, from long experience of your majesty's virtues, that to defeat all the designs of your enemies,—to restore to your people the blessings of security and honourable peace,—to maintain inviolate their religion, laws, and liberty,—and to deliver down unimpaired to the latest posterity the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, is the constant wish of your majesty's heart, and the uniform end of all your majesty's actions; permit us most humbly to assure your majesty, that in every measure that can conduce to these objects, your majesty may rely upon our firm, zealous, and affectionate support, which we consider as a duty which we owe to your majesty and to our country.

Amendment to the above Address, moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, and negatived without a Division.

That this house, strongly im-

pressed with the justice and necessity of the present war, carried on for the maintenance of civil and moral order in the world, and for securing the balance of power in Europe, and the independence of all states, will continue to give his majesty a vigorous support in asserting the general cause of his majesty and his allies, and for preserving the good faith, dignity, and honour of the crown, in full assurance that no steps shall be taken inconsistent with those principles, or with the future safety and prosperity of these kingdoms: and should the apparently hostile disposition of the court of Madrid, instigated by the intrigues and menaces of the common enemy, put his majesty under the necessity of repelling force by force, his majesty may rely on the determination of this house to give his majesty the most ample support in defending against every aggression the dignity, rights, and interests, of the British empire.

Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam against the Address of the House of Lords to the Throne, on his Majesty's Speech, announcing the opening of a Negotiation for Peace with the French Republic.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because, by this address, unamended as it stands, the sanction of the lords is given to a series of measures, as ill-judged with regard to their object, as they are derogatory from the dignity of his majesty's crown, and from the honour of this kingdom. The reiteration of solicitations for peace to a species of power, with whose very existence all fair and equitable accommodation is incompatible, can have no other effect than that which it is notorious all our solicitations have

have hitherto had. They must increase the arrogance and ferocity of the common enemy of all nations; they must fortify the credit, and fix the authority of an odious government over an enslaved people; they must impair the confidence of all other powers in the magnanimity, constancy, and fidelity of the British councils; and it is much to be apprehended they will inevitably tend to break the spring of that energy, and to lower that spirit which has characterised in former times this high-minded nation, and which, far from sinking under misfortune, has even risen with the difficulties and dangers in which our country has been involved.

2dly, Because no peace, such as may be capable of recruiting the strength, economizing the means, augmenting the resources, and providing for the safety of this kingdom, and its inseparable connections and dependencies, can be had with the usurped power now exercising authority in France, considering the description, the character, and the conduct, of those who compose that government; the methods by which they have obtained their power; the policy by which they hold it, and the maxims they have adopted, openly professed, and uniformly acted on, towards the destruction of all governments not formed on their model and subservient to their domination.

3dly, Because the idea that this kingdom is competent to defend itself, its laws, liberties, and religion, under the general subjugation of all Europe, is presumptuous in the extreme, contradictory to the supposed motives for our present eager solicitations for peace, and is certainly contrary to the standing policy both of state and commerce,

by which Great Britain has hitherto flourished.

4thly, Because, while the common enemy exercises his power over the several states of Europe in the way we have seen, it is impossible long to preserve our trade, or, what cannot exist without it, our naval power. This hostile system seizes on the keys of the dominions of these powers, without any consideration of their friendship, their enmity, or their neutrality; prescribes laws to them as to conquered provinces; mulcts and fines them at pleasure; forces them, without any particular quarrel, into direct hostility with this kingdom, and expels us from such ports and markets as she thinks fit; insomuch that (Europe remaining under its present slavery) there is no harbour which we can enter without her permission, either in a commercial or a naval character. This general interdict cannot be begged off; we must resist it by our power, or we are already in a state of vassalage.

5thly, Because, whilst this usurped power shall continue thus constituted, and thus disposed, no security whatever can be hoped for in our colonies and plantations, those invaluable sources of our national wealth and our naval power. This war has shewn that the power prevalent in France, by intentionally disorganizing the plantation system (which France had in common with all other European nations), and by inverting the order and relations therein established, has been able, with a naval force altogether contemptible, and with very inconsiderable succours from Europe, to baffle in a great measure the most powerful armament ever sent from this country into the West Indies, and at an expense hitherto unparalleled, and ~~has~~ ^{the}

the force of example, and by the effects of her machinations, produced, at little or no expence to herself either of blood or treasure, universal desolation and ruin, by the general destruction of every thing valuable and necessary for cultivation, throughout several of our islands, lately among the most flourishing and productive. The new system, by which these things have been effected, leaves our colonies equally endangered in peace as in war. It is therefore with this general system (of which the West India scheme is but a ramification), that all ancient establishments are essentially at war for the sake of self-preservation.

6thly, Because it has been declared from the throne, and in effect the principle has been adopted by parliament, that there was no way likely to obtain a peace, commonly safe and honourable, but through the ancient and legitimate government long established in France. That government, in its lawful succession, has been solemnly recognized, and assistance and protection as solemnly promised to those Frenchmen who should exert themselves in its restoration. The political principle upon which this recognition was made, is very far from being weakened by the conduct of the newly-invented government. Nor are our obligations of good faith, pledged on such strong motives of policy to those who have been found in their allegiance, dissolved, nor can they be so, until fairly-directed efforts have been made to secure this great fundamental point. None have yet been employed with the smallest degree of vigour and perseverance.

7thly, Because the example of the great change made by the usurpation in the moral and political

world (more dangerous than all her conquests), is, by the present procedure, confirmed in all its force. It is the first successful example furnished by history of the subversion of the ancient government of a great country, and of all its laws, orders, and religion, by the corruption of mercenary armies, and by the seduction of a multitude bribed by confiscation to sedition, in defiance of the sense, and to the entire destruction of almost the whole proprietary body of the nation. The fatal effects of this example must be felt in every country. New means, new arms, new prettexts, are furnished to ambition; and new persons are intoxicated with that poison.

8thly, Because our eagerness in suing for peace may induce the persons exercising power in France erroneously to believe, that we act from necessity, and are unable to continue the war; a persuasion which, in the event of an actual peace, will operate as a temptation to them to renew that conduct which brought on the present war; neither shall we have any of the usual securities in peace. In their treaties they do not acknowledge the obligation of that law, which for ages has been common to all Europe. They have not the same sentiments nor the same ideas of their interest in the conservation of peace, which have hitherto influenced all regular governments; they do not in the same manner feel public distress, or the private misery of their subjects; they will not find the same difficulty on the commencement of a new war, to call their whole force into sudden action, where, by the law, every citizen is a soldier, and the person and properties of all are liable at once to arbitrary requisitions. On

the other hand, no attempt has been made to shew in what manner, whether by alliances, by force, military or naval, or by the improvement and augmentation of our finances, we shall be better able to resist their hostile attempts, after the peace, than at the present hour. If we remain armed, we cannot reap the ordinary advantage of peace in œconomy; if we disarm, we shall be subject to be driven into a new war, under every circumstance of disadvantage, unless we now prepare ourselves to suffer with patience and submission whatever insults, indignities, and injuries, we may receive from that insolent, domineering, and unjust power.

9thly, Because the inability of humbling ourselves again to solicit peace in a manner, which is a recognition of the French republic, contrary to all the principles of the war, the danger of peace, if obtained, the improbability of its duration, and the perseverance of the enemy throughout the interval of peace in their mischievous system, is not conjecture, but certainty. It has been avowed by the actual governors of France, at the very moment when they had before them our application for a passport. They chose that moment for publishing a state paper, breathing the most hostile mind. In it they stimulate and goad us by language the most opprobrious and offensive. They frankly tell us, that it is not our interest to desire peace, for that they regard peace only as the opportunity of preparing fresh means for the annihilation of our naval power. By making peace they do not conceal that it will be their object — “to wrest from us our maritime preponderancy — to re-establish what they invidiously call the free-

dom of the seas; to give a new impulse to the Spanish, Dutch, and French marines; and to carry to the highest degree of prosperity the industry and commerce of those nations,” which they state to be our rivals, which they charge us with “unjustly attacking, when we can no longer dupe,” and which they throughout contemplate as their own dependencies, united in arms, and furnishing resources for our future humiliation and destruction. They resort to that well known and constant allusion of their’s to ancient history, by which representing “France as modern Rome, and England as modern Carthage,” they accuse us of national perfidy, and hold England up “as an object to be blotted out from the face of the earth.” They falsely assert that the English nation supports with impatience the continuance of the war, and has extorted all his majesty’s overtures for peace “by complaints and reproaches;” and, above all, not only in that passage, but throughout their official note, they shew the most marked adherence to that insidious and intolerable policy of their system, by which they, from the commencement of the revolution, sought to trouble and subvert all the governments in Europe. They studiously disjoin the English nation from its sovereign.

10thly, Because, having acted throughout the course of this awful and momentous crisis upon the principles herein expressed, and after having, on the present occasion, not only fully reconsidered, and jealously examined their soundness and validity, but gravely attended to, and scrupulously weighed the merits of all those arguments which have been offered to induce a dereliction of them, conscientiously

ously

ously adhering to, and firmly abiding by them, I thus solemnly record them, in justification of my own conduct, and in discharge of the duty I owe to my king, my country, and the general interests of civil society.

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

Proceedings in the House of Commons, Dec. 14, 1796, respecting a Vote of Censure on Administration, for issuing certain Sums of Money, without the Consent of Parliament.

On the 14th of December, Mr. Fox made the following motion in the house of commons:

“That his majesty’s ministers having authorized and directed, at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, the issue of several sums of money for the service of his imperial majesty, and also for the service of the army under the prince de Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and the trust reposed in them, and have thereby violated the constitutional privileges of this house.”

Mr. Bragge moved the following amendment to Mr. Fox’s motion. He proposed to leave out from the first word *that*, and to insert,

“the measure of advancing the several sums of money, which appear, from the accounts presented to the house in this session of parliament, to have been issued for the service of the emperor, though not to be drawn into precedent but upon occasions of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty’s ministers by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences which have proved highly ad-

vantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe.”

Mr. Fox proposed a second amendment, to insert after the word *credit*, in the first proposed amendment, the words,

“It being the opinion of this house, that certain of the sums stated in the papers laid before this house, to have been issued on the authority of the vote of credit, were not paid on the said authority.” (Negatived.)

Mr. Fox proposed a third amendment, to add at the end of the first proposed amendment, the words,

“Although no documents have been laid before the house to prove either the necessity or the expediency of the said measure.” (Negatived.)

On Mr. Fox’s original motion the house divided, and it was rejected by a majority of 285 to 81.

It was resolved, finally, “That the measure of advancing the several sums of money, which appear from the accounts presented to the house in this session of parliament to have been issued for the service of the emperor, though not to be drawn into precedent but upon occasion of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty’s ministers by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences which have proved highly advantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe.”

His Majesty’s Message to the House of Commons, Dec. 17, 1796.

GEORGE R.

His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that

(G 2)

he

he is at present engaged in concerting measures with his allies, in order to be fully prepared for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war, if the failure of his majesty's earnest endeavours to effect a general peace, on secure and honourable terms, should unfortunately render another campaign unavoidable. And his majesty will not fail to take the first opportunity to communicate the result of these discussions to the house. In the interval, his majesty conceives that it may be of the greatest importance to the common cause, that his majesty should be enabled to continue such temporary advances for the service of the emperor as may be indispensably necessary, with a view to military operations being prosecuted with vigour and effect at an early period; and his majesty recommends it to the house to consider of making such provision as may appear to them to be most expedient for this purpose.

G. R.

*Proceedings in the House of Commons,
Dec. 29, 1796, on the Subject of the
preceding Message.*

Mr. Pitt moved, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious message: to assure his majesty that this house will immediately enter into the consideration of such measures as may appear to them to be most expedient for enabling his majesty to continue such temporary advances to the emperor, as may (if the failure of his majesty's earnest endeavours to effect a general peace on secure and honourable terms should unfortunately render another campaign unavoidable) be

necessary, with a view to the prosecution of military operations, with vigour and effect, at an early period."

Sir William Pulteney moved as an amendment to the above address, that the whole should be left out after the word '*consideration*,' and instead thereof, the words '*of the same*' inserted. (Negatived without a division.)

Mr. Sheridan then moved the following amendment:

"Your majesty's faithful commons having thus manifested their determination to enable your majesty to give such assistance to your majesty's ally the emperor, as may be indispensably necessary in the unfortunate event of an unfavourable issue to the present negotiations for peace, cannot omit this occasion of expressing their deep regret, that your majesty's ministers should, in recent instances, have presumed to issue similar assistance to the emperor, without any previous application to parliament to enable your majesty so to do; thereby acting, as your majesty's gracious message appears in a great measure to admit, in defiance of the established practice, and in violation of the constitutional privileges of this house." (Negatived without a division.)

The original address was then put and carried.

*His Majesty's Message to the House of
Peers, presented Dec. 26, 1796.*

GEORGE R.

It is with the utmost concern that his majesty acquaints the house of lords, that his earnest endeavours to effect the restoration of peace have been unhappily frustrated, and that the negotiation in which he has been engaged has been abruptly broken off by the peremptory refusal

usal of the French government to treat, except upon a basis evidently inadmissible, and by their having in consequence required his majesty's plenipotentiary to quit Paris within 48 hours.

His majesty has directed the several memorials and papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late discussion, and the account transmitted to his majesty of its final result, to be laid before the house.

From these papers, his majesty trusts, it will be proved to the whole world, that his conduct has been guided by a sincere desire to effect the restoration of peace on principles suited to the relative situation of the belligerent powers, and essential for the permanent interests of his kingdoms, and the general security of Europe: whilst his enemies have advanced pretensions at once inconsistent with those objects, unsupported even on the grounds on which they were professed to rest, and repugnant both to the system established by repeated treaties, and to the principles and practice which have hitherto regulated the intercourse of independent nations.

In this situation his majesty has the consolation of reflecting, that the continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjust and exorbitant views of his enemies; and his majesty, looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be disposed to act on different principles, places in the mean time the fullest reliance, under the protection of Providence, on the wisdom and firmness of his parliament, on the tried valour of his forces by sea and land. and on the zeal, public spirit, and resources of his kingdoms, for vigorous and effectual support in the prosecution

of a contest, which it does not depend on his majesty to terminate, and which involves in it the security and permanent interests of this country, and of Europe.

G. R.

Proceedings of the House of Peers on his Majesty's Message.

On Friday the 30th of December, his majesty's message to the house of peers was taken into consideration, and Lord Grenville moved,

“ That an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious message, and giving him the loyal assurance of their firm and steady support in the further continuance of this just and necessary war; his majesty's dispositions to peace having been unhappily frustrated by the conduct of the enemy.”

The earl of Guildford moved the following amendment to the above address:

That after the words, “ returning his majesty thanks for his gracious message,” there be inserted the following:

“ That this house has learnt with inexpressible concern, that the negotiation his majesty lately commenced for the restoration of peace has been unhappily frustrated.

“ In so awful and momentous a crisis, the house of lords feel it their duty to speak to his majesty with that freedom and earnestness which becomes men anxious to preserve the honour of his majesty's crown, and to secure the interests of his people. That, in doing this, they sincerely deplore that they are under the necessity of declaring, that, as well from the man-

ner in which the late negotiation has been conducted, as from the substance of the memorial which appears to have produced the abrupt termination of it, they have reason to think his majesty's ministers were not sincere in their endeavour to procure the blessings of peace, so necessary for this distressed country, and that all prospect of pacification seems entirely removed from their view. For, on the one hand, his majesty's ministers insist upon the restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor as a *sine qua non*, from which they have pledged his majesty not to recede; while, on the other, the executive directory of the French republic, with equal pertinacity, claim the preservation of that part of their conquests as a condition from which they cannot depart.

“ That, under these circumstances, this house cannot help lamenting the rashness and injustice of his majesty's ministers, whose long-continued misconduct has produced this embarrassing situation, by advising his majesty, before the blessings of peace had been unfortunately interrupted, to refuse all negotiation for the adjustment of the then subsisting differences, although at that time the Netherlands, now the main obstacle to the return of tranquillity, so far from being considered as an object of contest, was solemnly renounced, and the peace of Europe offered into his majesty's hands upon the basis of that renunciation, and upon the security and independence of Holland, whilst she preserved her neutrality towards France.

“ That this house hath further deeply to regret, that soon after the commencement of the war, when, by the vigour of his ma-

jesty's arms, with the assistance of his allies, the republic of Holland had been rescued from invasion, and the greatest part of the Netherlands had been recovered by the emperor; at a time too, when most of the princes of Europe, with resources yet unexhausted, continued firm in their alliances with Great Britain, his majesty's ministers did not avail themselves of this high and commanding position for the negotiation of an honourable peace, and the establishment of the political balance of Europe; that, on the contrary, without any example in the principles and practice of this or any other nation, it is with pain this house recollects his majesty's ministers refused to set on foot any negotiation whatsoever with the French republic; not upon a real or even alleged unwillingness on her part to listen to the propositions now rejected by her, or to any other specific proposal of indemnity, or political security, but upon the arrogant and insulting pretence, that her government was not capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity amongst nations; and that, on this unfounded and merely speculative assumption, his majesty was advised to continue the war to a period when the difficulties in the way of peace have been so much increased by the defection of most of the powers engaged in the confederacy, and by the conquests and consequent pretensions of the French republic.

“ That this house having thus humbly submitted to his majesty the reflections which his majesty's gracious communication immediately suggest, feel themselves in duty bound, for the information of his majesty, and the satisfaction of an exhausted people; to proceed,
with

with unremitting diligence, to investigate the causes which have produced our present calamities, and to offer such advice as the critical and alarming circumstances of the nation may require."

The above amendment was negatived by a majority of 63 to 7.

*Proceedings in the House of Commons,
December 30, 1796, on a similar
Message delivered on the same Day
with the preceding.*

Mr. Pitt moved, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return the thanks of this house for his most gracious message, and for having been pleased to lay before the house the papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late discussion, and the account transmitted to his majesty of its final result.

"To assure his majesty, that we cannot but deeply participate in the concern which his majesty (from his constant regard to the interests of his subjects) naturally feels in the disappointment of his earnest endeavours to effect the restoration of peace, and in the abrupt termination, on the part of the French government, of the negotiation in which his majesty was engaged; but that it affords us the greatest consolation, and the utmost incitement to our zeal and perseverance, to observe the abundant proofs that his majesty's conduct has been guided by a sincere desire to effect the restoration of general peace, and to provide for the permanent interests of his kingdoms, and for the general security of Europe; while his enemies have advanced pretensions at once inconsistent with those objects, unsupported, even on the grounds on which

they professed to rest, and repugnant both to the system established by repeated treaties, and to the principles and practice which have hitherto regulated the intercourse of independent nations.

"That, in this situation, persuaded that the present continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjust and exorbitant views of his majesty's enemies, and looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be disposed to act on different principles; we feel it incumbent on us, to afford his majesty the most firm and zealous support in such measures as may be most likely to bring this great contest to a safe and honourable issue; and we place the fullest reliance, under the protection of Providence, on his majesty's vigilant concern for the interests of his subjects; on the tried valour of his forces by sea and land, and on the zeal, public spirit, and resources of these kingdoms, which can never be called forth under circumstances more important to their permanent welfare, and to the general security and interests of Europe."

Mr. Fox moved the following amendment to the above address:

"We your majesty's faithful commons, having seen with inexpressible concern, that the negotiations with the directory of France have unhappily and abruptly terminated, consider it our duty to speak with the freedom and earnestness which becometh representatives of a great people: we regret, from the memorials and other documents submitted to our consideration, that your majesty's ministers appear not to have been so sincere in their professions for peace as we had been induced, from their repeated declarations, to suppose. The insin-

cerity of the overtures which have been made for peace, is to be inferred from the ministers having insisted on the surrender of the Netherlands by France; this they have thought proper to term the *sine qua non*; while the enemy, profiting by the bad conduct, by the incapacity of those ministers, urge their demands. Your faithful commons have, moreover, seen, with extreme regret, that when only a very small portion of the German empire was occupied by the arms of France, when the security of Holland might have been guaranteed by your arms, when your majesty's allies were firm in the union, and apparently sincere in their professions, your majesty's ministers did not employ themselves for the purpose of procuring peace to England and to Europe; but, on the contrary, repeatedly refused to enter into any negotiation with the French republic, not for any well-grounded reason, not because that republic was really hostile to all other nations, but on an insulting and arrogant preference for the forms and usages of the ancient courts of Europe, by attempting to prove, that the republic of France could not maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity. Your majesty's ministers having accordingly advised your majesty to recommend in your speeches from the throne, to continue a war, ruinous in itself, after the most calamitous sufferings by the defection of the major part of your majesty's allies; your faithful commons will proceed therefore to investigate the cause of that misconduct on the part of your majesty's ministers, which has involved this nation in her present misfortunes, and produced the failure of that negotiation."

Mr. Fox's address was negatived by a majority of 212 to 37.

Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 21, 1796.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have received his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament.

It gives me the most sincere satisfaction to be authorized to inform you, that notwithstanding the advantages which the enemy possessed at the commencement of the last year, and the successes which attended their operations in the former parts of the campaign, the general situation of affairs is on the whole most essentially improved.

The continued and brilliant successes of the Austrian armies upon the Rhine, the important captures of the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomalé by his majesty's forces, and the decided and confirmed superiority of his fleets, are circumstances of the utmost importance to the common cause, and their effect is heightened by the internal distresses, the ruined commerce, and increasing financial embarrassment of the enemy.

The crisis lately depending in France has led to an order of things in that country, such as will induce his majesty to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect; and to conclude a treaty of general peace, when it may be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies.

The treaty of commerce between his majesty and the United States of

of America, having been mutually ratified, I have ordered copies of it, by his majesty's command, to be laid before you.

I have the pleasure to announce to you, that her royal highness the princess of Wales has been happily delivered of a princess; an event which, by giving additional stability to his majesty's august house, cannot fail to afford you the highest satisfaction.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I observe with the sincerest pleasure, that, notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war, the commerce and revenues of this kingdom have not in any degree fallen from that flourishing state of advancement, which in the last session of parliament was a subject of such just congratulation. This circumstance affords a decisive proof, that your prosperity is founded on a solid basis, and leads me to indulge the flattering hope, that whatever additional burthens you may find it necessary to impose will not be materially felt by the people.

I have ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, and have no doubt of your readiness to provide such supplies as a due sense of the exigencies of the kingdom shall suggest, and the wise policy of strengthening his majesty's exertions for procuring a solid and permanent peace shall appear to render necessary.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is with regret that I feel myself obliged to advert to those secret and treasonable associations, the dangerous extent and malignity

of which have, in some degree, been disclosed in several trials; and to the disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom. It has, at the same time, been a source of great satisfaction to me, to observe the successful and meritorious exertions of the magistrates in several parts of the kingdom; and the alacrity which his majesty's regular and militia forces have universally manifested in aid of the civil power, whenever they have been called upon for the preservation of the peace, and support of the laws. It remains for your prudence and wisdom to devise such measures as, together with the continuance of those exertions, and with the additional power which, by the advice of the privy-council, I have thought it necessary to establish in different counties, will prevent the return of similar excesses, and restore a proper reverence for the laws of the country.

The superior and increasing importance of the agriculture and manufactures, and particularly of the linen manufacture of the kingdom, will command your accustomed support. Under the present situation of Europe, you cannot fail to attend, with peculiar vigilance, to the general state of provisions; and, if circumstances shall, at any time, render your interposition advisable, I have no doubt of your adopting such measures as shall best apply to the existing necessity of the times.

I am also desirous of pointing your attention to the protestant charter schools, and other institutions of public charity and improvement.

Your unanimity and zeal can never be of more importance than at the present crisis, in order to impress

impress the enemy with a thorough conviction of the resources of his majesty's kingdoms, and to procure a favourable termination to your honourable efforts. His majesty has the fullest reliance on your firmness and attachment, and on the fortitude, spirit, and perseverance of his people.

It will be my ambition, as it is my duty, to represent your zeal in his majesty's service; and it will be my personal and most anxious wish to co-operate with your efforts in the common cause, in which we are all equally engaged and interested; and my utmost endeavours shall be used to secure the happiness and prosperity of this kingdom, and to protect and maintain its most excellent constitution.

Speech of the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, on presenting the Bills of Supply to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for the Royal Assent.

I should feel a pride in repeating the sentiments of loyalty which direct the commons in all their deliberations, but the bills of supply, which they now offer, declare them more effectually than it is in the power of any language to express.

We are a part of the empire; we will stand or fall with Britain; it is our repeated determined resolution, and this nation will exert all its powers, and will call forth all its resources, to support, with her, the common cause, to uphold the safety of the laws, the religion, and the constitution, against the overthrow with which the present unprovoked and unexampled war attempts to threaten them.

Peace is an object most devoutly to be wished; but an insecure peace is only a smothered war; for a lasting and honourable one (and none can be lasting that is not honourable) we look to the powerful impressions which the abundant resources of the empire, the vigour of his majesty's exertions, and the cordial co-operation of all his subjects, must make on the common enemy.

We have, accordingly, with an unanimous voice, granted supplies to the utmost desire expressed by his majesty's ministers, and in doing so we look back with great satisfaction on the energy, wisdom, and œconomy, with which the very liberal supplies of the last sessions have been administered under your excellency's government.

The defence of the kingdom has had due attention paid to it. The spirit of insurrection has been vigorously suppressed wherever it has appeared, and we have the strongest hope, from the vigilance, the firmness, and conciliating moderation, which have marked your excellency's conduct since your arrival in this kingdom, that under the additional powers with which the laws of this session will have armed the magistracy, it will be totally and speedily subdued.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, April 15, 1796.

My lords and gentlemen,

In releasing you from farther attendance in parliament, I am peculiarly commanded by his majesty to thank you for that conspicuous zeal and unanimity, so honourable to yourselves, and so impressive on
our

our enemies, which have marked your conduct through the whole session, in promoting, by your energy and temper, the interests of your country, and in supporting, by your spirit and liberality, the common cause of the empire.

His majesty has taken the steps which appeared most proper for setting on foot a negotiation for general peace, if the enemy should be disposed to enter into such negotiation on grounds consistent with the safety, honour, and interest of his majesty's kingdoms, and of his allies.

If his majesty's views in this respect should fail, he has no doubt, that the valour of his subjects, the resources of his kingdoms, and the exertions of the powers engaged with him, will ultimately produce this desirable end.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the cheerfulness and liberality with which you have provided for the current services of the year, and it affords me the highest satisfaction to reflect that these objects have been attained by burthens so judiciously imposed, that they can scarcely affect the lower orders of the people. It is equally satisfactory to observe that your strength and prosperity remain undiminished, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, and it will be my endeavour to cherish your resources, and apply your liberality with œconomy and prudence.

My lords and gentlemen,

The inquiries I had ordered to be made with regard to the produce of the last harvest, and the measures taken by you to prevent

the export of grain, must relieve the public mind from an apprehension of scarcity. If any illicit means should be attempted, to evade the provisions of the laws, which have been enacted upon this important subject, I shall not be inattentive in exercising those powers with which I am entrusted.

The vigorous measures you have adopted for the suppression of insurrection and outrage, and the wise provisions you have made for preventing the extension of similar offences, must have the most salutary effects.

The new regulation of licences under the superintendence of magistrates, will tend to promote tranquillity and sobriety. The establishment of more frequent sessions of the peace will afford an easy and expeditious administration of justice in the different districts throughout the kingdom. The liberal increase of the salaries of the judges, and the alteration of the civil-bill jurisdiction, for the convenience of the lower ranks of the people, will ensure the constant and regular attention of his majesty's judges to the civil and criminal business that will remain to be done on the circuits.

These measures cannot but demonstrate to the people at large the firmness and the temper of parliament, which, whilst it is determined to repress the excesses of licentiousness and outrage, is at the same time anxious to ensure to the country those permanent advantages of security, peace and good order, which are to be derived from a prompt and upright administration of justice.

I cannot too strongly recommend it to you to give effect to these benefits by your example and presence; and I am confident, that
when

when you are relieved from your duty in parliament, all ranks and descriptions of his majesty's faithful subjects will feel themselves protected by your exertions and authority in your different counties.

Your kind declarations in favour of my administration make the deepest impressions upon my feelings. If I have any claim to your confidence and good opinion, it arises from the fidelity with which I have represented to his majesty your loyalty and zeal, and from the sincere desire I feel to conform my conduct to your sentiments. — Great Britain and Ireland form one empire; they are inseparably connected; they must stand or fall together; and we are all equally engaged, because we are all equally interested in the common cause of defending and upholding our religion, our laws, and our constitution.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Oct. 13, 1796.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have his majesty's commands to acquaint you that he has thought it necessary to require your attendance in parliament at this early period, and to resort to your deliberate wisdom, at a time when the ambitious projects of our enemies have threatened to interrupt the happiness and prosperity of his people, by making a descent on this kingdom and Great Britain. And although his majesty looks forward with the utmost confidence to the spirit, loyalty, and ability, of his faithful people of Ireland, to repel such an attack; it will yet become your wisdom to neglect no

precautions which may preclude the attempt, or secure the speediest means of turning it to the confusion of the enemy.

His majesty has been graciously pleased to direct an addition to be made to the regular forces in this kingdom, by troops sent from Great Britain, the greater part of which is already arrived; and in pursuance of his majesty's commands, I have also encouraged the loyal and zealous disposition which has generally displayed itself, to associate in arms under his majesty's authority, for the better security of property, and the preservation of tranquillity and good order.

In consequence of the steps which his majesty has taken to restore peace to Europe, and to secure its future tranquillity, a way has at length been opened for an immediate and direct negotiation; and I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's intention to send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for the restoration of general peace.

The apparently hostile dispositions and conduct of the court of Spain, have led to discussions, of which I am not able to acquaint you with the final result: but, whatever may be their issue, they cannot but afford to Europe a further proof of his majesty's moderation and forbearance, and cannot fail to animate your utmost exertions in defending the dignity, rights, and interest of the empire, against every aggression.

In reviewing the events of this year, it must afford you the greatest satisfaction to observe, that, by the spirit and exertions of his majesty's navy, the commerce of this kingdom has been protected in a degree almost beyond example; and in no part more completely, than by the
skill,

skill, activity, and bravery of the squadron stationed on the coast of this kingdom.

The success of his majesty's arms in the East and West Indies has been highly honourable and advantageous to the empire; and evinces, in the strongest manner, the valour and good conduct of his forces, both by sea and land.

The steady and dignified conduct of the emperor, and the intrepidity and spirit of the Austrian forces under the command of the archduke Charles, have given so essential a change to the aspect of affairs on the continent, as to inspire a well-grounded confidence that the final result of the campaign will be such as materially to promote his majesty's endeavours to obtain a safe and honourable peace for himself and his allies.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered to be laid before you an account of such articles of expence as are not included in the estimates for the current year, and which the present circumstances have rendered necessary; and when you consider the great interests for which we are engaged, and the objects for which we are contending, I doubt not that you will grant the supplies which may be requisite for them with your accustomed liberality; and when the ordinary accounts and estimates for the ensuing year shall be laid before you, I trust you will then proceed with the zeal you have always manifested in providing for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

My lords and gentlemen,

The expediency of the vigorous measures which you have adopted

in the last session of parliament has been amply proved by the outrages, which they were intended to suppress, having in a great measure subsided. I am, however, to lament that in one part of the country, good order has not yet been entirely restored, and that in other districts, a treasonable system of secret confederation, by the administering of illegal oaths, still continues, although no means within the reach of government have been left untried to counteract it.

You will not fail, at a proper time, to continue your attention to the manufactures, the agriculture, and the commerce of the country, and to extend your accustomed benevolence to the Protestant charity schools, and the other institutions of education and charity which have been so long fostered by your liberal encouragement.

The prosperity and resources of the kingdom, so highly improved by your meritorious care, still remain unimpaired by the pressure of the war; and I trust to your unremitting attention for the further advancement of your national prosperity.

You have learnt the steps which his majesty has taken to procure the blessings of general peace upon a solid and permanent basis. Should these gracious endeavours of his majesty not be followed by the success which he has every reason to expect, he is satisfied that the affections, courage, and perseverance of his people, will enable him to frustrate the designs of our enemies, and to maintain the honour and dignity of the crown.

It will afford me the highest satisfaction to be aided at this important crisis by your advice; and I rely, with a confidence you have taught me to indulge, upon your liberal

liberal interpretation of my conduct, and upon that support I have so amply experienced since I received his majesty's commands to repair to this country; and it will be peculiarly gratifying to me if I should have the good fortune, in the administration of the king's government, to impress upon your minds the full extent of his majesty's paternal care of this kingdom; and of my own anxiety to promote, by every means, its interests, its safety, and its prosperity.

Manifesto against Great Britain, by the National Assembly representing the Batavian Nation, May 2, 1796.

The Batavian nation, once more unjustly attacked by the kingdom of Great Britain, has just taken up arms. This nation, so often ill treated, oppressed, trod upon, and pillaged, under the mask of friendship, now animated and excited by liberty, and at length breathing, for the first time, after so long an interval, resumes the primitive energy of its brave and valorous character, courageously rears its head, and will no longer suffer its prosperity to be undermined by envious neighbours. It will no longer allow itself to be dragged in the dust; and it will cease to be the sport of the infamous and ambitious ministers of England, who, by the dazzle of piratical treasures, blind the English nation, which fancies itself to be free, with respect to the terrible calamities they have brought on Europe, and on the whole of the human race. The Batavian people will defend their rights and their independence; they will save their country from

the ruin by which it is threatened.

Will Europe still doubt, that the Batavian republic has not rightfully drawn the sword from the sheath, when she is constrained to a just defence? Will Europe still doubt that the Batavian republic has been led to the very brink of utter destruction, by the disastrous policy of the same ministry? Will Europe still doubt that the regenerated Batavian republic will not, with the help of its illustrious ally, vigorously repel the arrogant domination of the English cabinet, and will not consolidate the liberty so dearly and perilously acquired, at the expence even of all by which she is interested?

When England attempted, by the force of arms, to subjugate her American colonies, which she had driven to a justifiable insurrection, and when the scourge of war extended to other empires, the States General of the United Provinces were careful to observe a strict neutrality; they did not suffer Dutch vessels to transport any other commodities to America, those excepted which were declared free by the express terms of treaties. The most efficacious precautions were carefully taken to prevent warlike stores from being conveyed to the American colonies, as well as to prevent any fraudulent commerce from being carried on with them; precautions which did not a little shackle and injure our own commerce to the West Indies.

It availed the republic, however, but little, to observe the conditions of treaties with exceptions, as to what was by them prohibited: the English ministers, and more generally their temporary government, went so far as to dispute what these

very

very treaties allowed; they would not suffer the republic to enjoy those very advantages of treaty which England herself had enjoyed in a similar case; but violating the rights of nations, they condemned the cargoes as prizes to the crown, and employed the materials in the royal arsenals; other vessels were forfeited by the arbitrary sentences of partial courts of justice. The privateers and armed ships of England, seeing that their piracies were legalized, multiplied their depredations, and the merchant vessels of Holland daily became the victims of their brutalities. Finally, the atrocities of the British ministers were carried to such a point, that they no longer respected the flag of the States, but carried a convoy of Dutch vessels into the ports of England, declaring ships richly laden to be lawful prizes, and violating, as well in Europe as elsewhere, our neutral territory. The only mode which could be adopted, to put a stop to these unprecedented injuries, without, however, breaking with the kingdom of Great Britain, was employed by their high mightinesses. This mode consisted in joining with all possible speed the alliance of the three northern powers, concerted by the empress of Russia, and destined to protect, by the force of arms, the rights of the neutral nations, each of them more or less violated by England.

Their high mightinesses, we say, would have acceded to this treaty, had not an obstacle been thrown in the way by the perfidious machinations of the English cabinet. This was the signal which led England to break every tie, to distribute letters of marque

for making reprisals on the inhabitants of the republic and their possessions, and to declare open war against the United Provinces. A ministry to which all means were alike, could not want pretexts for that purpose. It was not at the same time difficult for their high mightinesses, to demonstrate the frivolousness of all these pretended grievances; but what purpose could this answer with a rapacious, obstinate, and unjust ministry, which was desirous to revenge on a peaceable ally the loss of the British colonies, and to appease, for a time at least, by the booty obtained by an unforeseen attack, the murmurs of the English nation?

It was soon after learned, that the squadrons and armed vessels of England captured, by virtue of orders already furnished, the Dutch vessels they fell in with beyond seas, without the smallest suspicion on our side, and against the faith of treaties. We learned the cruel manner in which the island of St. Eustatia was ruined, by seizing on the possessions of the merchants, which, when collected, formed treasures; while richly laden vessels, returning from the ocean, were surprised unawares in the channel by small vessels, which readily made them their prey. By such vile means, unworthy of a generous nation, did the British ministers dishonour the flag of their king: for, can it be considered in any other point of view, than that of acting, under the royal flag, the part of pirates?

The Batavian republic was at length, after so many losses, forced to provide for her defence, to maintain her rights and independence by dint of arms, and to protect her

her

her commerce and her possessions. Ah! if she could then have combated under the banners of liberty, how would the English ministry have repented of its rashness and perfidy! But the English cabinet knew all its influence in this country. It was aware that it could succeed in shackling within the republic the preparations of war: it was certain of finding in Holland partizans who would contrive to put into its possession our ships of war, and who would find the means to prevent the display of all our strength. The event soon proved that the English ministers were not mistaken. They mocked our feeble efforts, which, even before they were carried into effect, were paralyzed in their outset by the adherents they had in this country. These adherents supplied them with intelligence of all that was concerting here. Supported by the stadtholderian influence, they even contrived to render nugatory the orders given by their high mightinesses for the junction of the Batavian squadron with the French fleet. It was easy for the English ministry, after such treasons, to obtain successes in that war. And this is what they call glory! But when a particular occasion presented itself—when a fleet belonging to the states accidentally met with an opportunity to display its courage and its valour, the Batavian mariners, although novices in fighting, proved that they had not degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors. They drove the English fleet, covered with confusion and shame, into its own port, without having lost one of the merchant vessels they had under convoy.

A war carried on in such a way necessarily terminated in a treaty of peace burthensome to the states.

Instead of being indemnified for the incalculable losses they had sustained in their commerce, they considered themselves as fortunate to be enabled by the speedy assistance of the French forces, which checked the English in the two Indies, to save a part of their possessions; while they found themselves obliged to yield to the enemy the important factory of Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel; and to allow to British vessels the free navigation of the coasts of the Molucca islands, notwithstanding it might have been foreseen that the navigation of the English in those seas would tend to nothing less than the complete destruction of our trade in the East Indies.

We shall not enter into details concerning what passed in the sequel, when the Batavian nation, seeing how much its interests were constantly every where sacrificed to those of its ancient rival, even by the persons appointed to defend its rights, meditated a fundamental regeneration in the form of the government. We shall not retrace how England, knowing that the limitation of the scandalous usurpation of power and influence, on the part of the stadtholder, would also diminish its influence in this republic. How, we say, the British ministry, far from interceding for the Batavian nation, or coming to its succour, when legions of foreign troops seized on these countries, committing the most atrocious disorders, pillages, and violences, considered, on the contrary, this devastation and this oppression with a malignant satisfaction; and concurred, when the mischief was completed, in guaranteeing, in a solemn manner, the system of a tyranny which resulted from it.

When the French nation, wearied
with

with the unsupportable tyranny of kings, shook off its yoke, and formed itself into an independent republic, the British ministers thought that they could not have a better opportunity to dismember a part of that fine empire. They accordingly united in the treaty concluded at Pilnitz, on the 27th of August, 1791, by the princes of Germany. The French republic, well knowing that that of the United Provinces of the Netherlands would be constrained by England to take a part in this plot against its liberty, declared war against the British ministers, as well as against their subject William V. stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces, and his partizans.—It is thus that the Batavian nation was once more drawn against its will into this bloody war by its dependence on those same ministers: its treasures were lavished, and its arsenals nearly emptied, to aid the extravagant plans of Pitt and his cabal. Auxiliary English troops were sent to this republic; and when a defeat, sustained near the Meuse by a part of the French army, had procured a momentary advantage, the army of the states was forced to pass the limits of our frontiers, and those of France, and to wage an offensive war on the French territory. Soon, however, the victorious French repulsed their enemies on all sides, and from day to day the armies of England and the states retrograded towards our frontiers. The republic found itself on the brink of ruin, since appearances pointed out that the theatre of war would be removed to the very heart of its provinces, and all the country inundated. Never were the states in so critical a position since the war with Spain; but this danger brought about their deliverance; Providence defeated

1796.

the perfidious plans of its enemies, who were desirous rather that the republic should be destroyed than that it should be free. When the frost permitted the crossing of the rivers, the valorous French troops drove before them the English bands with so much speed, that the latter had not time to effect their infernal design; they fled, but their road was traced by fire and pillage. It was nothing but their speedy and precipitate retreat that preserved the republic from total devastation. We soon witnessed the extraordinary spectacle which the citizens presented on all sides, holding out their arms to their conquerors as to their only deliverers. We saw the allied troops sack and plunder, and those who were called our enemies respect public and private property.

It was thus that the Netherlands were delivered from their most dangerous enemies. The stadtholder abandoned, in a dastardly way, his country and his friends, and sought an asylum at the court of the king of England. The standard of liberty was planted in all places, while the French republic declared the Batavian nation free, and re-established it in its primitive rights.

The British ministers, enraged at seeing this republic still exist without being in their hands, attempted at least to destroy it another way, by totally undermining its extensive commerce. Upwards of one hundred ships, the greater part richly laden, which, either through foul winds, or as a measure of precaution, had sought shelter in British ports, as well as several Dutch ships of war, were laid under embargo, as if to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. Their high mightinesses, it is true, sent commissioners to London to claim

(H)

them,

them, demonstrating by the most solid proofs, that the Batavian republic was no longer under the dominion of France since the solemn declaration of its independence, and that England ought to conduct itself towards the Batavian nation, as towards a free people; they added, that the Dutch merchants would not risque the entry of their vessels into the ports of the republic, if it was for no other purpose than to surrender them to the French. The British ministers had, however, already made up their minds to appropriate this booty to themselves; and, to augment it, they disseminated on all sides false rumours touching the situation of affairs in this country, to the end that they might, in the same way, allure into their ports the merchant vessels belonging to the republic, which were still at sea. They have since entirely violated the rights of nations; and all the Dutch vessels, to which his majesty the king of Great Britain had granted his high protection, were, in violation of the treaty of Breda, perfidiously declared lawful captures.

But what puts the seal to the acts of hostility and bad faith which the present British ministers have exercised against this republic, is the treacherous mode in which they have endeavoured to make themselves masters of her colonies. For this purpose they sent letters, signed by the prince of Orange, and dated at Kew, the 7th of February, 1795, to several of the colonies of the republic of the Netherlands in the East Indies, and to the Cape of Good Hope. In these letters, this perfidious and *ci-devant* minister and commander in chief of these states, after having abandoned all his posts, ordered, on his individual authority, the respective go-

vernors to put the colonies of the states under the protection of the British arms; that is to say, in the artful and customary language of the English ministry, to surrender them to England. Notwithstanding this felonious stratagem has failed in the greater part of the colonies, through the fidelity of their governors, it was impossible to prevent the Cape of Good Hope from falling into the hands of the English; and several important possessions of these states, in the East Indies, have shared the same fate.

While all this was taking place, the British ministry conceived the plan of attacking also by land this free republic, and of employing for that purpose those soldiers, who, being more attached to the prince of Orange than to their country, emigrated on the flattering promises of England.—These fugitives were not only well received in the states of his Britannic majesty in Germany, but were even kept in the pay of England; and if the desertion of the greater part of the army of the republic could have been brought about, there is no doubt but they would have been led against their country under English commanders, for the purpose of renewing here, if the fact were possible, the scenes of 1787; of kindling up, as in La Vendée, a disastrous civil war, and of thus destroying the Batavian republic by intestine commotions.

Is it therefore surprising that the Batavian nation, now free, seeks to reinforce itself against such unprecedented and numerous outrages, by an intimate alliance with a republic which snatched it from the grips of its enemies? A treaty of peace and alliance was accordingly concluded at the Hague, on the 16th of May, 1795, between the
two

two free republics of France and Holland. That treaty of mutual defence by which the independent Batavian nation, supported by a powerful neighbour, and unshaken by the influence of a foreign minister, will be put in a condition to employ for the future its forces against its aggressors, and of paying them in their own coin, has also been cemented.

His majesty, the king of Great Britain, after so many hostilities have been exercised, was at length pleased to proclaim, on the 19th of September, 1795, by his council of state, a declaration of war against this republic, but in which no ground of complaint was alleged. His majesty, it is true, says in this manifesto, "that for some time divers acts of outrage, contrary to the honour of his majesty's crown, and to the legitimate rights of his subjects, had been committed in the United Provinces, and that the ships of war which sailed from the ports of the United Provinces, had received orders to take and sink all British vessels." The acts contrary to the honour of his majesty's crown which had been committed in the Netherlands, are the acts of his majesty's own troops, and the English nation will, undoubtedly, sooner or later, punish their authors; and with respect to the orders given to the ships of war of the republic, to repel violence by violence, has not the independent republic, so cruelly treated, a right of resistance? His majesty had forgotten that the Netherlands were no longer under the stadtholderian yoke, and that his majesty's ministers had lost for ever, as we trust, for the safety of the country, all influence over the independent Batavian republic.

It is therefore with a perfect con-

fidence in that love of the country, in that energy, and in that courage with which liberty alone can inspire a nation, for a long time insulted and oppressed, that the independent Batavian nation solemnly declares in the face of Europe, through the organ of its legitimate representatives, that, obliged to defend itself against the acts of perfidy and violence of the neighbouring kingdom of Great Britain, it will repel every act of aggression on its liberty, its independence, its rights, and its legitimate possessions; and that it will put in execution all possible means to receive satisfaction and indemnity for the incalculable losses it has sustained through a perfidious ally:—in the firm hope that Divine Providence, who has so miraculously preserved this country from a total ruin, will bless its arms, and will not allow violence and oppression ever to fix their fatal abode on its free territory.

Done at the Hague, May 2,
1796, second year of Bata-
vian freedom.

*Manifesto of the Court of Spain against
Great Britain, Oct. 5, 1796.*

One of the principal motives that determined me to make peace with the French republic, as soon as its government had begun to assume a regular and stable form, was the manner in which England behaved to me during the whole of the war, and the just mistrust which I ought to feel for the future from the experience of her bad faith, which began to be manifested at the most critical moment of the first campaign; in the manner with which admiral Hood treated my squadron at Toulon, where he was employed solely in ruining all that he could

(H 2)

not

not carry away himself; and afterwards in the expedition which he undertook against the island of Corfica—an expedition which he undertook without the knowledge of, and which he concealed with the greatest care from, don Juan de Langara, while they were together at Toulon.

This same bad faith the English minister has suffered clearly to appear by his silence upon the subject of all his negotiations with other powers, particularly in the treaty concluded on the 19th November, 1794, with the United States of America, without any regard to my rights, which were well known to him. I remarked it again in his repugnance to the adoption of my plans and ideas which might accelerate the termination of the war, and in the vague reply which lord Grenville gave to my ambassador, the marquis del Campo, when he demanded succours of him to continue it. He completely confirmed me in the certainty of his bad faith, by the injustice with which he appropriated the rich cargo of the Spanish ship *el Santiago*, or *l'Achille*, at first taken by the French, and afterwards retaken by the English squadron, and which ought to have been restored to me according to the convention made between my secretary of state and lord St. Helen's, ambassador from his Britannic majesty: afterwards by the detention of all the ammunition which arrived in the Dutch ships for the supply of my squadrons, by affecting always different difficulties to put off the restitution of them. Finally, I could no longer entertain a doubt of the bad faith of England, when I learnt the frequent landing from her ships upon the coasts of Chili and Peru, in order to carry on a contraband trade, and to re-

connoitre the shore under the pretence of fishing for whales, a privilege which she pretended to have granted her by the convention of Nootka. Such were the proceedings of the British minister to cement the ties of friendship and reciprocal confidence, which he had engaged to maintain according to our convention of the 25th May, 1793.

Since I have made peace with the French republic, not only have I had stronger motives for supposing an intention on the part of England to attack my possessions in America, but I have also received direct insults which persuade me that the English minister wishes to oblige me to adopt a part contrary to the interests of humanity, injured by the bloody war which ravages Europe, for the termination of which I have not ceased to offer my good offices, and to testify my constant solicitude.

In fact, England has developed her intentions, has clearly evinced her project of getting possession of my territories, by sending to the Antilles a considerable force, and particularly destined against Santo Domingo, as the proclamations of her general in that island clearly demonstrate. She has also made known her intentions by the establishments which her commercial companies have formed upon the banks of the Missouri, in North America, with the design of penetrating through those countries to the South Sea. Finally, by the conquest which she has made of the colony of Demerary, belonging to the Dutch, and whose advantageous position puts her in a condition to get possession of posts still more important.

But there can no longer remain any doubt of the hostile nature of these projects, when I consider the frequent

frequent insults to my flag, the acts of violence committed in the Mediterranean by her frigates, which have carried away soldiers coming from Genoa to Barcelona, on board Spanish ships, to complete my armies; the piracies and vexations which the Corsican and Anglo-Corsican corsairs, protected by the English government of that island, exercise against the Spanish trade in the Mediterranean, and even upon the coasts of Catalonia, and the detention of different Spanish ships, laden with Spanish property, and carried to England under the most frivolous pretences, and especially the rich cargo of the Spanish ship the *Minerva*, on which an embargo was laid in the most insulting manner to my flag, and the removal of which could not be obtained, though it was demonstrated before the competent tribunals that this rich cargo was Spanish property.

The attack committed upon my ambassador, don Simon de las Casas, by a tribunal of London, which decreed his arrest, founded upon the demand of a very small sum which was claimed by the undertaker of an embarkation, is another outrage. Finally, the Spanish territory has been violated in an intolerable manner upon the coasts of Galicia and Alicant by the English ships the *Cameleon* and the *Kangaroo*. Moreover, captain George Vaughan, commodore of the *Alarm*, behaved in a manner equally insolent and scandalous in the island of Trinity, where he landed with drums beating and flags flying, to attack the French, and to avenge the injuries which he pretended to have received, disturbing, by the violation of the rights of my sovereignty, the tranquillity of the inhabitants of the island.

By all these insults, equally deep

and unparalleled, that nation has proved to the universe, that she recognizes no other laws than the aggrandisement of her commerce; and by her despotism, which has exhausted my patience and moderation, she has forced me, as well to support the honour of my crown, as to protect my people against her attacks, to declare war against the king of England, his kingdom and vassals, and to give orders and take the necessary measures for the defence of my domains and my subjects, and to repulse the enemy.

Signed by the King, and the
Secretary of the Council
of War.

*Done at the Palace of
St. Lorenzo, Oct. 5, 1796.*

On Saturday, the 8th of October, war was proclaimed at Madrid in the usual form.

*Answer of the British Government to
the Spanish Declaration of War.*

The open aggressions of Spain, the violences committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, and the unprovoked declaration of war on the part of that power, have at length compelled his majesty to take the necessary measures for repelling force by force, and for vindicating the dignity of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people.

At the moment of adopting these measures, his majesty feels it due to himself to remove every doubt which can be thrown on the indisputable justice of his cause; and it will be easily proved, from the very reasons adduced by the court of Madrid in support of its declaration of war, that all the calamities which may ensue are solely to be attributed to the conduct of his enemies.

A simple reference to that declaration,
(H 3)

ration, and a bare enumeration of the vague and frivolous charges which it contains, would indeed be sufficient to satisfy all reasonable and impartial minds, that no part of the conduct of Great Britain towards Spain has afforded the smallest ground of complaint, much less any motive sufficiently powerful for adding to the present calamities of Europe all the evils of a new and complicated war.

The only difficulty of a detailed reply arises not from the strength and importance of the complaints alleged, but from their weakness and futility—from the confused and unintelligible shape in which they are brought forward, and from the impossibility of referring them to any established principle or rule of justice, to any usual form or topic of complaint between independent governments, or to any of those motives which can alone create the painful duty of an appeal to arms.

The acts of hostility attributed to his majesty in the manifesto of Spain, consist either of matters perfectly innocent and indifferent in their nature, or of imputed opinions and intentions, of which no proof is adduced, nor any effect alleged; or, lastly, of complaints of the misconduct of unauthorized individuals; respecting all which his majesty has never failed to institute inquiry, where inquiry was necessary, and to cause justice to be done in the regular course of judicial proceedings. The very nature of such complaints affords a sufficient answer to the conclusion attempted to be drawn from them by Spain; and his majesty might have been well justified in declining all further discussion on points, on which it was manifest that no just

motive of hostility could be grounded.

Such, however, was not his conduct. Anxious to avert from both kingdoms the calamities of war, he has repeatedly and vainly proposed to adjust, by friendly discussion, all points of difference which could subsist between the governments of two nations whose real interests were the same, and who had an equal concern in opposing the progress of a common enemy.

This discussion having always been studiously avoided by the court of Madrid, it now remains only for his majesty to vindicate in this public manner his own cause, and to prove the futility of those pretences by which that court now seeks to colour its aggression.

The first point brought forward to support an accusation of ill faith is the conduct of the king's admiral at Toulon: who is charged with having destroyed those ships and naval stores of the enemy which he could not carry away with him; and with having afterwards undertaken an expedition to Corsica, without the knowledge or participation of the Spanish admiral. To an accusation of such a nature, alleged as a ground of war between two great nations, it can hardly be expected that a serious answer should be given. It is perhaps the first time that it has been imputed as a crime to one of the commanding officers of two powers acting in alliance, and making a common cause in war, that he did more than his proportion of mischief to the common enemy. And if it be really true that such a sentiment was entertained at Madrid, certainly no other justification can be necessary for not inviting the officers of that court to join in subsequent expeditions

ditions against the same enemy: at all events, it cannot be pretended that a co-operation between two allies (however cordial and sincere) in any one particular enterprize, could afterwards restrain either of them from undertaking separately any other, to which his own force appeared in itself to be adequate.

The second instance of ill-faith attributed to his majesty is the conclusion of a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America; a power with whom both Great Britain and Spain were at peace; with whom the king, as well as his catholic majesty, was perfectly free to contract any such engagement; and with whom the court of Madrid has actually concluded a similar treaty, with this difference only, that the stipulations of the British treaty can give no ground of offence or injury to any other power, while the Spanish treaty contains an article (that respecting the navigation of the Mississippi) which, if it could have any force or effect at all, would be, on the part of Spain, a direct breach of treaty with Great Britain, and a gross violation of the important and unquestionable rights of his majesty and his people.

The same ill-faith is said to have been manifested in the unwillingness shewn by the British government to adopt the plans proposed by Spain for hastening the conclusion of the war with France, (but what these plans were, it is not stated,) and also in omitting to comply with an application made by Spain for pecuniary succours, as necessary to enable her to act against the common enemy. The failure of such an application cannot certainly be matter of surprize to any one who considers the situation and conduct of Spain during

the war. It can hardly be alleged, even as an excuse for the precipitate peace concluded by Spain, not only without the knowledge of her allies, but in contradiction to repeated and positive assurances; but it is difficult to conceive how such a refusal can be made the ground of hostility towards Great Britain, or with what consistency the inability of Spain to prosecute the former contest without pecuniary aid from its ally, can have become a motive of engaging gratuitously in all the expences and difficulties of a new war against that very power.

With regard to the condemnation of the St. Jago (a prize taken from the enemy by his majesty's naval forces), his majesty has only to reply to the injurious assertions on that subject in the Spanish manifesto, that the claims of all the parties in that cause were publicly heard and decided according to the known law of nations, and before the only competent tribunal; one, whose impartiality is above all suspicion.

The conduct of his majesty respecting the naval stores, which were claimed by Spain on board Dutch vessels, has been in like manner exempt from all blame, nor was any unnecessary delay interposed respecting those cargoes, till the equivocal conduct of Spain, and the strong and just suspicion of her hostile dispositions, made it impossible for his majesty to consent to supply her from the ports of his dominions with the means of acting against himself.

The next charge relates to the alleged misconduct of some merchant ships in landing their crews on the coasts of Chili and Peru, with a view of carrying on there an illicit commerce, and of reconnoitring

tring the country. On this it is to be observed, that those views are not supported by any fact whatever; that if any act was in truth committed by individuals in those territories against the laws of the government established there, those laws might have been enforced upon the spot, and the court of London has always been open to receive and redress all complaints of that nature. But that what is assigned in the manifesto as a mere cover and pretext for fraud, namely, the exercise of the whale fishery by the English in those parts, is not, as there asserted, a right which the English "claim under the convention of Nootka." It is one, which was not then for the first time established, but solemnly recognized by the court of Madrid, as having always belonged to Great Britain, and the full and undisturbed exercise of which was guaranteed to his majesty's subjects in terms so express as to admit of no doubt, and in a transaction so recent, that ignorance of it cannot be pretended.

Such, it seems, were the offences of the British government, and such the jealousies and apprehension of Spain during the time when the courts of London and Madrid were united in the bands of alliance, and engaged in a common cause; and it is on motives as frivolous as these, that the court of Madrid began to project an offensive alliance with the king's enemies; a design which it now professes to have entertained from the moment when it separated itself from the common cause, but which was long after that period disguised under the most positive and explicit assurances of neutrality.

It is insinuated, that the good offices of his catholic majesty, for bringing about a general pacifi-

cation, had been tendered to Great Britain, and had been refused. What degree of impartiality could have been expected from such a mediation, the dispositions which Spain now avows herself to have entertained at that period sufficiently shew; his majesty exercised his undoubted right of judging for himself and for his people, how far a negotiation, commenced under such auspices, was likely to contribute to the honour and interest of his dominions; and he now finds the propriety of his decision confirmed beyond a doubt, by the conduct and avowals of Spain.

It is next stated, that in the prosecution of the war, in which Great Britain is engaged, her views seem uniformly to have been directed to the annoyance of the Spanish possessions in America. In support of this accusation are adduced an expedition directed against St. Domingo, the conquest of the Dutch colony of Demerary, and the supposed establishment of British commercial companies on the banks of the Mississippi, formed with a view of penetrating to the South Sea.

This latter point is one to which it is impossible to make a specific answer, because the British government has no knowledge of any fact to which it can refer. Within the Spanish territory, the Spanish government certainly possesses both the right and the power to prevent individuals from trading. Within the American territory, his majesty's subjects have by treaty a right to settle and to trade; and they have also an express right freely to navigate the Mississippi, by which the territories of Spain and of the United States are divided from each other. Unless, therefore, it can be shewn that the British government has authorized any settlement

on the Spanish territory, this complaint can afford no pretence for hostility against his majesty.

With regard to the expedition against St. Domingo, and to the conquest of Demerary, it is impossible to refrain from remarking, that however highly the rights of neutral nations ought to be respected, and whatever delicacy his majesty might be disposed to feel towards those of a power so lately his ally, and not yet become his enemy—it is a new and hitherto unheard-of claim of neutrality, which is to be circumscribed by no bounds, either of time or place; which extends equally beyond the date, and beyond the limits of possession, and is to attach not to the territories of a neutral power itself, but to whatever may once have belonged to it, and to whatever may be situated in its neighbourhood, although in the possession of an actual enemy.

The subject, however, of St. Domingo, deserves to be more particularly adverted to, because the attempt on the part of Spain to cede a part of that island to France, is a breach of that solemn treaty under which alone the crown of Spain holds any part of its American possessions. The conclusion of such an article, without the knowledge of an ally so deeply concerned as Great Britain in that stipulation, both in right and interest, was therefore an act, such as would have justified any measures to which the court of London could have recourse; yet so earnest was the king's desire to maintain peace with Spain, that he repeatedly endeavoured to fix, by an amicable discussion with that court, the period when the right of Spain to the territory so ceded was to cease, in order that any operation, which it

might become expedient for his troops to undertake there, might be directed against the French alone. And although no explanation could ever be obtained from the court of Madrid on this subject, his commanders on the spot were restrained from acting, and did not act against the Spanish part of the island, till the cession actually took place, by which it became, as far as the act of Spain could make it, a part of the territories of France.

To the accusations which made up the greater part of the remainder of the manifesto, respecting the detention or capture of merchant ships, or the violation of territory therein mentioned, it is sufficient to reply, that in every case of such a nature which has been brought to the knowledge of the British government, the most effectual measures have been instantly taken for instituting inquiry into the particulars of the transaction, for collecting the proofs necessary to ascertain the fact on which the charge was founded, and for submitting the whole to that regular course of proceeding in which justice is to be rendered in these cases, according to the established practice throughout Europe, and to the express stipulations of the treaties between Great Britain and Spain.

Amidst the wide and complicated operations of a naval war, extended over every quarter of the globe, it is not improbable that some disorders and irregularities may have taken place, which the utmost vigilance of the government could not immediately discover or repress; and that in the exercise of the undoubted right of a power at war, to search out and seize the property of the enemy, the rights of neutral nations may, in some instances, have been unintentionally exposed

exposed to temporary molestation. The same observation was not less applicable to Spain in her war with France; and the short interval that has elapsed since her declaration against Great Britain has amply shewn that similar complaints will arise from her conduct in the present war.

The utmost that can be demanded in such cases of a power at war, is, that it should shew itself ready on all occasions to listen to the remonstrances and reclamations of those whom it may have aggrieved, and prompt and expeditious in redressing their injuries, and in restoring their property: and to the readiness of the British government to fulfil these duties, in every case where they have been called upon to do so, even Spain herself may safely be called to bear witness. Nor would it be easy to cite a more striking proof of the friendly disposition of the king's government, and of the particular attention manifested towards the rights and interests of Spain, than arises from an impartial examination of the detail of what has passed on this subject. It will be found that the causes of complaints, whether well or ill-founded, which have been brought forward, are much fewer than ever have occurred within the same period in former times. And the court of Spain, when called upon to specify particulars on this head, is obliged to have recourse to an allegation of the depredations of Corsican privateers.

There remains but one ground upon which the court of Spain pretends to account to the world for the rash and perfidious step which it has taken in declaring war against England, and to excuse to Europe the calamities which cannot fail to result from such a measure; the

supposed decree of arrest asserted to have been issued against the Spanish ambassador at the court of London. The fact, to which this relates, must have been grossly mistaken before it could be made to appear, even in the eyes of Spain, a fit motive for the slightest representation or complaint, much more a justifiable cause of war between the two kingdoms.

By the stress which is laid upon this transaction, who is there that would not be led to imagine that the law-suit commenced against the Spanish ambassador was attended with some peculiar circumstances of personal indignity? That the result was intentional, and originated with the British government? or that, on being apprised of the offence, the court of London had shewn some unwillingness or delay in proceeding to the prosecution of the parties concerned in it?

Who but would be astonished to learn that the process itself was no more than a simple citation to answer at law for a debt demanded? that the suing this process was the mistaken act of an individual, who was immediately disavowed by the government, and ordered to be prosecuted for his conduct, and who made (but made in vain) repeated and submissive applications to the Spanish ambassador for forgiveness and interference on his behalf? that cases of the same nature have frequently arisen in England from the ignorance of individuals, and from the ready appeal to the laws which the happy constitution of the country admits and authorizes, without the previous intervention or knowledge of any branch of the executive government; and that in all similar cases, and particularly in one which had occurred only a few weeks before,

pre-

precisely the same measures have been pursued by the government to vindicate the privileges of foreign ministers, and have uniformly, and without exception, been accepted as completely adequate to that object, and satisfactory to the dignity and honour of the sovereign whom the case concerned?

Such then are the frivolous motives, and pretended wrongs, which Spain has chosen to assign as the justification of her declaration of war against Great Britain. Such are the topics of complaint upon which his majesty has repeatedly offered the most unequivocal explanation; upon which he has long and earnestly endeavoured to persuade the court of Madrid to enter into a full and amicable discussion, for the purpose of averting from his own subjects, from those of his catholic majesty, and from Europe, the extremities of war.

When upon grounds of such a nature, and with the offer of negotiation repeatedly presented to its choice, a power has wilfully and wantonly chosen a war, in which its prosperity, its happiness, and its safety, are hazarded, and in which it will have as much to fear from the success of its allies, as from that of its enemies—it surely is not too much to presume, that, even in its own eyes, that power is not justified for the proceeding which it adopted, and that there must be some unassigned motive of irresistible necessity, which induces it to pursue measures alike inconsistent with its interest and with its honour.

It will be plain to all posterity—it is now notorious to Europe, that neither to the genuine wishes, nor even to the mistaken policy of Spain, her present conduct is to be attributed; that not from enmity towards Great Britain, not from any

resentment of past or apprehension of future injuries, but from a blind subserviency to the views of his majesty's enemies, from the dominion usurped over her councils and actions by her new allies, she has been compelled to act in a quarrel, and for interests, not her own: to take up arms against one of those powers in whose cause she has professed to feel the strongest interest; and even to menace with hostility another, against whom no cause of complaint is pretended, except its honourable and faithful adherence to its engagements.

Under these circumstances, his majesty forbears to enumerate the several grounds of just complaint which he has had occasion, on his part, to prefer to the court of Madrid, since the conclusion of the peace between France and Spain; the many and gross instances of unjust partiality towards his enemies, of undue protection afforded to their ships, and of injuries committed, and allowed to be committed, on those of his majesty and his subjects.

Confident of having acquitted himself to the world of any share in originating the present war, he finds in the manifest and unprovoked aggression of the enemy, a sufficient cause for calling forth the resources of his kingdoms, and the spirit of his subjects; and he commits to the Divine Providence the issue of a contest, which it was to the last moment his earnest endeavour to avoid, and which he now ardently desires to bring to a speedy and honourable termination.

Note transmitted to M. Barthelemy, Ambassador from the French Republic to the Helvetic Body, by Mr.

Mr. Wickham, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, March 8, 1796.

The undersigned, his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, is authorized to convey to monsieur Barthelemy the desire of his court to be made acquainted, through him, with the dispositions of France in regard to the object of a general pacification. He therefore requests monsieur Barthelemy to transmit to him in writing (and after having made the necessary inquiries) his answer to the following questions:

1. Is there the disposition in France to open a negotiation with his majesty and his allies for the re-establishment of a general peace, upon just and suitable terms, by sending for that purpose ministers to a congress, at such place as may hereafter be agreed upon?

2. Would there be the disposition to communicate to the undersigned the general grounds of a pacification, such as France would be willing to propose; in order that his majesty and his allies might thereupon examine in concert, whether they are such as might serve as the foundation of a negotiation for peace?

3. Or would there be a desire to propose any other way whatever, for arriving at the same end, that of a general pacification?

The undersigned is authorized to receive from monsieur Barthelemy the answers to these questions, and to transmit them to his court; but he is not authorized to enter with him into negotiation or discussion upon these subjects.

(Signed) W. WICKHAM.

Berne, March 8, 1796.

Note transmitted to Mr. Wickham by M. Barthelemy, March 26, 1796.

The undersigned, ambassador of the French republic to the Helvetic body, has transmitted to the executive directory the note which Mr. Wickham, his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, was pleased to convey to him, dated the 8th of March. He has it in command to answer it by an exposition of the sentiments and dispositions of the executive directory.

The directory ardently desires to procure for the French republic a just, honourable, and solid peace. The step taken by Mr. Wickham would have afforded to the directory a real satisfaction, if the declaration itself which that minister makes of his not having any order, any power to negotiate, did not give room to doubt of the sincerity of the pacific intentions of his court. In fact, if it were true that England began to know her real interests; that she wished to open again for herself the sources of abundance and prosperity; if she sought for peace with good faith, would she propose a congress, of which the necessary result must be, to render all negotiation endless? Or would she confine herself to the asking, in a vague manner, that the French government should point out any other way whatever, for attaining the same object, that of a general pacification?

Is it that this step has had no other object than to obtain for the British government the favourable impression which always accompanies the first overtures for peace? May it not have been accompanied with the hope that they would produce no effect?

However that may be, the executive

cutive directory, whose policy has no other guides than openness and good faith, will follow, in its explanations, a conduct which shall be wholly conformable to them. Yielding to the ardent desire by which it is animated, to procure peace for the French republic, and for all nations, it will not fear to declare itself openly. Charged by the constitution with the execution of the laws, it cannot make, or listen to any proposal that would be contrary to them. The constitutional act does not permit it to consent to any alienation of that, which, according to the existing laws, constitutes the territory of the republic.

With respect to the countries occupied by the French armies, and which have not been united to France, they, as well as other interests political and commercial, may become the subject of a negotiation, which will present to the directory the means of proving how much it desires to attain speedily to a happy pacification.

The directory is ready to receive, in this respect, any overtures that shall be just, reasonable, and compatible with the dignity of the republic.

(Signed) BARTHELEMY.

Basle, the 6th of Germinal, the fourth Year of the French Republic (26th of March, 1796).

Note, published by the Court of London, as a Comment on the above Correspondence.

The court of London has received from its minister in Switzerland the answer made to the questions which he had been

charged to propose to monsieur Barthelemy, in respect to the opening of a negotiation for the re-establishing of general tranquillity.

This court has seen, with regret, how far the tone and spirit of that answer, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any disposition for peace.

The inadmissible pretension is there avowed of appropriating to France all that the laws actually existing there may have comprised under the denomination of French territory. To a demand such as this, is added an express declaration, that no proposal contrary to it will be made, or even listened to. And even this, under the pretence of an internal regulation, the provisions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations.

While these dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the king, but to prosecute a war equally just and necessary.

Whenever his enemies shall manifest more pacific sentiments, his majesty will, at all times, be eager to concur in them, by lending himself, in concert with his allies, to all such measures as shall be best calculated to re-establish general tranquillity on conditions just, honourable, and permanent, either by the establishment of a congress, which has been so often and so happily the means of restoring peace to Europe, or by a preliminary discussion of the principles which may be proposed, on either side, as a foundation of a general pacification; or lastly, by an impartial examination of any other way which may be pointed out to him for arriving at the same salutary end.

Downing-street, April 10, 1796.

Official

Official Correspondence, published by the British Government, relative to the Negotiation for Peace between the French Republic and Great Britain.

No. 1.

SIR,

In obedience to the orders of the king, my master, I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed note, and to request of you that you will forward it to his Danish majesty's minister at Paris, to be by him communicated to the executive directory.

The sentiments of your court are too well known to the king to admit of his majesty's entertaining any doubt of the satisfaction with which his Danish majesty will see the intervention of his ministers employed on such an occasion, or of the earnestness with which you, sir, will concur in a measure which has for its object the re-establishment of peace.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble,
And most obedient servant,

GRENVILLE.

*To the Count Wedel Jarlsberg,
Ec. Ec. Ec.*

No. 2.

NOTE.

His Britannic majesty, animated with the same desire, which he has already manifested, to terminate, by just, honourable, and permanent conditions of peace, a war which has extended itself throughout all parts of the world, is willing to omit nothing on his part which may contribute to this object.

It is with this view that he has thought it proper to avail himself of the confidential intervention of

the ministers of a neutral power, to demand of the executive directory passports for a person of confidence whom his majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss, with the government there, all the means the most proper to produce so desirable an end.

And his majesty is persuaded that he shall receive, without delay, through the same channel, a satisfactory answer to this demand, which cannot fail to place in a still clearer light the just and pacific dispositions which he entertains in common with his allies.

GRENVILLE.

Westminster, Sept. 6, 1796.

No. 3.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your excellency, that the note addressed to the executive directory of France, in date of the 6th of the present month, was transmitted by Mr. Koenemann, chargé d'affaires of his Danish majesty, to Mr. Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs at Paris, who promised that an answer should be returned to it after it had been submitted to the consideration of the government. Three days having elapsed in expectation of this answer, Mr. Koenemann went a second time to the minister abovementioned, who gave him to understand, that the executive directory had not permitted him to return an answer in writing, but that he was directed to express himself verbally to this effect:

“ That the executive directory of the French republic would not, for the future, receive or answer any overtures or confidential papers transmitted through any intermediate channel from the enemies of the republic; but that if they would

would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, these might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris."

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect,

My Lord,

Your excellency's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

(Signed)

COMTE DE WEDEL JARLSBERG.

London, Sept. 3, 1796.

No. 4.

SIR, *Paris, Sept. 19, 1796.*

I was indisposed at my country house when your excellency's courier brought me the letters which your excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 7th instant, together with the note of lord Grenville inclosed therein. I set off for Paris on the following day, where, after demanding an audience of citizen Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs, I presented the note abovementioned, accompanied with another in my own name, in which I explained the motives that had induced me to undertake a measure for which I had no authority from my court. He promised to submit the two notes to the inspection of the government, and to return me an answer immediately. Having waited for three days without receiving an answer, I went a second time to wait upon the minister, who, in a very dry tone, informed me, that the executive directory had not permitted him to return an answer in writing, but that he was directed to express himself verbally to this effect:

"That the executive directory of the French Republic would not, for the future, receive or answer

any confidential overtures or papers transmitted through any intermediate channel from the enemies of the republic; but that if they would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, these might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris."

Such, sir, is the result of a measure which I have taken at your request. I wish, for the sake of humanity, that we may meet with better success at some future period; but I fear that this period is still at a great distance.

I have the honour to be, with respectful attachment,

Sir,

Your excellency's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

KOENEMANN.

To his Excellency the Count Wedel Jarlsberg, &c. &c. &c.

No. 5.

NOTE.

In demanding of the executive directory of the French Republic, through the intervention of the ministers of a neutral power, a passport for a confidential person to be sent to Paris, the court of London accompanied this demand with the express declaration, that this person should be commissioned to discuss with the government all the means the most proper for conducting to the re-establishment of peace.

The king, persevering in the same sentiments, which he has already so unequivocally declared, will not leave to his enemies the smallest pretext for eluding a discussion, the result of which will necessarily serve either to produce the happiness of so many nations, or at least

least to render evident the views and dispositions of those who oppose themselves to it.

It is therefore in pursuance of these sentiments, that the undersigned is charged to declare, that as soon as the executive directory shall think proper to transmit to the undersigned the necessary passports (of which he, by this note, renews the demand already made) his Britannic majesty will send to Paris a person furnished with full powers, and official instructions, to negotiate with the executive directory on the means of terminating the present war, by a pacification just, honourable, and solid, calculated to restore repose to Europe, and to ensure, for the time to come, the general tranquillity.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

*Westminster, Sept. 27, 1796.
To the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
at Paris.*

No. 6.

I have the honour to transmit to lord Grenville a copy of the decree of the executive directory of the French Republic, in answer to his note of the 27th September, 1796, (O. S.)

He will there see a proof of the earnest desire of the French government to profit of the overture that is made to them, in the hope that it may lead to peace with the government of England.

I have the honour to send him, at the same time, the passports required for the minister plenipotentiary, whom his Britannic majesty proposes to name to treat; and I request lord Grenville to accept the assurance of my personal wishes for the success of this negotiation,

as well as that of my most perfect consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

*Paris, 11 Vendemiaire, 5th year
of the French Republic.*

No. 7.

*Extract from the Register of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.
The 9th Vendemiaire, 5th year of the
French Republic, one and indivisible.*

The executive directory, upon consideration of the note addressed to the minister for foreign affairs by lord Grenville, dated September 27, 1796, wishing to give a proof of the desire which it entertains to make peace with England, decrees as follows:

The minister for foreign affairs is charged to deliver the necessary passports to the envoy of England, who shall be furnished with full powers, not only for preparing and negotiating the peace between the French republic and that power, but for concluding it definitively between them.

True copy.

(Signed) L. M. REVEILLERE
LEPEAUX, president.

By the executive directory.
For the secretary general.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
Certified true copy.

The minister for foreign affairs,
CH. DELACROIX.

By the minister.

J. GIRAUDET, sec. gen.

No. 7.*

Lord Malmesbury, who is appointed by the king to treat with the French government for a just and equitable peace, calculated to

* Sic Orig.

restore peace to Europe, and to ensure the public tranquillity for the time to come, will have the honour of delivering this letter from me to M. Delacroix.

The distinguished rank and merit of the minister of whom his majesty has made choice on this occasion, makes it unnecessary for me to say any thing in his recommendation; at the same time that it furnishes a fresh proof of the desire of his majesty to contribute to the success of this negotiation: for which object I entertain the most sanguine wishes.

Monsieur Delacroix will have the goodness to accept from me the assurance of my most perfect consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, October 13, 1796.

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Paris.

No. 8.

Lord Malmesbury, named by his Britannic majesty as his plenipotentiary to the French republic, has the honour to announce, by his secretary, to the minister for foreign affairs, his arrival at Paris; and to request of him, at the same time, to be so good as to appoint the hour at which he may wait upon him, for the purpose of communicating to him the object of his mission.

Paris, October 22, 1796.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 9.

The minister for foreign affairs learns with satisfaction the arrival of lord Malmesbury, plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty. He will have the honour to receive him to-morrow at eleven o'clock in the morning, or at any later hour that may suit him, till two 1796.

o'clock. He hopes that lord Malmesbury will forgive him for thus limiting the time, on account of the nature and the multiplicity of his occupations.

1st Brumaire, An 5. (October 22, 1796.)

To Lord Malmesbury, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty to the French Republic, at Paris.

No. 10.

Lord Malmesbury has the honour to thank the minister for foreign affairs for the obliging answer which he has just received from him.

He accepts with pleasure the first moment proposed, and will wait upon him to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock precisely.

Paris, Oct. 22.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 11.

The minister for foreign affairs has the honour to apprise lord Malmesbury, commissioner plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, that he has received from the executive directory the necessary powers for negotiating and concluding peace between the republic and his majesty.

To-morrow, if lord Malmesbury pleases, the respective powers shall be exchanged. The minister for foreign affairs will then be ready to receive the propositions, which lord Malmesbury is commissioned to make to the republic on the part of his Britannic majesty.

The minister for foreign affairs requests lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

2 Brumaire, An 5. (Oct. 23, 1796.)

(1)

No:

No. 12.

Lord Malmesbury has the honour to present his acknowledgements to the minister for foreign affairs for the communication which he has just made to him, and he will have the honour to wait upon him to-morrow, at the hour which he shall have the goodness to appoint, to receive the copy of the full powers with which he is furnished on the part of the executive directory; and as soon as they shall have been exchanged, he will be ready to commence the negotiation with which he is charged.

He requests the minister for foreign affairs to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Paris, Oct. 23d, 1796.

No 13.

Extract from the Register of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.

2 Brumaire, (23 Oct.) 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The executive directory, after having heard the report of the minister for foreign affairs —

The citizen Charles Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs, is charged to negotiate with lord Malmesbury, commissioner plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, furnished with full powers to prepare and negotiate peace between the French republic and that power, and to conclude it definitively between them. The directory gives to the said minister all powers necessary for concluding and signing the treaty of peace to take place between the republic and his Britannic majesty. He shall conform himself to the instructions which shall be given him. He shall render a regular account, from time

to time, of the progress and of the issue of the negotiation.

The present decree shall not be printed at this time.

A true copy.

(Signed) L. R. REVEILLERE LEPEAUX.

By the executive directory.

The secretary general.

(Signed) LA GARDE.

Copy.

The minister for foreign affairs.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the minister.

(L. S.) T. GIRAUDET, sec. gen.

No. 14.

MEMORIAL.

His Britannic majesty desiring, as he has already declared, to contribute, as far as depends on him, to the re-establishment of public tranquillity, and to ensure, by the means of just, honourable, and solid conditions of peace, the future repose of Europe; his majesty is of opinion, that the best means of attaining, with all possible expedition, that salutary end, will be to agree, at the beginning of the negotiation, on the general principle which shall serve as a basis for the definitive arrangements.

The first object of negotiations for peace generally relates to the restrictions and cessions which the respective parties have mutually to demand, in consequence of the events of war.

Great Britain, from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France, from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of a value almost incalculable.

But,

But, on the other hand, France has made, on the continent of Europe, conquests to which his majesty can be the less indifferent, as the most important interests of his people, and the most sacred engagements of his crown, are essentially implicated therein.

The magnanimity of the king, his inviolable good faith, and his desire to restore repose to so many nations, induce him to consider this situation of affairs as affording the means of procuring for all the belligerent powers just and equitable terms of peace, and such as are calculated to ensure for the time to come the general tranquillity.

It is on this footing, then, that he purposed to negotiate, by offering to make compensation to France, by proportionable restitutions, for those arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just demands of the king's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

Having made this first overture, his majesty will, in the sequel, explain himself more particularly on the application of this principle to the different objects which may be discussed between the respective parties.

It is this application which will constitute the subject of those discussions, into which his majesty has authorized his minister to enter, as soon as the principle to be adopted as the general basis of the negotiation is known.

But his majesty cannot omit to declare, that if this generous and equitable offer should not be accepted, or if, unfortunately, the discussions which may ensue, should fail to produce the desired effect, neither this general proposition,

nor those more detailed which may result from it, can be regarded, in any case, as points agreed upon or admitted by his majesty.

(Signed) MALMESBURY,
minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty.

Paris, Oct. 24, 1796.

No. 15.

Extract from the Register of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris, 5 Brumaire, 5th year of the Republic, one and indivisible

The executive directory orders the minister for foreign affairs to make the following answer to lord Malmesbury :

The executive directory sees with pain, that at the moment when it had reason to hope for the speedy return of peace between the French republic and his Britannic majesty, the proposal of lord Malmesbury offers nothing but dilatory or very distant means of bringing the negotiation to a conclusion.

The directory observes, that if lord Malmesbury would have agreed to treat separately, as he was formally authorized by the tenour of his credentials, the negotiations might have been considerably abridged; that the necessity of balancing with the interests of the two powers those of the allies of Great Britain, multiplies the combinations, increases the difficulties, tends to the formation of a congress, the forms of which, it is known, are always tardy, and requires the accession of powers which hitherto have displayed no desire of accommodation, and have not given to lord Malmesbury himself, according to his own declaration, any power to stipulate for them.

Thus, without prejudging the
(12) intentions

intentions of lord Malmesbury; without drawing any conclusion from the circumstance of his declaration not appearing to accord with his credentials; without supposing that he has received any secret instructions which would destroy the effect of his ostensible powers; without pretending, in short, to assert, that the British government have had a double object in view — to prevent, by general propositions, the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing upon the republic the odium of delay occasioned by themselves; the executive directory cannot but perceive, that the proposition of lord Malmesbury is nothing more than a renewal, under more amicable forms, of the propositions made last year by Mr. Wickham, and that it presents but a distant hope of peace.

The executive directory farther observes, with regard to the principle of retrocessions advanced by lord Malmesbury, that such a principle, presented in a vague and isolated manner, cannot serve as the basis of negotiation; that the first points of consideration are, the common necessity of a just and solid peace, the political equilibrium which absolute retrocessions might destroy, and then the means which the belligerent powers may possess — the one to retain conquests made at a time when it was supported by a great number of allies, now detached from the coalition; and the other, to recover them at a time when those who were at first its enemies, have, almost all, become either its allies, or at least neuter.

Nevertheless, the executive directory, animated with an ardent

desire of putting a stop to the scourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declares, that as soon as lord Malmesbury shall exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs sufficient powers, from the allies of Great Britain, for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their names, the executive directory will hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which shall be submitted to them, and that the difficulties shall be removed, as far as may be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic.

A true copy.

(Signed) L. M. REVEILLERE LEPEAUX, president.

By the executive directory.

(Signed) LAGARDE, secretary general.

A true copy.

The minister for foreign affairs,
CH. DELACROIX.

By the minister.

The secretary general,
J. GIRAUDET.

No. 16.

NOTE.

The undersigned has not failed to transmit to his court the answer of the executive directory to the proposals which he was charged to make, as an opening to a pacific negotiation.

With regard to the offensive and injurious insinuations which are contained in that paper, and which are only calculated to throw new obstacles in the way of the accommodation which the French government professes to desire, the king has deemed it far beneath his dignity

nity to permit an answer to be made to them on his part in any manner whatsoever.

The progress and the result of the negotiation will sufficiently prove the principles by which it will have been directed on each side; and it is neither by revolting reproaches wholly destitute of foundation, nor by reciprocal invective, that a sincere wish to accomplish the great work of pacification can be evinced.

The undersigned passes, therefore, to the first object of discussion brought forward in the answer of the executive directory;—that of a separate negotiation, to which it has been supposed, without the smallest foundation, that the undersigned was authorized to accede.

His full powers, made out in the usual form, give him all necessary authority to negotiate and to conclude the peace; but these powers prescribe to him neither the form, the nature, nor the conditions of the future treaty.

Upon these points, he is bound to conform himself, according to the long established and received custom of Europe, to the instructions which he shall receive from his court; and accordingly he did not fail to acquaint the minister for foreign affairs, at their first conference, that the king his master had expressly enjoined him to listen to no proposal tending to separate the interests of his majesty from those of his allies.

There can be no question then but of a negotiation which shall combine the interests and pretensions of all the powers who make a common cause with the king in the present war.

In the course of such a negotiation, the intervention, or, at least, the participation of these powers,

will doubtless become absolutely necessary; and his majesty hopes to find at all times the same dispositions to treat, upon a just and equitable basis, of which his majesty, the emperor and king, gave to the French government so striking a proof at the very moment of the opening of the present campaign.

But it appears, that the waiting for a formal and definitive authority on the part of the allies of the king, before Great Britain and France begin to discuss, even provisionally, the principles of the negotiation, would be to create a very useless delay.

A conduct wholly different has been observed by those two powers on almost all similar occasions; and his majesty thinks, that the best proof which they can give, at the present moment, to all Europe, of their mutual desire to put a stop, as soon as possible, to the calamities of war, would be to settle, without delay, the basis of a combined negotiation, inviting, at the same time, their allies to concur in it, in the manner the most proper for accelerating the general pacification.

It is with this view that the undersigned was charged to propose at first, and at the very commencement of the negotiation, a principle, which the generosity and good faith of his majesty could alone dictate to him—that of making compensation to France, by proportionable restitutions, for the arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the king's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

The executive directory has not explained itself in a precise manner, either as to the acceptance of this

this principle, or as to the changes or modifications which it may desire to be made in it; nor has it, in short, proposed any other principle whatever to answer the same end.

The undersigned, then, has orders to recur to this point, and to demand, on that head, a frank and precise explanation, in order to a-bridge the delays which must necessarily result from the difficulty of form which has been started by the executive directory.

He is authorized to add to this demand the express declaration, that his majesty, in communicating to his august allies every successive step which he may take, relative to the object of the present negotiation, and in fulfilling, towards these sovereigns, in the most efficacious manner, all the duties of a good and faithful ally, will omit nothing on his part, as well to dispose them to concur in this negotiation, by the means the most proper to facilitate its progress, and insure its success, as to induce them always to persist in sentiments conformable to the wishes which he entertains for the return of a general peace, upon just, honourable, and permanent conditions.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Paris, November 12, 1796.

No. 17.

The undersigned is charged, by the executive directory, to invite you to point out, without the smallest delay, and expressly, the objects of reciprocal compensation which you propose.

He is, moreover, charged to demand of you, what are the dispositions to treat, on a just and equitable basis, of which his majesty, the emperor and king, gave to the French government so striking a

proof at the very commencement of the campaign. The executive directory is unacquainted with it.—It was the emperor and king who broke the armistice.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
*Paris, 22 Brumaire (Nov. 12),
5th year of the French Republic.*

No. 18.

The undersigned does not hesitate a moment to answer the two questions which you have been instructed by the executive directory to put to him.

The memorial presented this morning by the undersigned proposes, in express terms, on the part of his majesty the king of Great Britain, to compensate France, by proportionable restitutions, for the arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the king's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

Before the formal acceptation of this principle, or the proposal, on the part of the executive directory, of some other principle which might equally serve as the basis of a negotiation for a general peace, the undersigned cannot be authorized to designate the objects of reciprocal compensation.

As to the proof of the pacific disposition given to the French government by his majesty, the emperor and king, at the opening of the campaign, the undersigned contents himself with a reference to the following words contained in the note of baron d'Eggleman, on the 4th of June last.

“The operations of the war will in no wise prevent his imperial majesty from being ever ready to concur, agreeably to any form of negotiation which shall be adopted, in concert with the belligerent powers,

powers, in the discussion of proper means for putting a stop to the farther effusion of human blood."

This note was presented after the armistice was broken.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 12, 1796.

No. 19.

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty requests the minister for foreign affairs to inform him, whether he is to consider the official note, which he received from him yesterday evening, as the answer to that which lord Malmesbury delivered yesterday morning to the minister for foreign affairs by order of his court. He applies for this information, that the departure of his courier may not be unnecessarily delayed.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 13, 1796.

No. 20.

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, declares to lord Malmesbury, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, that he is to consider the official note sent to him yesterday as the answer to that which lord Malmesbury had addressed to him on the morning of the same day.

CHARLES DELACROIX.

23 Brumaire, 5th year. (November 13, 1796.)

No. 21.

Lord Malmesbury has just received the answer of the minister for foreign affairs, in which he declares that the official note which he sent to him yesterday is to be considered as the answer to that which lord Malmesbury addressed to him on the morning of the same day.

Lord Malmesbury will transmit it; this day, to his court.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, Nov. 13, 1796.

No. 22.

The undersigned, in reply to your second note of yesterday, is ordered, by the executive directory, to declare to you, that he has nothing to add to the answer which has been addressed to you. He is also instructed to ask you, whether, on each official communication which shall take place between you and him, it will be necessary for you to send a courier to receive special instructions?

CHARLES DELACROIX.

Paris, 24 Brumaire, (Nov. 14) 5th year.

No. 23.

The undersigned will not fail to transmit to his court the note which he has just received from the minister of foreign affairs. He declares likewise, that he shall dispatch couriers to his court as often as the official communications made to him may require special instructions.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, Nov. 14, 1796.

No. 24.

NOTE.

The court of London, having been informed of what has passed in consequence of the last memorial, delivered, by its order, to the minister for foreign affairs, does not think it necessary to add anything to the answer made by the undersigned to the two questions which the directory thought proper to address to him.

That court waits, therefore, and with the greatest anxiety, for an
(14) explanation

explanation of the sentiments of the directory, with regard to the principle it has proposed as the basis of the negotiation, and the adoption of which appeared to be the best means of accelerating the progress of a discussion so important to the happiness of so many nations.

The undersigned has, in consequence, received orders to renew the demand of a frank and precise answer on this point, in order that his court may know, with certainty, whether the directory accepts that proposal, or desires to make any change or modifications whatever in it; or lastly, whether it would wish to propose any other principle that may promote the same end.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 26, 1796.

No. 25.

In answer to the note delivered yesterday (6 Frimaire, Nov. 26) by lord Malmesbury, the undersigned minister for foreign affairs is instructed by the directory to observe, that the answers made on the 5th and 22d of last Brumaire contained an acknowledgment of the principle of compensation, and that, in order to remove every pretext for farther discussion on that point, the undersigned, in the name of the executive directory, now makes a formal and positive declaration of such acknowledgment.

In consequence, lord Malmesbury is again invited to give a speedy and categorical answer to the proposal made to him on the 22d of last Brumaire, and which was conceived in these terms: "the undersigned is instructed by the executive directory to invite you to designate, without the least de-

lay, and expressly, the objects of reciprocal compensation which you have to propose."

CH. DELACROIX.

*Paris, 7 Frimaire, (Nov. 27)
5th year.*

No. 26.

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, in answer to the note dated this morning, which was sent to him by the minister for foreign affairs, hastens to assure him, that he will not delay a moment in communicating it to his court, from which he must necessarily wait for further orders, before he can explain himself upon the important points which it contains.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, 27th November, 1796.

No. 27.

NOTE.

The undersigned is charged to transmit to the minister for foreign affairs the enclosed memorial, containing the proposals of his court, with respect to the application of the general principle already established as the basis of the negotiation for peace.

He will, with the utmost readiness, enter with that minister into every explanation which the state and progress of the negotiation will allow, and he will not fail to enter into the discussion of these propositions, or of any counter-project which may be transmitted to him on the part of the executive directory, with that frankness and that spirit of conciliation which correspond with the just and pacific intentions of his court.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, December 17, 1796.

No. 28.

Confidential Memorial, on the principal Objects of Restitution, Compensation, and reciprocal Arrangement.

The principle, already established as the basis of negotiation, by the consent of the two governments, is founded on restitutions to be made by his Britannic majesty to France, in compensation for the arrangements to which that power may consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the allies of the king, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

In order to accomplish these objects in the manner the most complete, and to offer a fresh proof of the sincerity of his wishes for the re-establishment of general tranquillity, his majesty would propose, that there should be given to this principle, on each side, all the latitude of which it may be susceptible.

I. His majesty demands therefore,

1. The restitution to his majesty, the emperor and king, of all his dominions, on the footing of the *status ante bellum*.

2. The re-establishment of peace between the Germanic empire and France, by a suitable arrangement conformable to the respective interests, and the general safety of Europe. This arrangement to be negotiated with his imperial majesty, as constitutional head of the empire, either by the intervention of the king, or immediately, as his imperial majesty shall prefer.

3. The evacuation of Italy by the French troops, with an engagement not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country; which should be re-established, as far as possible, upon the footing of the *status ante bellum*.

In the course of the negotiation, a more detailed discussion may be

entered into of the further measures which may be proper to adopt respecting the objects of these three articles, in order to the providing more effectually for the future security of the respective limits or possessions, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.

II. With regard to the other allies of his Britannic majesty, his majesty demands, that there be reserved to her majesty the empress of all the Russias a full and unlimited power of taking part in this negotiation whenever she may think fit, or of acceding to the definitive treaty, and thereby returning to a state of peace with France.

III. His majesty also demands, that her most faithful majesty may be comprehended in this negotiation, and may return to a state of peace with France, without any cession or burthen some condition on either side.

IV. On these conditions his majesty offers to France the entire and unreserved restitution of all the conquests which he has made on that power in the East and West Indies, proposing at the same time that a mutual understanding should be established as to the means of securing, for the future, the tranquillity of the two nations, and of consolidating, as much as possible, the advantages of their respective possessions. His majesty offers, in like manner, the restitution of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and of the fishery of Newfoundland, on the footing of the *status ante bellum*.

But if, in addition to this, his majesty were to wave the right given to him by the express stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, of opposing the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France, his majesty would then demand, in return

turn for this concession, a compensation, which might secure, at least in some degree, the maintenance of the balance of the respective possessions in that part of the world.

V. In all the cases of cessions or restitutions which may come in question in the course of this negotiation, there should be granted on each side to all individuals the most unlimited right to withdraw with their families and their property, and to sell their land and other immoveable possessions; and adequate arrangements should be also made, in the course of this negotiation, for the removal of all sequestrations, and for the satisfaction of the just claims, which individuals on either side may have to make upon the respective governments.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

— — —
No. 29.

Confidential Memorial on the Peace with Spain and Holland.

The allies of France not having hitherto expressed any desire or disposition to treat with the king, his majesty might have forborne to enter into any detail on their account; but in order to avoid any delays prejudicial to the great object which the king has in view, and to accelerate the work of a general peace, his majesty will not refuse to explain himself in the first instance on the points which concern those powers. If then the catholic king should desire to be comprehended in this negotiation, or to be allowed to accede to the definitive treaty, this would meet with no obstacle on the part of his majesty. Nothing having hitherto been conquered by either of the two sovereigns from the other, no

other point could, at the present moment, come into question but that of the re-establishment of peace, simply, and without any restitution or compensation whatever, except such as might possibly result from the application of the principle declared at the end of the fourth article of the memorial already delivered to the minister for foreign affairs.

But if, during the negotiation, any alteration should take place in the state of things in this respect, it will then be proper to agree upon the restitutions and compensations to be made on each side.

With regard to the republic of the United Provinces, his Britannic Majesty, and his allies, find themselves too nearly interested in the political situation of those provinces, to be able to consent, in her favour, to the re-establishment of the *status ante bellum*, as with respect to territorial possessions, unless France could, on her part, re-instate them, in all respects, in the same political situation in which they stood before the war.

If, at least, it were possible to re-establish in those provinces, agreeably to what is believed to be the wish of a great majority of the inhabitants, their ancient constitution and form of government, his majesty might then be disposed to relax, in their favour, from a very considerable part of the conditions on which the present state of things obliges him to insist.

But if, on the contrary, it is with the republic of Holland, in its present state, that their Britannic and Imperial majesties will have to treat, they will feel themselves obliged to seek, in territorial acquisitions, those compensations and that security which such a state of things

things will have rendered indispensable to them.

Restitutions of any kind, in favour of Holland, could in that case be admitted in so far only as they shall be compensated by arrangements calculated to contribute to the security of the Austrian Netherlands. The means of accomplishing this object will be found in the cessions which France has exacted in her treaty of peace with Holland, and the possession of which, by that power, would, in any case, be absolutely incompatible with the security of the Austrian Netherlands, in the hands of his imperial majesty.

It is on these principles that his Britannic majesty would be ready to treat for the re-establishment of peace with the republic of Holland in its present state.—The details of such a discussion must necessarily lead to the consideration of what would be due to the interests and the rights of the house of Orange.

No. 30.

Paris, Dec. 20, 1796.

MY LORD,

Mr. Ellis returned here from London on Thursday last the 15th instant, at five P. M. and delivered to me the dispatches, No. 11 and 12, with which he was charged by your lordship.

Although nothing can be clearer, more ably drawn up, or more satisfactory than the instructions they contain, yet as it was of the last importance that I should be completely master of the subject before I saw the French minister, I delayed asking for a conference till late on Friday evening, with a view that it should not take place till Saturday morning.

He appointed the hour of eleven A. M. on that day, and it was near one before we parted. Although what is said by M. Delacroix, before he communicated with the directory, cannot be considered as officially binding, and probably may, in the event, be very different from what I shall hear when he speaks to me in their name; yet, as it is impossible they should not nearly conjecture the nature of the overtures I should make, and of course be prepared in some degree for them, it is material that your lordship should be accurately acquainted with the first impressions they appear to make on M. Delacroix.

I prefaced what I had to communicate with saying, that I now came authorized to enter with him into deliberation upon one of the most important subjects that perhaps ever was brought into discussion:—that, as its magnitude forbade all *fineffe*, excluded all prevarication, suspended all prejudices; and, that, as I had it in command to speak and act with freedom and truth, I expected that he, on his part, would consider these as the only means which could or ought to be employed, if he wished to see a negotiation, in which the happiness of millions was involved, terminate successfully. That, for greater precision, and with a view to be clearly understood in what I was about to propose, I would give him a confidential memorial, accompanied by an official note, both which, when he had perused them, would speak for themselves. The memorial contained the conditions, on the accomplishment of which his majesty considered the restoration of peace to depend.—The note was expressive of his majesty's readiness to enter into any
expla-

explanation required by the directory on the subject; or to receive any *contre-projet*, resting on the same basis, which the directory might be disposed to give in. That, moreover, I did not hesitate declaring to him, in conformity to the principles which I had laid down, and from which I certainly never should depart at any period of the negotiation, that I was prepared to answer any questions, explain and elucidate any points on which it was possible to foresee that doubts or misconceptions could arise on the consideration of these papers. And having said thus much, I had only to remark, that I believed, in no similar negotiation which had ever taken place, any minister was authorized, in the first instance, to go so fully into the discussion as I now was. — That I was sure, neither the truth of this remark, nor the manifest conclusion to be drawn from it, would escape M. Delacroix's observation.

I then put the two papers into his hands. He began by reading the note, on which, of course, he could only express satisfaction. — After perusing the confidential memorial with all the attention it deserved, he, after a short pause, said, that it appeared to him to be liable to insurmountable objections; that it seemed to him to require much more than it conceded, and, in the event, not to leave France in a situation of proportional greatness to the other powers of Europe. He said, the act of their constitution, according to the manner in which *it was interpreted by the best publicists*, (and this phrase is worthy remark) made it impossible for the republic to do what we required. The Austrian Netherlands were

annexed to it; they could not be disposed of without flinging the nation into all the confusion which must follow a convocation of the primary assemblies; and he said, he was rather surprised that Great Britain should bring this forward as the governing condition of the treaty, since he thought he had, in some of our late conversations, fully explained the nature of their constitution to me. I replied, that every thing I had heard from him on this point was perfectly in my recollection, as it probably was in his; that though I had listened to him with that attention I always afforded to every thing he said, yet I had never made him any sort of reply, and had neither admitted nor controverted this opinion: that although I believed I could easily disprove this opinion from the spirit of the French constitution itself, yet the discussion of that constitution was perfectly foreign to the object of my mission; since, even allowing his two positions, viz. that the retrocession of the Austrian Netherlands was incompatible with their laws, and that we ought to have known that beforehand, yet that there existed a *droit public* in Europe paramount to any *droit public* they might think proper to establish within their own dominions; and that if their constitution was publicly known, the treaties existing between his majesty and the emperor were at least equally public; and in these it was clearly and distinctly announced, that the contracting parties reciprocally promise not to lay down their arms without the restitution of all the dominions, territories, &c. which may have belonged to either of them before the war. That the date of this stipulation was previous to their

their annexing the Austrian Netherlands to France; and the notoriety of this ought, at the very moment when they had passed that law, to have convinced them, that, if adhered to, it must prove an insurmountable obstacle to peace. I applied his maxim to the West-India islands, and to the settlements in the East Indies; and asked him, whether it was expected that we were to wave our right of possession, and be required still to consider them as integral parts of the French republic which must be restored, and on which no value was to be set in the balance of compensation? I also stated the possible case of France having lost part of what she deemed her integral dominions, instead of having added to them, in the course of the war; and whether then, under the apprehension of still greater losses, the government, as it was now composed, should consider itself as not vested with powers sufficient to save their country from the impending danger, by making peace on the condition of sacrificing a portion of their dominions to save the remainder? M. Delacroix said, this was stating a case of necessity, and such a mode of reasoning did not attach to the present circumstances. I readily admitted the first part of this proposition, but contended, that if the power existed in a case of necessity, it equally existed in all others, and particularly in the case before us, since he himself had repeatedly told me that peace was what this country and its government wished for, and even wanted.

M. Delacroix, in reply, shifted his ground, and, by a string of arguments founded on premises cal-

culated for this purpose, attempted to prove, that, from the relative situation of the adjacent countries, the present government of France would be reprehensible in the extreme, and deserve impeachment, if they ever suffered the Netherlands to be separated from their dominions; that by the partition of Poland, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had increased their power to a most formidable degree; that England, by its conquests, and by the activity and judgment with which it governed its colonies, had redoubled its strength. — Your Indian empire alone, said M. Delacroix, with vehemence, has enabled you to subsidize all the powers of Europe against us; and your monopoly of trade has put you in possession of a fund of inexhaustible wealth. His words were, “*Votre empire dans l’Inde vous a fourni les moyens de salarier toutes les puissances de l’Europe contre nous; et vous avez accaparé le commerce de manière que toutes les richesses du monde se versent dans vos coffres.*”

From the necessity that France should keep the Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine for the purpose of preserving its relative situation in Europe, he passed to the advantages which he contended would result to the other powers by such an addition to the French dominions. Belgium (to use his words), by belonging to France, would remove what had been the source of all wars for two centuries past; and the Rhine, being the natural boundary of France, would ensure the tranquillity of Europe for two centuries to come. I did not feel it necessary to combat this preposterous doctrine; I contented myself with reminding him of what he

he had said to me in one of our last conferences, when he made a comparison of the weakness of France under its monarchs, and its strength and vigour under its republican form of government.—

“*Nous ne sommes plus dans la décrépitude de la France monarchique, mais dans toute la force d'une république adol. scence,*” was his expression; and I inferred from this, according to his own reasoning, that the force and power France had acquired by its change of government, was much greater than it could derive from any acquisition of territory; and that it followed, if France, when under a regal form of government, was a very just and constant object of attention, not to say of jealousy, to the other powers of Europe, France (admitting his axiom) was a much more reasonable object of jealousy and attention under its present constitution than it ever had yet been, and that no addition to its dominions could be seen by its neighbours but under impressions of alarm for their own future safety, and for the general tranquillity of Europe. M. Delacroix's answer to this was so remarkable, that I must beg leave to insert it, in what I believe to be nearly his own words: — “*Dans le tems révolutionnaire tout ce que vous dites, my Lord, étoit vrai — rien n'égalait notre puissance; mais ce tems n'existe plus. Nous ne pouvons plus lever la nation en masse, pour voler au secours de la patrie en danger. Nous ne pouvons plus engager nos concitoyens à ouvrir leurs bourses pour les verser dans le trésor national, et de se priver même du nécessaire pour le bien de la chose publique.*” — And he ended by saying, that the French republic, when at peace, necessarily must become the most quiet and pacific power

in Europe. I only observed, that in this case the passage of the republic from youth to decrepitude had been very sudden; but that still I never could admit that it could be a matter of indifference to its neighbours, much less of necessary security to itself, to acquire such a very extensive addition to its frontiers as that he had hinted at.

This led M. Delacroix to talk of offering an equivalent to the emperor for the Austrian Netherlands; and it was be found, according to his plan, in the secularization of the three ecclesiastical electorates, and several bishopricks in Germany and in Italy.

He talked upon this subject as one very familiar to him, and on which his thoughts had been frequently employed.

He spoke of making new electors, and named, probably with a view to render his scheme more palatable, the stadtholder, and the dukes of Brunswick and Wurtemberg, as persons proper to replace the three ecclesiastical electors, which were to be reformed.

It would be making an ill use of your lordship's time, to endeavour to repeat to you all he said on this subject; it went in substance (as he himself confessed) to the total subversion of the present constitution of the Germanic body; and as it militated directly against the principle which both his majesty and the emperor laid down so distinctly as the basis of the peace to be made for the empire, I contented myself with reminding him of this circumstance, particularly as it is impossible to discuss this point with any propriety till his imperial majesty becomes a party to the negotia-
tion,

tion. I took this opportunity of hinting, that if, on all the other points, France agreed to the proposals now made, it would not be impossible that some increase of territory might be ceded to her on the Germanic side of her frontiers, and that this, in addition to the duchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be a very great acquisition of strength and power. M. Delacroix here again reverted to the constitution, and said that these countries were already constitutionally annexed to France. I replied, that it was impossible, in the negotiation which we were beginning, for the other powers to take it up from any period but that which immediately preceded the war, and that any acquisition or diminution of territory which had taken place among the belligerent powers since it first broke out, must necessarily become subject matter for negotiation, and be balanced against each other in the final arrangement of a general peace. You then persist, said M. Delacroix, in applying this principle to Belgium? I answered, most certainly; and I should not deal fairly with you, if I hesitated to declare, in the outset of our negotiation, that on this point you must entertain no expectation that his majesty will relax, or ever consent to see the Netherlands remain a part of France.

M. Delacroix replied, he saw no prospect in this case of our ideas ever meeting, and he despaired of the success of our negotiation. He returned again, however, to his idea of a possible equivalent to be found for the emperor; but as all he proposed was the alienation or the dismemberment of countries not belonging to France even by conquest, I did not consider it as

deserving attention; and it is certainly not worth repeating to your lordship.

I need not observe that all the equivalents proposed, however inadequate to the exchange, were offered as a return for our consent that the Netherlands should remain a part of France; of course, the admitting them in any shape, would have been in direct contradiction to my instructions.

M. Delacroix touched very slightly on Italy: and the course of our conversation did not bring this part of the subject more into discussion.

I must add, that whenever I mentioned the restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor, I always took care it should be understood that these were to be accompanied by such further cessions as should form a competent line of defence, and that France could not be permitted to keep possession of all the intermediate country to the Rhine; and I particularly dwelt on this point, when I held out the possibility of admitting an extension of the limits of France on the side of Germany. But as the French minister no less strenuously opposed the restitution of the Netherlands to the emperor than I tenaciously insisted upon it, the further extension of my claim could not of course become a subject of argument.

I believe I have now, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, informed your lordship of all that the French minister said, on my opening myself to him on that part of my instructions which more immediately relates to peace between Great Britain, his imperial majesty, and France. It remains with me to inform your lordship what passed between us on the subject of our respective allies.

On

On the articles reserving a right to the court of St. Petersburg, and to that of Lisbon, to accede to the treaty of peace on the strict *status ante bellum*, the French minister made no other remark than by mentioning the allies of the republic, and by inquiring whether I was prepared to say any thing relative to their interests, which certainly the republic could never abandon. This afforded me the opportunity of giving in the confidential memorial B. relative to Spain and Holland; and I prefaced it by repeating to him the substance of the first part of your lordship's, No. 12.

Although I had touched upon the subject of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, when I had been speaking to M. Delacroix on the peace with France, yet, as it did not become a matter of discussion between us till I came to mention the peace with Spain, I thought it better to place all that passed on the subject in this part of my dispatch; it was the only point on which he entered: but I by no means infer, from his not bringing forward some claims for Spain, that we are not to hear of any in the course of the negotiation; on the contrary, I have little doubt that many, and most of them inadmissible, will be made before it can end. He, however, was silent on them at this moment, and confined all he had to say to combating the idea that Spain was bound by the treaty of Utrecht not to alienate her possessions in America. I had the article copied in my pocket, and I read it to him. He confessed it was clear and explicit, but that circumstances had so materially altered since the year 1713, that engagements made then ought

not to be considered as in force now. I said that the spirit of the article itself went to provide for distant contingencies, not for what was expected to happen at or near the time when the treaty was made, and that it was because the alteration of circumstances he alluded to was foreseen as possible, that the clause was inserted; and that if Spain paid any regard to the faith of treaties, she must consider herself as no less strictly bound by this clause now than at the moment when it was drawn up. I went on by saying that it did not, however, appear quite impossible that this point might be settled without much difficulty; and that means might be devised that his catholic majesty should not break his faith, and both England and France be equally satisfied. I then held out to him, but in general terms, that either Spain might regain her possession of St. Domingo, by making some considerable cession to Great Britain and France, as the price of peace; or that, in return for leaving the whole of St. Domingo to France, we should retain either Martinico, or St. Lucia and Tobago. M. Delacroix listened with a degree of attention to these proposals; but he was fearful of committing himself by any expression of approbation, and he dismissed the subject of the court of Madrid, by observing, that France never would forsake the interests of its allies.

Our conversation on those of its other ally, Holland, was much longer, as the wording of the memorial inevitably led at once deep into the subject.

M. Delacroix affected to treat any deviation from the treaty of peace concluded between France
and

and that country, or any restoration of territories acquired under that treaty to France, as quite impracticable. He treated as equally impracticable any attempt at restoring the ancient form of government in the Seven United Provinces. He talked with an air of triumph of the establishment of a national convention at the Hague; and, with an affectation of feeling, that by it the cause of freedom had extended itself over such a large number of people. He, however, was ready to confess, that, from the great losses the Dutch republic had sustained in its colonies, and particularly from the weak manner in which they had defended them, it could not be expected that his majesty would consent to a full and complete restitution of them, and that it was reasonable that some should be sacrificed; and he asked me if I could inform him, how far our views extended on this point? I said I had reason to believe that what his majesty would require would be possessions and settlements which would not add either to the power or wealth of our Indian dominions, but only tend to secure to us their safe and unmolested possession. You mean by this, said M. Delacroix, the Cape and Trincomale. I said they certainly came under that description, and I saw little prospect of their being restored to the Dutch. M. Delacroix launched forth on this into a most laboured dissertation on the value of the Cape of Good Hope, which he did not consider at all as a *port de relâche*, but as a possession which, in our hands, would become one of the most fertile and most productive colonies in the east; and, according to his estimation of it, he did not scruple to assert that it would ultimately be an ac-

quisition of infinitely greater importance to England than that of the Netherlands to France; and, if acquiesced in, should be reckoned as a full and ample compensation for them. He added, if you are masters of the Cape and Trincomale, we shall hold all our settlements in India, and the islands of France and Bourbon, entirely at the tenure of your will and pleasure: they will be ours only as long as you choose we should retain them. You will be sole masters in India, and we shall be entirely dependent upon you. I repeated to him, that it was as means of defence, not of offence, that these possessions would be insisted on; and that if the matter was fairly and dispassionately discussed, he would find that they afforded us a great additional security, but no additional power of attack, even if we were disposed to disturb the peace of that part of the world. If these, and perhaps some few other not very material settlements belonging to the Dutch, were to be insisted upon, and if he would be pleased to enumerate all we should still have to restore to them, while they had nothing to restore to England, it was impossible not to consider the terms on which his majesty proposed peace to Holland, as generous and liberal.

M. Delacroix was not at all disposed to agree with me on this point; and said, Holland, stripped of these possessions, would be ruined. He then held out, but as if the idea had just crossed his mind, the possibility of indemnifying the Dutch for their losses in India, by giving them a tract of territory towards the Meuse, (I could not find out whether he meant Aix la Chapelle, Liege, or the countries of Juliers and Berg) and hinted, that

if this was not to be done, an additional sugar island might, perhaps, be ceded to the Dutch republic. I told him all this might become a subject of future discussion, and I conceived, that if we could agree upon the more essential points, the treaty would not break off on these secondary considerations. Our conversation had now been extremely long, and M. Delacroix ended by saying, that, although he had taken upon himself to enter with me thusfar upon the subject, yet I must not consider any thing he said as binding, or as pledging the republic, till such time as he had laid the papers I had given him before the directory; and in order to do this with more accuracy, he again asked me, whether in his report, he was to state the disuniting Belgium from France as a *sine quâ non* from which his majesty would not depart. I replied, it most certainly was a *sine quâ non* from which his majesty would not depart: and that any proposal which would leave the Netherlands annexed to France, would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and loss to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect.

M. Delacroix repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion, and asked whether it would admit of no modification? I replied, if France could, in a *contre-projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in view that the Netherlands must not be French, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, such a proposal might certainly be taken into consideration.

M. Delacroix by no means encouraged me to explain myself

more fully; he repeatedly said, that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands was one which could not be overcome.

Just as I was taking leave of him, he begged me to explain what was meant by the words in the memoir (A.) in the 4th paragraph, beginning *de s'entendre mutuellement sur les moyens d'assurer*, and ending at *leurs possessions respectives*. I told him it referred to the destructive system adopted by France in the West Indies, and went to express a wish that the two powers should agree on some general and uniform system of internal police in the settlements there, which would contribute to the security of those possessions to the respective countries, and at the same time to the happiness of every description of inhabitants in them.

M. Delacroix, a little hurt at my expression relative to the system adopted by France, endeavoured to recriminate upon us; but he ended by saying, that they should certainly be willing to concur in any arrangement relative to the negroes, which did not militate against the principles of their constitution. Here our conference ended; and as, during the whole course of it, I bore in my mind the possibility, that although this, our first, might be the only favourable opportunity I should ever have of speaking on the general principles on which his majesty was disposed to treat, I endeavoured, by adverting more or less to almost every point in my instructions, to enable M. Delacroix, (if he reports faithfully) to state to the directory what I said, in such a manner as to put it out of their power to misconceive what were his majesty's intentions; to remove all possibility of cavil on this case, and to bring them to a clear and distinct

distinct answer, whether they would agree to open a negotiation on the principle of the *status ante bellum*, or on one differing from it only in form, not in substance. I hope, in attempting to do this, I did not, in the first instance, commit myself, or discover more of my instructions than it became me to do; and that, in the conversation with M. Delacroix, nothing escaped me which might, at some subsequent period, hurt the progress of the negotiation. I have, I believe, given this conference nearly verbatim to your lordship; and I was particularly anxious to do this correctly and minutely, as well that you may judge on the propriety of what I said myself, as that what M. Delacroix said to me may be accurately known, and remain on record.

It must, however, be remembered (as I observed in the beginning of this dispatch) that he spoke for himself, as minister, indeed, but not under the immediate instructions of the directory; and this consideration will take a little away from the singularity of some of the positions he advanced.

I confess, my lord, from the civility of his manner, and from his apparent readiness to discuss the subject, the impression which remained on my mind on leaving him was, that the negotiation would go on, but be liable to so many difficulties, and some of them so nearly insurmountable, that, knowing, as I do, the opinion of the directory, I saw little prospect of its terminating successfully. But I did not expect the conduct of the directory would immediately be such as to evince a manifest inclination, and even determination, to break off on the first proposals; and I was not a little surprised at receiving, on

on Sunday, at three P. M. the inclosed letter (A.) from M. Delacroix: he sent it by the principal secretary of his department (M. Giraudet) who communicated to me the original of the arrêté of the directory, of which this letter, abating the alteration in the form, is a literal copy. After perusing it, I asked M. Giraudet whether he was informed of its contents; and this led to a short conversation on them. I told him that both the demands were so unexpected, that I could not reply to them off hand: that as to the first, it was quite unusual to sign memorials which were annexed to a note actually signed, and that I scarcely felt myself authorised to depart from what was, I believe, an invariable rule. That, as to the second demand, made in so peremptory and unprecedented a way, I could, without much hesitation, say at once that it could not be complied with. M. Giraudet lamented this much; and said, that this being the case, he feared our principles of negotiation would never coincide. I agreed with him in my expressions of concern. We conversed together afterwards for some time, but nothing passed at all worthy of remark. I told him I should send my answer the next day. On reflecting more attentively on the request that I would sign the two memorials which I had given in, it struck me, that the complying with it pledged me to nothing, and that it was merely gratifying them on a point insisted on peevishly, and that the doing it would put them still more in the wrong.

As to the strange demand of an ultimatum, it was perfectly clear what it became me to say; and I hope that in the inclosed answer

B. (which I sent yesterday morning at twelve o'clock) to M. Delacroix, I shall be found to have adhered as closely as possible to the spirit of my instructions.

Yesterday evening, at half past nine, M. Giraudet brought me the note C. to which I immediately replied by the note D. They require no comment; and as I intend leaving Paris to-morrow, and travelling with all convenient speed, I shall so soon have it in my power to say the little which remains to say relative to this sudden, though perhaps not unlooked for, close to my mission, that I need not trespass any further on your lordship's patience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

P. S. I thought it would be proper for his majesty's minister at Vienna to receive the earliest intelligence of the negotiation being broken off: I therefore have dispatched a messenger to Vienna with a copy of the several papers which have passed between me and M. Delacroix since our conference, and also a succinct account of what passed on it. The messenger left this place to-day at three P. M. M.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville;
 &c. &c. &c.

No. 13.

Paris, 28th Frimaire, (December
 18) 5th year.

SIR,

The executive directory has heard the reading of the official note signed by you, and of two confidential memorials without signatures, which were annexed to it, and which you gave in to me yesterday. I am charged expressly by

the directory to declare to you, that it cannot listen to any confidential note without a signature, and to require of you to give in to me, officially, within four and twenty hours, your *ultimatum*, signed by you.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

No. 32.

Paris, 19th December, 1796.

COPY. (B.)

Lord Malmesbury, in answer to the letter which the minister for foreign affairs had the goodness to transmit to him through the hands of the secretary-general of his department, must remark, that in signing the official note which he gave in to that minister by order of his court, he thought he had complied with all the usual formalities, and had given the necessary authenticity to the two confidential memorials which were annexed to it. Nevertheless, to remove all difficulties, as far as lies in his power, he willingly adopts the forms which are pointed out by the resolution of the executive directory, and hastens to send to the minister for foreign affairs the two memorials signed by his hand.

With respect to the positive demand of an *ultimatum*, lord Malmesbury observes, that insisting on that point in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers shall have communicated to each other their respective pretensions, and that the articles of the future treaty shall have been submitted to the discussions, which the different interests which are to be adjusted, necessarily demand, is to shut the door against all negotiation. He, therefore, can add nothing to the

the assurances which he has already given to the minister for foreign affairs, as well by word of mouth, as in his official note; and he repeats that he is ready to enter with that minister into every explanation of which the state and progress of the negotiation may admit; and that he will not fail to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, *or of any counter-project which may be delivered to him on the part of the executive directory*, with that candour, and that spirit of conciliation, which correspond with the just and pacific sentiments of his court.

Lord Malmesbury requests the minister for foreign affairs to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

No. 33.

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs is charged by the executive directory, to answer to lord Malmesbury's two notes of the 27th and 29th Frimaire (17th and 19th December, O. S.) that the executive directory will listen to no proposals contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the republic.

And, as lord Malmesbury announces at every communication, that he is in want of the opinion of his court, from which it results that he acts a part merely passive in the negotiation, which renders his presence at Paris useless; the undersigned is further charged to give him notice to depart from Paris in eight and forty hours, with all the persons who have accompanied and followed him; and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the republic.

The undersigned declares, moreover, in the name of the executive

directory, that if the British cabinet is desirous of peace, the executive directory is ready to follow the negotiations, according to the basis laid down in the present note, by the reciprocal channel of couriers.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 29th Frimaire (19th December), 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

No. 34.

(D.)

Lord Malmesbury hastens to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the minister for foreign affairs, dated yesterday. He is preparing to quit Paris to-morrow, and demands, in consequence, the necessary passports for himself and his suite.

He requests the minister for foreign affairs to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Paris, 20th Dec. 1796.

Manifesto of the British Government against France.

The negotiation which an anxious desire for the restoration of peace had induced his majesty to open at Paris, having been abruptly terminated by the French government, the king thinks it due to himself and to his people, to state, in this public manner, the circumstances which have preceded and attended a transaction of so much importance to the general interests of Europe.

It is well known that early in the present year his majesty, laying aside the consideration of many circumstances of difficulty and discouragement, determined to take such steps as were best calculated to open the way for negotiation, if any cor-

(K 3) responding

responding desire prevailed on the part of his enemies. He directed an overture to be made in his name, by his minister in Switzerland, for the purpose of ascertaining the dispositions of the French government with respect to peace. The answer which he received in return was at once haughty and evasive; it affected to question the sincerity of those dispositions of which his majesty's conduct afforded so unequivocal a proof; it raised groundless objections to the mode of negotiation proposed by his majesty (that of a general congress, by which peace has so often been restored to Europe); but it studiously passed over in silence his majesty's desire to learn what other mode would be preferred by France. It at the same time asserted a principle which was stated as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation -- a principle under which the terms of peace must have been regulated, not by the usual considerations of justice, policy, and reciprocal convenience; but by an implicit submission, on the part of all the powers, to a claim founded on the internal laws and separate constitution of France, as having full authority to supersede the treaties entered into by independent states, to govern their interests, to control their engagements, and to dispose of their dominions.

A pretension in itself so extravagant could in no instance have been admitted, or even listened to for a moment. Its application to the present case led to nothing less than that France should, as a preliminary to all discussion, retain nearly all her conquests, and those particularly in which his majesty was most concerned, both from the ties of interest, and the sacred obligations of treaties: that she should

in like manner recover back all that had been conquered from her in every part of the world; and that she should be left at liberty to bring forward such further demands on all other points of negotiation, as such unqualified submission on the part of those with whom she treated could not fail to produce.

On such grounds as these it was sufficiently evident that no negotiation could be established: neither did the answer of his majesty's enemies afford any opening for continuing the discussion, since the mode of negotiation offered by his majesty had been peremptorily rejected by them, and no other had been stated in which they were willing to concur.

His majesty was however not discouraged even by this result from still pursuing such measures as appeared to him most conducive to the end of peace; and the wishes of his ally the emperor corresponding with those which his majesty had manifested, sentiments of a similar tendency were expressed on the part of his imperial majesty at the time of opening the campaign; but the continuance of the same spirit and principles, on the part of the enemy, rendered this fresh overture equally unsuccessful.

While the government of France thus persisted in obstructing every measure that could even open the way to negotiation, no endeavour was omitted to mislead the public opinion throughout all Europe with respect to the real cause of the prolongation of the war, and to cast a doubt on those dispositions which could alone have dictated the steps taken by his majesty and his august ally.

In order to deprive his enemies of all possibility of subterfuge or evasion, and in the hope that a just
sense

sense of the continued calamities of war, and of the increasing distresses of France herself, might at length have led to more just and pacific dispositions, his majesty renewed in another form, and through the intervention of friendly powers, a proposal for opening negotiations for peace. The manner in which this intervention was received indicated the most hostile dispositions towards Great Britain, and at the same time afforded to all Europe a striking instance of that injurious and offensive conduct which is observed on the part of the French government towards all other countries. The repeated overtures made in his majesty's name were nevertheless of such a nature, that it was at last found impossible to persist in the absolute rejection of them, without the direct and undisguised avowal of a determination to refuse to Europe all hope of the restoration of tranquillity. A channel was therefore at length indicated, through which the government of France professed itself willing to carry on a negotiation; and a readiness was expressed (though in terms far remote from any spirit of conciliation) to receive a minister authorised by his majesty to proceed to Paris for that purpose.

Many circumstances might have been urged as affording powerful motives against adopting this suggestion, until the government of France had given some indication of a spirit better calculated to promote the success of such a mission, and to meet these advances on the part of Great Britain. The king's desire for the restoration of general peace on just and honourable terms, his concern for the interests of his subjects, and his determination to leave to his enemies no pretext for imputing to him the consequences

of their own ambition, induced him to overlook every such consideration, and to take a step which these reasons alone could justify.

The repeated endeavours of the French government to defeat this mission in its outset, and to break off the intercourse thus opened, even before the first steps towards negotiation could be taken; the indecent and injurious language employed with a view to irritate; the captious and frivolous objections raised for the purpose of obstructing the progress of the discussion; all these have sufficiently appeared from the official papers which passed on both sides, and which are known to all Europe.

But, above all, the abrupt termination of the negotiation has afforded the most conclusive proof, that at no period of it was any real wish for peace entertained on the part of the French government.

After repeated evasion and delay, that government had at length consented to establish, as the basis of the negotiation, a principle proposed by his majesty, liberal in its own nature, equitable towards his enemies, and calculated to provide for the interests of his allies, and of Europe. It had been agreed that compensation should be made to France, by proportionable restitutions from his majesty's conquests on that power, for those arrangements to which she should be called upon to consent in order to satisfy the just pretensions of his allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe. At the desire of the French government itself, memorials were presented by his majesty's minister, which contained the outlines of the terms of peace, grounded on the basis so established, and in which his majesty proposed to carry to the utmost possible extent

the application of a principle so equitable with respect to France, and so liberal on his majesty's part. The delivery of these papers was accompanied by a declaration expressly and repeatedly made, both verbally and in writing, that his majesty's minister was willing and prepared to enter, with a spirit of conciliation and fairness, into the discussion of the different points there contained, or into that of any other proposal or scheme of peace which the French government might wish to substitute in its place.

In reply to this communication, he received a demand, in form the most offensive, and in substance the most extravagant, that ever was made in the course of any negotiation. It was peremptorily required of him, that in the very outset of the business, when no answer had been given by the French government to his first proposal, when he had not even learnt, in any regular shape, the nature or extent of the objections to it, and much less received from that government any other offer or plan of peace, he should in twenty-four hours deliver in a statement of the final terms to which his court would in any case accede—a demand tending evidently to shut the door to all negotiation, to preclude all discussion, all explanation, all possibility of the amicable adjustment of points of difference—a demand in its nature preposterous, in its execution impracticable, since it is plain that no such ultimate resolution respecting a general plan of peace ever can be rationally formed, much less declared, without knowing what points are principally objected to by the enemy, and what facilities he may be willing to offer in return for concession in those respects,

Having declined compliance with this demand, and explained the reasons which rendered it inadmissible, but having, at the same time, expressly renewed the declaration of his readiness to enter into the discussion of the proposal he had conveyed, or of any other which might be communicated to him, the king's minister received no other answer than an abrupt command to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. If, in addition to such an insult, any further proof were necessary of the dispositions of those by whom it was offered, such proof would be abundantly supplied from the contents of the note in which this order was conveyed. The mode of negotiation, on which the French government had itself insisted, is there rejected, and no practicable means left open for treating with effect. The basis of negotiation, so recently established by mutual consent, is there disclaimed; and, in its room, a principle clearly inadmissible is reasserted as the only ground on which France can consent to treat: the very same principle which had been brought forward in reply to his majesty's first overtures from Switzerland, which had then been rejected by his majesty, but which now appears never to have been, in fact, abandoned by the government of France, however inconsistent with that on which they had expressly agreed to treat.

It is therefore necessary that all Europe should understand that the rupture of the negotiation at Paris does not arise from the failure of any sincere attempt France to recon- cussion the view: the contending discussion has be vited, and even

part of his majesty, but has been, in the first instance, and absolutely, precluded by the act of the French government.

It arises exclusively from the determination of that government to reject all means of peace, — a determination which appeared but too strongly, on all the preliminary discussions; which was clearly manifested in the demand of an ultimatum made in the very outset of the negotiation, but which is proved beyond all possibility of doubt by the obstinate adherence to a claim which never can be admitted, — a claim that the construction which that government affects to put (though even in that respect, unsupported by the fact) on the internal constitution of its own country, shall be received by all other nations as paramount to every known principle of public law in Europe, as superior to the obligations of treaties, to the ties of common interest, to the most pressing and urgent considerations of general security.

On such grounds it is, that the French government has abruptly terminated a negotiation, which it commenced with reluctance, and conducted with every indication to prevent its final success. On these motives it is that the farther effusion of blood, the continued calamities of war, the interruptions of peaceable and friendly intercourse among mankind, the prolonged distresses of Europe, and the accumulated miseries of France itself, are by the government of that country to be justified to the world.

His majesty, who had entered into the negotiation with good faith, who has suffered no impediment to prevent his prosecuting it with earnestness and sincerity, has now only to lament its abrupt ter-

mination, and to renew, in the face of all Europe, the solemn declaration, that, whenever his enemies shall be disposed to enter on the work of a general pacification, in a spirit of conciliation and equity, nothing shall be wanting on his part to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object, with a view to which he has already offered such considerable sacrifices on his part, and which is now retarded only by the exorbitant pretensions of his enemies.

Westminster, Dec. 27, 1796.

Declaration of the Whig Club, met to associate for the Repeal of the, Treason and Sedition Bills.

At a meeting of the general committee of the Whig Club, held at the Shakspeare tavern, on Saturday Jan. 23, 1796,

The right honourable Charles James Fox in the chair,

Resolved, that the following declaration be adopted and published, as

The Declaration of the Whig Club.

When a society of private men feel themselves bound to propose a great national measure to the people, justice to their own character, and respect for the public judgment, require that they should make known the reasons which have moved them to such a proceeding. We confess that it is and ought to be unusual, because it can be justified by no ordinary circumstances; but we think that the situation of the country no longer permits us to confide the support of our principles to the individual exertions of our members. The Whig Club, invariably adhering

hering to the principles of the British constitution as established at the revolution, cannot be unconcerned spectators of the destruction of the most important securities of public liberty which were provided at that glorious æra. The constitution can, in our judgment, now only be restored by the exercise of that just authority which the national opinion must ever possess over the proceedings of the legislature. We therefore deem it our duty, by every means which yet are legal, to appeal to the judgment of the people, and to procure a declaration of their opinion. With this view, we have invited our fellow-subjects to associate for obtaining the repeal of two statutes passed in the present session of parliament.

In one of these statutes, we see public assemblies of British subjects, though their proceedings should be the most orderly and peaceable, and their object unquestionably legal, fettered by restrictions hitherto unknown to the law and practice of this kingdom. Those meetings which shall not submit to these new and disgraceful conditions, are subjected to dispersion under pain of death; and those which shall be held in compliance with them are made liable to such perpetual and vexatious interruption at the discretion of magistrates, that there never can be wanting an opportunity for disturbing their deliberations, and defeating their objects. Such a law we cannot but regard as repugnant to the genius and character of this free nation. The constitution of Great Britain is established on the consent and affection of the people, and can only rest, with dignity or safety, on those genuine foundations of all social authority. When purely admini-

stered, it will ever make itself respected by its own beneficence and justice. It has for ages instructed the world by the example of a government which builds its strength only on its justice, and secures the obedience of its subjects by their love of liberty. It can neither require the aid of a system of constraint and terror, nor even receive it without danger of destruction. Its ruling principle is the right of the people to manifest their opinion on their public concerns; a right of which the frequent, unrestrained, and fearless exertion, can alone create and preserve in a people that free spirit and conscious independence, without which the forms of a free constitution are worthless and unavailing. This right alone guards and protects the secure enjoyment of every other privilege. The house of commons is our security against the encroachments of the crown: The king's prerogatives, and the privileges of the house of peers, are our securities against our own representatives. But no human wisdom can provide any safeguard against a possible combination of all the branches of the legislature to oppress or betray the community, but by enabling the great body of the nation freely to pronounce their opinion on the acts and measures of government by petition and remonstrance to the king, or either house of parliament, and by speech and publication to their fellow-subjects, unfettered by any previous restraint, and subject only to the animadversion of the law on those overt acts of treason, tumult, disorder, or sedition, which may be committed by individuals under pretence of exercising these invaluable rights. This unrestrained communication of opinion is at once
the

the only check to which it is possible to subject supreme power, and the wisest means for averting popular violences. To watch the exercise of these rights with suspicion, to clog it with jealous and ignominious conditions, and, above all, to subject it to the arbitrary discretion of magistrates appointed by the crown, is to break that spirit from which such privileges derive their whole use and value. To impose on them any previous restraint, is substantially to take them away. They cannot be so restrained without being reduced to a dependance on the pleasure of that very authority upon which they are to operate as a controul, and against which they are reserved as a security. To restrain is therefore to destroy them.

But the provident wisdom of our ancestors did not leave these sacred privileges to rest on the mere foundation of their own justice and necessity. They were solemnly asserted at the revolution in the instance of petition, where they had been recently violated. The great statesmen and lawyers who framed the Declaration of Rights, when they asserted the right of the people to petition, did, by necessary implication, also assert their right of assembling to consider such matters as might legally be the subject of petition. The assertion of a right comprehends that of the means which are necessary for its exercise. The restraints of the present statute, therefore, in our opinion, amount to an abrogation of the most important article in that solemn compact between the British nation and the new race of princes whom it raised to the throne.

Though the other statute of

which we complain be speciously intitled "An act for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government," we are confident that by our opposition to it we shall not incur the imputation of disloyalty among honourable and reasonable men. We have formed our principles of loyalty upon those of a parliament which had recent and ample experience of the effect of sanguinary laws; and we shall deliver the declaration in the memorable language of their record — "The state of every king, ruler, and governor of every realm, dominion, or commonalty, standeth and consisteth more assured by the love and favour of the subjects towards their sovereign ruler or governor, than in the dread and fear of laws made with rigorous pains and extreme punishment *."

Guided by this principle of our ancestors, which appears to us to be as full of truth and wisdom as of humanity, we cannot view without alarm an attempt to remove those boundaries of treason which were ascertained and established by the act of king Edward the Third; a law which has been endeared to Englishmen by the experience of four centuries; by a recollection of the peace and happiness which have ever prevailed in those fortunate periods when it was observed; by a review of that oppression of innocence, and insecurity of government, which have almost universally accompanied or followed every departure from its strict letter; and by the zeal and ardour with which so many successive parliaments, after experience of the mischiefs of such deviations, have recurred, as to a refuge from these miseries, to the simplicity, preci-

* 1 Mar. c. 1.

sion, and humane forbearance of that venerable statute.

Another clause of the same act, which authorizes the punishment of transportation on the second conviction, even for words spoken, appears to us equally repugnant to the merciful spirit of the law of England. By applying the punishment of felony to a misdemeanor frequently of no very aggravated guilt, it converts what was designed as the chastisement of profligate and dangerous offenders into an engine by which a minister may crush his political opponents.

The infliction of cruel and unusual punishment is prohibited by the tenth clause of the Bill of Rights; and although that clause was undoubtedly pointed at the then recent abuse of judicial discretion in the cases of state offenders, yet it is founded on a principle which condemns the legislative introduction of a punishment still more cruel and unusual than any which is recorded even in the detestable annals of the star-chamber.

It is indeed a punishment which, in the feelings and apprehensions of those who are likely to be the objects of the vengeance of power, is scarce inferior to death. Had it in former times been sanctioned by the legislature, it might have subjected the most illustrious assertors of our liberties, a Locke or a Somers, to the combined miseries of banishment, imprisonment, and slavery, in a barbarous country, with a gang of outcasts and felons. Removed from the view of their fellow-subjects, their sufferings in a remote region are forgotten or unknown, and their spirit is no longer supported by that consolation which they might otherwise have found in general sympathy for

an unjust conviction or a cruel punishment, while distance and oblivion deliver the agents of power from that dread of public observation and resentment, which is so wholesome and necessary a check on the tyrannical exercise of authority. The same rigour, which, if practised at home, would spread the alarm of tyranny throughout the nation, may be inflicted in a distant exile without odium or danger. It is the nature of this punishment to be at once the most safe for those who inflict, and the most cruel to those who suffer it, to deprive the oppressed of consolation, and to deliver the oppressor from restraint.

The authors of these statutes do, indeed, expressly admit that they materially restrain the liberty of the subject; but they contend that such restraints are necessary, and that, if necessary, they are just.

We do not affirm that general principles are never in any degree to give way to the exigency of circumstances. But we assert that the right of discussion and remonstrance is so essential to the constitution, that it cannot be controuled or restrained without a surrender of the constitution itself. When pleas of necessity are urged, let it never be forgotten that pleas of necessity are the ready instruments and common justifications of power without right, and that the means by which nations are enslaved have ever been pretended to be necessary to their security. We never can admit that the delinquency of individuals ought to work a forfeiture of the liberties of a nation. A necessity for new restraints and penalties could only have arisen in the present instance, from the inadequacy of the law, which we on our part utterly deny,
—which

—which neither has been nor can be proved, and which the preambles of these acts themselves do not even venture to assert. Laws such as these we should have felt it our duty, at all times, most strenuously to have opposed. But there are many circumstances peculiar to the present time, which appear to us greatly to aggravate their malignity and danger. We cannot forget the system of measures of which they are a part, — the disposition from which they appear to flow, — the reasons by which they are supported, — and the consequences to which they seem intended to lead.

They originate with ministers who are making daily encroachments on the constitution, who patronize the dissemination of opinions which tend to its subversion, and who have never spared any rigour of political persecution, to crush that freedom of discussion which endangered their own power. They are attempted to be justified on principles fruitful in future encroachments on liberty, and by reasons which, if they were valid, would compel us to conclude that the free constitution of Great Britain is no longer compatible with its quiet, and that our only refuge from anarchy is in the establishment of despotism. They are introduced in the midst of a calamitous war, when the solicitude of many good men for liberty has been weakened by an artfully excited dread of confusion, and when the overgrown influence of the crown receives continual accessions of strength from the burthens and distresses of the people. They are the measures of men, who, by an unexampled waste of public money, have acquired unbounded means of corruption. They have been passed

into laws when a standing army, great beyond example, is kept up in the heart of the kingdom; when an attempt is systematically, though, we trust, vainly, pursued to divide the soldiery from their fellow-subjects; at a time when every effort has been employed to subdue the spirit of the people, to pervert their opinions, and to render their most virtuous feelings subservient to the designs of their oppressors. Thus possessed of the combined influence of delusion, corruption, and terror, the framers of these acts seem to have thought the favourable moment at length arrived for securing impunity to their own offences, and permanence to the corruptions and abuses of government, by imposing silence on the people. This project has hitherto been successful. By the extension of the law of treason, and by the combination of vague description with cruel punishment in other state offences, ministers have gained the most formidable engine of political persecution that can be possessed by a government. By restraints, amounting almost to prohibition, on the right of the people to assemble, to deliberate, and to petition, they have shaken the security of every other civil and political privilege.

In this awful conjuncture, it appears to us to be the duty of every man who wishes to see his country neither submitted to the yoke of slavery, nor exposed to the dreadful necessity of appealing to force for the recovery of its liberties, to unite in a respectful but firm application to the legislature, for the destruction of these alarming innovations, and the restoration of the ancient free constitution of Great Britain. We cannot think that such an effort will be unsuccessful. The usurpations on our rights are yet

yet recent and immature. The spirit of this nation is not, as ministers may have too hastily supposed, extinct; and prudence itself will not suffer the legislature to despise the collective opinion of the people.

They will rather, we trust, imitate the conduct of that wise parliament, whose language we have already quoted, and, like them, declare, that "trusting his majesty's loving subjects will, for his clemency to them shewed, love, serve, and obey him the more heartily and faithfully, than for dread and fear of pains of body, his majesty is contented and pleased that the severity of such like extreme, dangerous, and painful laws, shall be abolished, annulled, and made frustrate and void."

To obtain this happy result, and to prepare the way for such an application to parliament, by petition, as may carry with it the weight and authority of the national opinion, we have invited our fellow subjects to unite in the employment of every lawful means for procuring a repeal of these acts.

The measure which we propose is unquestionably legal and constitutional; and it appears to us to be not only justified, but called for, by the exigency of the times. **WHEN BAD MEN CONSPIRE, GOOD MEN MUST ASSOCIATE.**

Resolved, that the following be the

FORM OF ASSOCIATION.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, calling to mind the virtuous and memorable exertions of our ancestors in all past ages, for the public happiness and freedom of this nation,

do solemnly engage and pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, to employ every legal and constitutional effort to obtain the repeal of two statutes, the one entitled "An Act for the more effectual preventing seditious Meetings and Assemblies," the other "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts;" statutes which we hold to be subversive of the ancient and undoubted liberties of Englishmen, as claimed, demanded, and insisted upon, at the glorious Revolution in 1688, and finally declared, asserted, and confirmed, by the Bill of Rights.

Resolved, that the select committee do take such steps as they shall think necessary to forward the objects of this association; and that they do from time to time advertise the same in the public papers.

(Signed)

C. J. Fox.

Address of the City of London to his Majesty on the safe Delivery of the Princess of Wales, and the Birth of a Princess.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, humbly approach the throne with our sincerest congratulations on the safe delivery of her

royal-highness the princeſs of Wales, and the birth of a princeſs.

Deeply ſenſible of the true and ſubſtantial bleſſings which we experience under your majeſty's mild and paternal government, as eſſential to the preſervation of the religion, laws, and liberties of all your majeſty's ſubjects,

Your faithful citizens of London muſt feel themſelves highly intereſted in an event which directly tends to ſecure to Britain the ſucceſſion of your illuſtrious race on the throne of their anceſtors.

Impreſſed as we are with ſuch ſentiments of loyalty and attachment to your royal houſe, it will be equally our duty and delight to promote within our ſeveral ſpheres a grateful veneration for your majeſty's ſacred perſon and government,—a due ſubmiſſion and reſpect for the laws of our country, and a ſtedfaſt zeal to preſerve the tranquillity of the empire, as the fundamental protection of the invaluable privileges we enjoy.

His Majeſty's Answer.

I thank you for this dutiful and loyal addreſs, and for your congratulations on the birth of a princeſs.

The repeated inſtances which I have received of your attachment to my perſon, family, and government, are highly ſatisfactory to me.

Address of the City of London to her Majeſty on the ſame Occaſion.

To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, We his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, beg leave to congratulate your majeſty upon the ſafe delivery of her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales, and the birth of a princeſs.

The citizens of London feel the moſt lively ſentiments of joy on every occaſion which contributes to your majeſty's domeſtic felicity; and the ſacred line of ſucceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms, thus preſerved, forms a very material portion of their happineſs—conſcious as they are, that no advantage will be wanting to form her infant mind after the virtuous example of the illuſtrious females of your majeſty's royal houſe.

That your majeſty may be long ſpared to witneſs the growth of thoſe tranſcendant virtues, of which your majeſty forms ſo eminent a pattern, is the ſincere prayer of the loyal citizens of London.

Her Majeſty's Answer.

I return you my ſincere thanks for your congratulations on the birth of a princeſs; and I cannot but be very ſenſible of thoſe cordial expreſſions of attention to me with which they are accompanied.

Copy of a Circular Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Lieutenants of Counties on the Sea Coaſt, dated Whi.chall, November 5, 1796.

MY LORD,

As it would materially add to the difficulties which already oppoſe themſelves to any attempts which it is poſſible the enemy may be induced to make upon our coaſt, if the live and dead ſtock of individuals

als residing near the sea-coast was capable of being instantly removed and secured for the benefit of the proprietors, I am commanded to recommend it to your lordship to exert your influence in causing to be made out, as speedily as possible, an account of live and dead stock, in such of the parishes of the county of Sussex as are within ten or twelve miles of the sea.

With respect to the mode of making out the account required, I take this opportunity of transmitting to your lordship the form in which it has been executed by the voluntary exertions of the gentlemen of the county of Dorset; and shall beg to submit it for your lordship's consideration and adoption, unless where it may be found necessary to deviate from it, in consequence of local circumstances and situations.

With respect to the mode in which it is proposed to remove such live and dead stock in case it should be necessary, your lordship will communicate with the commander in chief of the district in which the county of Sussex lies, and will concert with him such previous measures for this purpose as may be judged requisite.

The meeting which I have desired your lordship to call on the subject of my circular letter of this day's date, will afford you an opportunity of submitting this letter to the consideration of the deputy-lieutenants and the magistracy of the county of Sussex, and will consequently lead to the immediate adoption of such measures as shall be necessary to enable the return to be made, which I am persuaded your lordship will be of opinion is so much to be wished for.

I am further to inform your lordship, that the lords commissioners of the treasury have received his

majesty's pleasure, that they should take such previous measures as may be necessary for defraying any expences which may arise, in consequence of such possible removal of live and dead stock as I have supposed, as well as of any particular losses which may eventually be occasioned thereby.

Although this circumstance is such as must obviate every possible objection to the measure, I am nevertheless confident, that all those whom it may concern would, exclusively of every personal consideration or motive, join with the utmost alacrity in the execution of a measure which has for its object the general safety of the country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PORTLAND.

A Proclamation of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland against illegal and treasonable Associations.

CAMDEN.

Whereas we have received information, that divers ill-affected persons have entered into illegal and treasonable associations, in several parts of the counties of Antrim; Down, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Armagh, to subvert the established government of this kingdom; and for the effecting such their treasonable purposes, have assassinated divers of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, who have endeavoured, and threaten to assassinate others who shall endeavour, to detect or suppress their treason; and in further prosecution of their designs, have endeavoured to deter his majesty's loyal subjects from enrolling themselves under officers commissioned by his majesty for the defence of this kingdom, during the present war, by naming and de-

deffroying their cattle, and by assaulting and wantonly wounding one person, avowedly because he had inrolled himself, and by threatening assassination against all persons who should so inroll themselves; and in further prosecution of such their purposes, have, by felonious and other illegal means, endeavoured secretly to procure ammunition and other warlike stores; and particularly, that several evil-disposed persons lately broke into one of his majesty's stores in the town of Belfast, in the county of Antrim, and thereout took and carried away ten barrels of gunpowder.

And whereas we have also received information, that, on Tuesday the 1st of November instant, a considerable number of armed men, associated in the aforesaid treasonable conspiracies, entered the town of Stewartstown, in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed several of the peaceable inhabitants of the said town, who had refused to join in their associations, and who had agreed to inroll themselves in the corps under officers to be commissioned by his majesty, for the preservation of the public peace, and for the protection of the kingdom against foreign invasion.

And whereas we have also received information, that, in further prosecution of the said treasonable purposes, many large bodies of men have assembled, and arrayed themselves, and marched in military order, and with military music, through several parts of the said districts, under pretence of saving corn, and digging potatoes, (though they far exceeded the number necessary to be employed in such service) to the very great terror of the loyal and faithful subjects of his majesty.

1796.

And whereas such treasonable outrages have caused well-grounded alarms in the minds of his majesty's faithful subjects, and are of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency.

Now we, the lord lieutenant and privy council, being determined to maintain the public peace, and to afford protection to all his majesty's loyal subjects, and immediately and effectually to exercise all powers with which the constitution has invested us for these purposes, do forewarn all persons of the danger they may incur, and, on their allegiance, charge them to desist from such treasonable practices.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other peace officers, and all officers civil and military in this kingdom, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, as they tender their allegiance to his majesty, and their own safety, to use their best endeavours to prevent, and, where that cannot be done, to discover and bring to justice those concerned in the aforesaid practices; and to prevent and disperse all treasonable, seditious, or unlawful assemblies; the necessary orders having been already issued to the several officers of his majesty's forces in this kingdom, to be aiding and assisting to the civil magistrates in the execution of their duties for that purpose.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 6th day of November, 1796.

A Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, declaring certain Parts of the County of Down in a State of Disturbance.

CAMDEN.

Whereas, by an act of parliament
(L). passed

passed in this kingdom, in the 36th year of his majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act more effectually to suppress Insurrections, and to prevent the Disturbance of the public Peace," it is enacted, that it shall be lawful for the justices of the peace, of any county, assembled at a special session in manner by the said act directed, not being fewer than seven, or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they judge fit, upon due consideration of the state of the county, to signify by memorial, by them signed, to the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, that they consider their county, or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so; and praying that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim such county, or part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance, thereupon it shall be lawful for the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, by proclamation, to declare such county, or any part of such county, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, and also such parts of any adjoining county or counties as such chief governor or governors shall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extension of such disturbance.

And whereas twenty-four justices of the peace of the county of Down (several of them being of the quorum) being the major part of the justices of the peace duly assembled, pursuant to the said act, at a special session of the peace, holden at Hillsborough, in the said county, on Friday the 11th day of November instant, have, by memorial by them signed, signified to

his excellency the lord lieutenant, that certain parts of the said county are in a state of disturbance, and have thereby prayed that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim the parishes of Tullylish, Aghaderg, Donaghcloney, Moira, Maralin, and Scapatrik, being parts of the said county of Down, to be in a state of disturbance, of which all justices of the peace, and other magistrates and peace officers of the said county, are to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 16th day of November, 1796.

W. Armagh	Carleton
Clare, C.	Yelverton
Westmeath	Ch. Fitzgerald
Bellamont	J. Beresford
Altamont	H. Cavendish
Portarlinton	Her. Langrishe
Clonmell	T. Pelham
Ely	Arthur Wolfe
Dillon	James Fitzgerald
Mountjoy	Robert Rois
Muskerry	Lodge Morris
Donoughmore	S. Hamilton
	God save the King.

Treaty of Peace, concluded between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia, May 15, 1796.

The French republic and his majesty the king of Sardinia, equally animated by the desire of making a happy peace succeed to the war which divides them, have appointed, viz. the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of foreign affairs, and his majesty the king of Sardinia, M. M. the chevaliers de Revel and de Tonzo, to negotiate the clauses and conditions proper for re-establishing and consolidating

Solidating good harmony between the two states; who, after having exchanged their full and respective powers, have agreed to the following articles:

I. There shall be peace and good neighbourhood between the French republic and the king of Sardinia. All hostilities shall cease between the two powers, reckoning from the time of signing the present treaty.

II. The king of Sardinia revokes all adhesion, consent, or accession, public or secret, given by him to the armed coalition against the French republic; and all the treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, which he may have concluded against the said republic with any power whatsoever. He shall not furnish any contingent in men or money to any power armed against France, upon any pretence, or under any authority whatsoever.

III. The king of Sardinia fairly and entirely renounces for ever, for himself and his successors, in favour of the French republic, all the rights which he can pretend to have to Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Tenda, and Breuil.

IV. The limits between the states of the king of Sardinia and the departments of the French republic shall be marked by a line through the most advanced points of the frontier of Piedmont, the summits, *plateaux* (flat tops of hills), mountains, and other places hereafter described, as well as the intermediate summits and *plateaux*, viz. from the point where the frontiers of *ci-devant* Francigny, duchy of Aoste and Valais, unite to the extremity of the Glaciers, or Monts-Maudits.

1st. The summits or *plateaux* of the Alps at the rising of the Col-mayor.

2d. Little Saint Bernard, and the hospital situated there.

3d. The summits or *plateaux* of Mont-Alban, of the Col-de-Cresfance, and of Mont-Iseran.

4th. Turning a little towards the south, the summits or *plateaux* of Cerat and of Gros-Caval.

5th. Great Mont-Cenis, and the hospital which stands to the south-east of the lake of that mountain.

6th. Little Mont-Cenis.

7th. The summits or *plateaux* which separate the valley of Bardonnach from the Val-des-Prés.

8th. Mont-Genèvre.

9th. The summits or *plateaux* which separate the valley of Quires from that of Vaudois.

10th. Mont-de-Vaudois.

11th. Mont-de-Viso.

12th. Mont-de-l'Argenterie.

13th. The source of the Abayette and the Sture.

14th. The mountains between the vallies of Sture and Gesso, on one part; and those of Saint Etienne or Tinea, of St. Martin or Vezubia, of Tenda or of Roya, on the other.

15th. Leroche-Barbon, on the confines of the state of Genoa.

If some communes, habitations, or portions of territories of the said communes, actually in friendship with the French republic, fall without the line of frontiers above described, they shall continue to make part of the republic, notwithstanding any inference that may be made to the contrary from this article.

V. The king of Sardinia engages not to permit emigrants or persons transported from the French republic to stop or reside in his dominions. He may, however, retain in his service the emigrants of the departments of Mont Blanc and of the Maritime Alps, so long as

they give no cause of complaint by enterprises or manœuvres tending to oppose the internal safety of the republic.

VI. The king of Sardinia renounces all demand of recovery, or personal claim which he might pretend to exercise against the French republic for causes anterior to the present treaty.

VII. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers a treaty of commerce on an equitable basis, and such as may secure to the French nation advantages, at least equal to those enjoyed in the dominions of the king of Sardinia by the most favoured nations.

In the mean time, all communications and commercial relations shall be re-established.

VIII. The king of Sardinia obliges himself to grant a full and entire amnesty to all his subjects who have been prosecuted for political opinions. Every process which may have been raised on this subject, as well as the judgments which have intervened, are abolished. All their property, moveable and immoveable, or the value thereof if it has been sold, shall be restored without delay. It shall be lawful for them to dispose of it, to return and reside in the dominions of the king of Sardinia, or to retire therefrom.

IX. The French republic and his majesty the king of Sardinia engage to supersede the sequestration of all effects, revenues, or property, seized, confiscated, detained, or sold, belonging to the citizens or subjects of either power, relative to the actual war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of the actions or rights which may belong to them.

X. All the prisoners, respectively made, shall be restored in one month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, on paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity.

The sick and the wounded shall continue to be taken care of in the respective hospitals. They shall be restored when cured.

XI. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through its territory to the troops of any enemy of the other.

XII. Besides the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, as well as the territory which the troops of the republic occupy, or ought to occupy, they shall occupy the fortresses of Exiles, Assiette, Susa, Brunette, Chateau Dauphin, and Alexandria; for which last place Valence shall be substituted, if the general in chief of the French republic prefer it.

XIII. The fortresses and territories above described shall be restored to the king of Sardinia upon the conclusion of the treaty of commerce between the republic and his majesty, of general peace, and the establishment of the line of frontiers.

XIV. The country occupied by the troops of the republic, and which should be definitively restored, shall remain under the civil government of his Sardinian majesty, but shall be liable to levies of military contributions, and furnishing provision or forage which have been or may be exacted for the supply of the French army.

XV. The fortifications of Brunette and Susa, as well as the intrenchments formed above that town, shall be demolished and destroyed, at the expence of his Sardinian

Sardinian majesty, at the direction of commissioners appointed by the executive directory.

The king of Sardinia shall not be permitted to establish or repair any fortification on this part of the frontier.

XVI. The artillery of occupied places, the demolition of which is not stipulated by the present treaty, shall be employed for the service of the republic, but shall be restored with the other fortresses at the same epoch to his Sardinian majesty. The stores and provisions which may be there, shall be consumed, without recovery, for the service of the republican army.

XVII. The French troops shall have free passage through the states of the king of Sardinia, in entering or returning from the interior of Italy.

XVIII. The king of Sardinia accepts the mediation of the French republic for definitively terminating the differences which have long subsisted between his majesty and the republic of Genoa, and for deciding on their respective claims.

XIX. Conformable to the sixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 27th Floreal, 3d year, the Batavian republic is included in the present treaty. There shall be peace and friendship between that republic and the king of Sardinia. Every thing shall be established between them on the same footing as before the preceding war.

XX. The king of Sardinia shall disavow, by his minister to the French republic, the proceedings employed towards the last ambassador of France.

XXI. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, in less than one month,

reckoning from the signing of the present treaty.

Done and concluded at Paris, the 25th Floreal, 4th year of the French republic, one and indivisible, answering to the 15th of May, 1796.

(Signed)

CHARLES DELACROIX.

LE CHEVALIER DE REVEL.

LE CHEVALIER DE TONZO.

The executive directory decree and sign the present treaty of peace with the king of Sardinia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by the minister of foreign affairs, appointed by the executive directory, by a decree of the 22d Floreal, and charged with instructions to that effect.

At Paris, the 28th Floreal, 4th year of the French republic one and indivisible.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR,

REWBELL,

CARNOT,

P. BARRAS,

L. M. REVEILLERE LEPAUX.

Treaty of Peace concluded between the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies, Oct. 10, 1796.

The French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, equally animated with the desire to make the advantages of peace succeed to the miseries inseparable from war, have named, viz. the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, the citizen Charles Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs; and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, the prince of Belmonte Pignatelli, gentleman of the chamber, and his

(L 3)

envoy

envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his catholic majesty, to treat, in their name, the clauses and conditions proper to re-establish good understanding and friendship between the two powers; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies: in consequence, all hostilities shall definitively cease, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty. Meanwhile, and till that period, the conditions stipulated by the armistice concluded on the 17th Prairial of the 4th year (5th of June, 1796) shall continue to have full power and effect.

II. Every anterior act, engagement, or convention, on the one part or the other of the two contracting parties, which is contrary to the present treaty, is revoked, and shall be regarded as null, and of no effect; in consequence, during the course of the present war, neither of the two powers shall furnish to the enemies of the other, any succours of troops, ships, arms, warlike stores, provisions, or money, under any title or denomination whatsoever.

III. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies shall observe the most strict neutrality towards all the belligerent powers; in consequence, he pledges himself to prevent indiscriminately access to his ports to all armed ships of war belonging to the said powers, which shall exceed four, according to the regulations acknowledged by the said neutrality. All stores or merchandise, known by the name of contraband, shall be refused them.

IV. All security and protection shall be granted, against all persons whatever, in the ports and roads of the Two Sicilies, to all French merchantmen, of whatsoever number they may be, and to all the ships of war of the republic, not exceeding the number specified in the above article.

V. The French republic and the king of the Two Sicilies engage to take off the sequestration from all effects, revenues, and goods, seized, confiscated, and kept from the citizens or subjects of both powers, in consequence of the present war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of all civil rights that may belong to them.

VI. All prisoners made on one side or the other, comprising mariners and sailors, shall be reciprocally restored within a month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity; the sick and wounded shall continue to be taken care of in the respective hospitals, and shall be restored upon their recovery.

VII. To give a proof of his friendship for the French republic, and of his sincere desire to maintain the most perfect harmony between the two powers, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies consents to set at liberty every French citizen who may have been arrested and detained in his states, on account of his political opinions respecting the French revolution; all goods and property, moveable or immoveable, which may have been sequestered on the same account, shall be restored to them.

VIII. From the same motives which dictated the preceding article, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies engages to cause all proper

proper search to be made for discovering, by legal means, and for giving up to the rigour of the laws, the persons who stole, in 1795, the papers belonging to the late minister of the French republic.

IX. The ambassadors or ministers of the two contracting powers shall enjoy, in their respective states, the same prerogatives and precedence which they enjoyed before the war, excepting those which were allowed them as family ambassadors.

X. Every French citizen, and all persons belonging to the household of the ambassador or minister, or to that of the consuls and other authorised and acknowledged agents of the French republic, shall enjoy, in the states of his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, the same freedom of religious worship as is enjoyed by the individuals of those nations, not catholics, which are the most favoured in that respect.

XI. There shall be negotiated and concluded, without delay, a treaty of commerce between the two powers, founded on the basis of mutual utility, and such as shall insure to the French nation advantages equal to all those which are enjoyed in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the most favoured nations. Until the completion of this treaty, the commercial and consular relations shall be reciprocally re-established on the same footing as before the war.

XII. In conformity with the sixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague on the 27th Floreal, in the third year of the republic (16th of May, 1795, old style), the same peace, friendship, and good understanding, that are stipulated in the present treaty between the French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies,

shall subsist between his majesty and the Batavian republic.

XIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, within forty days from the date hereof.

Done at Paris 19th Vendemiaire, in the 5th year of the French republic, one and indivisible, corresponding with the 10th October, 1796, (old style).

(Signed) CHARLES DELACROIX.
The Prince of BELMONTE
PIGNATELLI.

Treaty of Alliance Offensive and Defensive between the French Republic and the King of Spain, Aug. 19, 1796.

The executive directory of the French republic, and his catholic majesty the king of Spain, animated by the wish to strengthen the bonds of amity and good understanding happily re-established between France and Spain by the treaty of peace concluded at Basle on the 4th Thermidor, in the third year of the republic, (July 22, 1795) have resolved to form an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance for whatever concerns the advantages and common defence of the two nations; and they have charged with this important negotiation, and have given their full powers to, the under-mentioned persons; namely, the executive directory of the French republic, to citizen Dominique Catherine Pérignon, general of division of the republic, and its ambassador to his catholic majesty the king of Spain; and his catholic majesty the king of Spain, to his excellency Don Manuel de Godoi, prince of peace, duke of Alcudia, &c. &c. &c. who, after the respective communication

(L 4) and

and exchange of their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

I. There shall exist for ever an offensive and defensive alliance between the French republic and his catholic majesty the king of Spain.

II. The two contracting powers shall be mutual guarantees, without any reserve or exception, in the most authentic and absolute way, of all the states, territories, islands, and other places which they possess, and shall respectively possess. And if one of the two powers shall be in the sequel, under whatever pretext it may be, menaced or attacked, the other promises, engages, and binds itself to help it with its good offices, and to succour it on its requisition, as shall be stipulated in the following articles.

III. Within the space of three months, reckoning from the moment of the requisition, the power called on shall hold in readiness, and place in the disposal of the power calling, 15 ships of the line, three of which shall be three-deckers, or of 80 guns, twelve of from 70 to 74, six frigates of a proportionate force, and four sloops or light vessels, all equipped, armed, and victualled for six months, and stored for a year. These naval forces shall be assembled by the power called on, in the particular port pointed out by the power calling.

IV. In case the requiring power may have judged it proper, for the commencement of hostilities, to confine to the one-half the succour which was to have been given in execution of the preceding article, it may, at any epoch of the campaign, call for the other half of the aforesaid succour, which shall be furnished in the mode and within

the space fixed. This space of time to be reckoned from the new requisition.

V. The power called on shall in the same way place at the disposal of the requiring power, within the space of three months, reckoning from the moment of the requisition, eighteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry; with a proportionate train of artillery, ready to be employed in Europe, and for the defence of the colonies which the contracting powers possess in the Gulf of Mexico.

VI. The requiring power shall be allowed to send one or several commissioners for the purpose of assuring itself whether, conformably to the preceding articles, the power called on has put itself in a state to commence hostilities on the day fixed with the land and sea forces.

VII. These succours shall be entirely placed at the disposal of the requiring power, which may leave them in the ports and on the territory of the power called on, or employ them in expeditions it may think fit to undertake, without being obliged to give an account of the motives by which it may have been determined.

VIII. The demand of the succours stipulated in the preceding articles, made by one of the powers, shall suffice to prove the need it has of them, and shall bind the other power to dispose of them, without its being necessary to enter into any discussion relative to the question whether the war it proposes be offensive or defensive; or without any explanation being required, which may tend to elude the most speedy and exact accomplishment of what is stipulated.

IX. The troops and ships demanded shall continue at the disposal

posel of the requiring power during the whole continuance of the war, without its incurring in any case any expence. The power called on shall maintain them in all places where its ally shall cause them to act, as if it employed them directly for itself. It is simply agreed on, that, during the whole of the time when the aforesaid troops or ships shall be on the territory or in the ports of the requiring power, it shall furnish from its magazines or arsenals whatever may be necessary to them, in the same way and at the same price as it supplies its own troops and ships.

X. The power called on shall immediately replace the ships it furnishes, which may be lost by accidents of war or of the sea. It shall also repair the losses the troops it supplies may suffer.

XI. If the aforesaid succours are found to be, or should become insufficient, the two contracting powers shall put on foot the greatest forces they possibly can, as well by sea as by land, against the enemy of the power attacked, which shall employ the aforesaid forces, either by combining them, or by causing them to act separately, and this conformably to a plan concerted between them.

XII. The succours stipulated by the preceding articles shall be furnished in all the wars the contracting powers may have to maintain, even in those in which the party called on may not be directly interested, and may act merely as a simple auxiliary.

XIII. In the case in which the motives of hostilities being prejudicial to both parties, they may declare war with one common assent against one or several powers, the limitations established in the preceding articles shall cease to

take place, and the two contracting powers shall be bound to bring into action against the common enemy the whole of their land and sea forces, and to concert their plans so as to direct them towards the most convenient points, either separately or by uniting them. They equally bind themselves, in the cases pointed out in the present article, not to treat for peace unless with one common consent, and in such a way as that each shall obtain the satisfaction which is its due.

XIV. In the case in which one of the powers shall act merely as an auxiliary, the power which alone shall find itself attacked may treat of peace separately, but so as that no prejudice may result from thence to the auxiliary power, and that it may even turn as much as possible to its direct advantage. For this purpose advice shall be given to the auxiliary power of the mode and time agreed on for the opening and sequel of the negotiations.

XV. Without any delay there shall be concluded a treaty of commerce on the most equitable basis, and reciprocally advantageous to the two nations, which shall secure to each of them, with its ally, a marked preference for the productions of its soil or manufactures, or at least advantages equal to those which the most favoured nations enjoy in their respective states. The two powers engage to make instantly a common cause to repress and annihilate the maxims adopted by any country whatever, which may be subversive of their present principles, and which may bring into danger the safety of the neutral flag, and the respect which is due to it, as well as to raise and re-establish the colonial system of Spain

Spain on the footing on which it has subsisted, or ought to subsist, conformably to treaties.

XVI. The character and jurisdiction of the consuls shall be at the same time recognized and regulated by a particular convention. The conventions anterior to the present treaty shall be provisionally executed.

XVII. To avoid every dispute between the two powers, they shall be bound to employ themselves immediately, and without delay, in the explanation and developement of the VIIth article of the treaty of Basle, concerning the frontiers, conformable to the instructions, plans, and memoirs, which shall be communicated through the medium of the plenipotentiaries who negotiate the present treaty.

XVIII. England being the only power against which Spain has direct grievances, the present alliance shall not be executed unless against her during the present war; and Spain shall remain neuter with respect to the other powers armed against the republic.

XIX. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within a month from the date of its being signed.

Done at St. Ildephonso, 2nd Fructidor, (Aug. 19) the 4th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) PERIGNON, and the
PRINCE OF PEACE.

The executive directory resolves on and signs the present offensive and defensive treaty of alliance with his catholic majesty the king of Spain, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Dominique Catherine Perignon, general of division, founded on powers to that effect by a resolution of the executive directory,

dated 20 Messidor, (Sept. 6) and charged with its instructions.

Done at the national palace of the executive directory, the fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

Conformable to the original.

(Signed) REVEILLERE LE-
PAUX, president.

By the executive directory.

LAGARDE, secretary general.

Treaty between the King of Prussia and the French Republic, respecting the Neutrality of the North of Germany, Aug. 5, 1796.

His majesty the king of Prussia, and the French republic, having deemed it proper to modify, in a manner agreeable to existing circumstances, the stipulations relative to the neutrality of the northern part of Germany agreed upon by the treaty of Basle, the 5th of April, 1795, and by the convention of the 17th of May; they named, to concert on that subject, viz. his Prussian majesty, Sieur Chretien Henri Count de Haugwiltz, his minister of state for the war department: and the French republic, citizen Antoine Caillard, its minister plenipotentiary at Berlin; who, having mutually exchanged their powers, have agreed on the following articles:

The French republic will abstain from extending the operations of the war, and from sending troops, either by land or sea, into the states included in the following line of demarcation:

This line to begin from the part of the duchy of Holstein situate on the north sea, extending down the coast of that sea, on the side of Germany, and including the territory in which the Elbe disembogues

bogues itself, together with the Weser and the Ems, as well as the islands situated in those districts, as far as Forcum, from thence to the frontiers of Holland, as far as Anholt, passing Herenberg, and including the Prussian possessions near Sevenaer, as far as Bair on the Ysel; it will then continue down that river to the place where it mixes its waters with the Rhine; the line will then go up the latter river as far as Wesel, and farther on, to the place where the Roer throws itself into the Rhine; it will then extend along the left bank of the Roer to its source; after which, leaving the city of Nedeback to the left, it will take its direction towards the Eder, the course of which it will follow until that river meets the Fuld; and then it will go up that river as far as its source.

The French republic will consider as neutral states all those in the line, on condition that they observe on their side a strict neutrality; the first point of which will be to furnish, for the future, for the continuation of the war, no pecuniary contributions of any kind whatever; to order back immediately, if they have not already done so, their respective contingents of troops, and that in the space of two months from the signing of the present treaty; and not to contract any new engagement, which may authorize them to furnish troops to the powers at war with France. The states which do not act agreeably to these conditions shall be excluded from the benefit of the neutrality.

As for that part of the county of La Marck, which, being on the left bank of the Roer, is not included in the above line, it will nevertheless enjoy the benefits of this treaty in the fullest extent;

but his Prussian majesty consents to allow the troops of the belligerent powers to pass through it, on condition that they do not there establish the theatre of the war, nor possess themselves of entrenched positions, &c. &c.

Given at Berlin, August 5th, 1796, old style, and the 18th Thermidor, 4th year of the French republic.

(Signed) CHRETIEN HAUGWILTZ,
ANTOINE CAILLARD.

Answer of the President of the United States of America, to the Resolution passed by the House of Representatives, on the 24th of March 1796; which had for its Object to procure a Copy of the Instructions granted to Mr. Jay relative to the Treaty with Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

With the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th instant, requesting me to lay before your house a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States who negotiated the treaty with the king of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

In deliberating on this subject, it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle which some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information

tion which the constitution has enjoined upon the president as a duty to give, or which could be required of him by either house of congress as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes, to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution," will permit.

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution; and their successes must often depend on secrecy; and even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions, which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences; perhaps danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the president, with the advice and consent of the senate; the principle on which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the house of representatives to demand, and to have as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

It does not occur that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under cognizance of the house of representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution

has not expressed. I repeat that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public good shall require to be disclosed; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the senate, when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

The course which the debate has taken on the resolution of the house leads to some observations on the mode of making treaties under the constitution of the United States.

Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the constitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this subject; and from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the president, by and with the advice of the senate, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and that every treaty, so made and promulgated, thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations; and in all treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that, when ratified by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate, they became obligatory. In this construction of the constitution, every house of representatives has heretofore acquiesced; and until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared, to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced; for, until now, without

out controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

There is also reason to believe, that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the state conventions when they were deliberating on the constitution, especially by those who objected to it because there was not required in commercial treaties the consent of two-thirds of the whole senate, instead of two-thirds of the senators present; and because, in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively was not made necessary.

It is a fact, declared by the general convention, and universally understood, that the constitution of the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession. And it is well known, that, under this influence, the smaller states were admitted to an equal representation in the senate with the larger states, and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers; for, on the equal participation of those powers, the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller states were deemed essentially to depend.

If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of state. In those journals it will appear, that a proposition was made, "that no treaty should be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law,"

and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the house of representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on which these papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments should be preserved, — a just regard to the constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

United States, March 30.

Resolutions passed by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 7th of April, 1796.

Resolved, that it being declared by the second section of the second article of the constitution, "that the president shall have power, by and with the advice of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur;" the house of representatives do not claim any agency in making treaties; but that when a treaty stipulates regulations on any of the subjects submitted by the constitution to the power of congress, it must depend for its execution, as to such stipulations, on a law or laws to be passed by Congress; and it is the constitutional right and duty of the house of representatives, in all such cases, to deliberate on the expediency or in expediency of carrying

rying such treaties into effect; and to determine and act thereon, as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good.

Resolved, that it is necessary to the propriety of any application from this house to the executive for information desired by them, and which may relate to any constitutional functions of the house, that the purpose for which such information may be wanted, or to which the same is intended to be applied, should be stated in the application.

Resolved, that it is expedient to pass the laws necessary for carrying into effect the treaty lately concluded with certain Indians north-west of the Ohio.

Resolved, that it is expedient to pass the laws necessary for carrying into effect the treaty lately concluded with the dey and regency of Algiers.

The house taking into consideration the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, communicated by the president in his message of the first day of March last, are of opinion, that it is in many respects highly injurious to the interests of the United States; yet, were they possessed of any information that could justify the great sacrifices contained in the treaty, their sincere desire to cherish harmony and amicable intercourse with all nations, and their earnest wish to co-operate in hastening a final adjustment of the differences subsisting between the United States and Great Britain, might have induced them to wave their objections to the treaty; but when they contemplate the conduct of Great Britain, in persevering, since

the treaty was signed, in the impressment of American seamen, and the seizure of American vessels laden with provisions, contrary to the clearest right of neutral nations; whether this be viewed as the construction meant to be given to any article in the treaty, or as contrary to, and an infraction of the true meaning and spirit thereof, the house cannot but consider it as incumbent on them to forbear, under such circumstances, taking at present any active measures on the subject: therefore,

Resolved, that, under the circumstances aforesaid, and with such information as the house possesses, it is not expedient at this time to concur in passing the laws necessary for carrying the said treaty into effect*.

Address of George Washington, President, to the Citizens of the United States, on his intended Resignation.

Friends and fellow citizens,

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to

* The treaty with Great Britain, however, was finally ratified by the house of representatives, on the 30th of April, 1796.

do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation, might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed, towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps, still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary; I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me: still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed, of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,

bious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism; the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence, that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an

encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your heart, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, though covertly and insidiously directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts.

For this you have every inducement

ment of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand; turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a ma-

1796.

ritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in a like intercourse with the west, already finds, and, in the progressive improvement of interior communication by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the neces-

(M)

sity

sity of those overgrown establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculations in such a case, were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, northern and southern, Atlantic and western; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is,

to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parties, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved

improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution, which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community;

and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may, now and then, answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the powers of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions — that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of

hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of persons and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with the particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its roots in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or suppressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and it is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a most horrid despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result,

gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continued mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose.

And

And there being constant danger of excess, the effect ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched—it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments into one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly

over-balance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be a revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct: and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no very distant period, a great

nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtues? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects

projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As the avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to

mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great or powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the

ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them. Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary al-

liances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a proportion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure; which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our
nation

nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to

detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it

it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.
United States, Sept. 17, 1796.

Note presented to the American Secretary of State, by Citizen Adet, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, Oct. 17, 1796.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, in conformity to the orders of his government, has the honour of transmitting to the secretary of state of the United States, a resolution taken by the executive of the French republic on the 11th Messidor, 4th year, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the republic are to hold toward neutral vessels.

“The flag of the republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer it to be treated by the English.”

The sentiments which the American government have manifested to the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, do not permit him to doubt, that they will see, in its true light, this measure as far as it may concern the United States, and that they will also feel that it is dictated by imperious circumstances, and approved by justice.

Great Britain, during the war she has carried on against the republic, has not ceased using every means in her power to add to that

scourge scourges still more terrible. She has used the well-known liberality of the French nation to the detriment of that nation. Knowing how faithful France has always been in the observance of her treaties; knowing that it was a principle of the republic to respect the flags of all nations, the British government, from the beginning of the war, has caused neutral vessels, and in particular American vessels, to be detained, taken them into its ports, and dragged from them Frenchmen and French property. France, bound by a treaty with the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in the article of that treaty which caused to be respected as American property English property found on board American vessels. They had a right, under this consideration, to expect that America would take steps in favour of her violated neutrality. One of the predecessors of the undersigned, in July 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United States; but he was not successful. Nevertheless the national convention, who, by their decree of the 9th of May, 1793, had ordered the seizure of enemy's property on board neutral vessels, declaring, at the same time, that the measure should cease when the English should respect neutral flags, had excepted, on the 23d of the same month, the Americans from the operation of this general order. But the convention was obliged soon to repeal the law which contained this exception so favourable to Americans; the manner in which the English conducted themselves, the manifest intention they had to stop the exportation of provisions from America to France, rendered it unavoidable.

The national convention by this
had

had restored the equilibrium of neutrality which England had destroyed; had discharged their duty in a manner justified by a thousand past examples, as well as by the necessity of the then existing moment. They might, therefore, to recall the orders they had given to seize the enemy's property on board American vessels, have waited till the British government had first definitively revoked the same order, a suspension only of which was produced by the embargo laid by Congress the 26th of March, 1794. But as soon as they were informed that, under orders of the government of the United States, Mr. Jay was directed to remonstrate against the vexatious measures of the English, they gave orders, by the law of the 13th Nivose, 3d year, to the ships of war of the republic to respect American vessels; and the committee of public safety, in their explanatory resolve of the 14th of the same month, hastened to sanction the same principles. The national convention and the committee of public safety had every reason to believe that this open and liberal conduct would determine the United States to use every effort to put a stop to the vexations imposed upon their commerce, to the injury of the French republic; they were deceived in this hope; and though the treaty of friendship, navigation, and commerce, between Great Britain and the United States had been signed six weeks before France adopted the measure I have just spoken of, the English did not abandon the plan they had formed, but continued to stop and carry into their ports all American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them.

This conduct was the subject of

a note which the undersigned addressed on the 7th Vendemiaire, 4th year (29th September 1795, O. S.) to the secretary of state. The remonstrances which it contained were founded on the duties of neutrality, upon the principles which Mr. Jefferson had laid down in his letter to Mr. Pinckney, dated the 13th September, 1794.

Yet this note has remained without an answer, though recalled to the remembrance of the secretary of state by a dispatch of the 9th Germinal, 4th year (29th March, 1796, O. S.); and American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them, have still been seized by the English. Indeed more; they have added a new vexation to those they had already imposed upon Americans; they have impressed seamen from on board American vessels, and have thus found the means of strengthening their crews at the expence of the Americans, without the government of the United States having made known to the undersigned the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for this violation of neutrality, so hurtful to the interests of France, as the undersigned hath set forth in his dispatches to the secretary of state of the 9th Germinal, 4th year (29th March, 1796, O. S.), 19th Germinal (8th April, 1796), and 1st Floreal (20th April, 1796), which have remained without an answer.

The French government then finds itself, with respect to America at the present time, in circumstances similar to those of the year 1795; and if it sees itself obliged to abandon, with respect to them, and neutral powers in general, the favourable line of conduct it pursued, and to adopt different measures, the blame should fall upon

upon the British government: it is their conduct which the French government has been obliged to follow.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary conceives it his duty to remark to the secretary of state, that the neutral governments, or the allies of the republic, have nothing to fear as to the treatment of their flag by the French, since if, keeping within the bounds of their neutrality, they cause the rights of that neutrality to be respected by the English, the republic will respect them. But if, through weakness, partiality, or other motives, they should suffer the English to sport with that neutrality, and turn it to their advantage, could they then complain, when France, to restore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium, shall act in the same manner as the English? No, certainly; for the neutrality of a nation consists in granting to belligerent powers the same advantages; and that neutrality no longer exists, when, in the course of the war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belligerent powers advantages not stipulated by treaties anterior to the war, or suffers that power to seize upon them. The neutral government cannot then complain if the other belligerent power will enjoy advantages which its enemy enjoys, or if it seizes upon them; otherwise that neutral government would deviate, with respect to it, from the line of neutrality, and would become its enemy.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary thinks it useless further to develop these principles. He does not doubt that the secretary of state feels all their force; and that the government of the United

States will maintain from all violation a neutrality which France has always respected, and will always respect, when her enemies do not make it turn to her detriment.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary embraces this opportunity of reiterating to the secretary of state the assurance of his esteem, and informs him, at the same time, that he will cause this note to be printed, in order to make publicly known the motives which, at the present juncture, influence the French republic.

Done at Philadelphia, 6th Brumaire, 5th year of the French republic, one and indivisible,
(27th Oct. 1796, O. S.)

(Signed) P. A. ADÉT.

Extract from the Register of Resolutions of the Executive Directory of the 14th Messidor, 4th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The executive directory, considering that, if it becomes the faith of the French nation to respect treaties or conventions which secure to the flags of some neutral or friendly powers commercial advantages, if they should turn to the benefit of our enemies, either through the weakness of our allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through interested views, or through whatever motives, it would, *ipso facto*, warrant the inexecution of the articles in which they were stipulated, decrees as follows:

“ All neutral or allied powers shall, without delay, be notified, that the flag of the French republic will treat neutral vessels, either as to confiscation, as to searches,

or

or capture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them."

The minister of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the present resolution, which shall not be printed.

A true copy.

(Signed) CARNOT, *President*.

Answer of the Executive Government of America to Citizen Adet's Note, inclosing the Decree of the Directory respecting Neutral Vessels.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note, of the 27th ult. covering a decree of the executive directory of the French republic, concerning the commerce of neutral nations.

This decree makes no distinction between neutral powers who can claim only the rights secured to them by the law of nations, and others between whom and the French republic treaties have imposed special obligations. Where no treaties exist, the republic, by seizing and confiscating the property of their enemies found on board neutral vessels, would only exercise an acknowledged right under the law of nations. If, towards such neutral nations, the French republic has forbore to execute this right, the forbearance has been perfectly gratuitous. The United States, by virtue of their treaty of commerce with France, stand on different ground.

In the year 1778, France voluntarily entered into a commercial treaty with us, on principles of perfect reciprocity, and expressly stipulating *that free ships should make free goods*. That is, if France should be at war with any nation with

whom the United States should be at peace, the goods (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted), found on board the vessels of the United States, were to be free from capture. That, on the other hand, if the United States should engage in war with any nation, while France remained at peace, then the goods (except contraband) and the persons of our enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted), found on board French vessels, were also to be free from capture. This is plainly expressed in the 23d article of that treaty, and demonstrates that the reciprocity thereby stipulated was to operate at *different periods*; that is, at one time in favour of one of the contracting parties, and of the other at another time. At the present time, the United States being at peace, they possess by the treaty the right of carrying the goods of the enemies of France, without subjecting them to capture. But what do the spirit of the decree of the executive directory and the current of your observations require? — That the United States should now gratuitously renounce this right. And what reason is assigned for denying to us the enjoyment of this right? Your own words furnish the answer: "France, bound by treaty to the United States, *could find only a real disadvantage* in the articles of that treaty, which caused to be respected, as American property, English property found on board American vessels." This requisition, and the reason assigned to support it, alike excite surprize. The American government, sir, conscious of the purity of its intentions, of its impartial observance of the laws of neutrality, and of its inviolable regard

to treaties, cannot for a moment admit that it has forfeited the right to claim a reciprocal observance of stipulations on the part of the French republic, whose friendship moreover it has every reason to cultivate with the most perfect sincerity. This right, formerly infringed by a decree of the national convention, was recognized anew by the repeal of that decree. Why it should be again questioned, we are at a loss to determine. We are ignorant of any new restraints on our commerce by the British government; on the contrary, we possess recent official information, that *no new orders have been issued*.

The captures made by the British, of American vessels having French property on board, are warranted by the law of nations. The force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States, when they formed their treaty of commerce; and their special stipulation on this point was meant as an exception to an universal rule; neither our weakness nor our strength have any choice, when the question concerns the observance of a known rule of the law of nations.

You are pleased to remark, that the conduct of Great Britain, in capturing vessels bound to and from French ports, had been the subject of a note, which, on the 29th of September, 1795, was addressed to the secretary of state, but which remained without an answer. Very sufficient reasons may be assigned for the omission. The subject, in all its aspects, had been officially and publicly discussed; and the principles and ultimate measures of the United States, founded on their indisputable rights, were as publicly fixed. But if the subject had not, by the previous discussions,

been already exhausted, can it be a matter of surprise that there should be a repugnance to answer a letter containing such insinuations as these?

"It must then be clear to every man, who will discard prejudices, love, hatred, and, in a word, all the passions which lead the judgment astray, that the French republic has a right to complain, if the American government suffered the English to interrupt the commercial relations which exist between her and the United States; if *by a perfidious condescension* it permitted the English to violate a right which it ought, for its own *honour and interest*, to defend; if, under the cloak of neutrality, it presented to England a *poniard to cut the throat* of its faithful ally; if, in fine, partaking in the *tyrannical and homicidal rage of Great Britain*, it concurred to plunge the people of France into the horrors of famine!" For the sake of preserving harmony, silence was preferred to a comment upon these insinuations.

You are also pleased to refer to your letters of March and April last, relative to impresses of American seamen by British ships, and complain that the government of the United States had not made known to you the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction. This, sir, was a matter which concerned only that government. As an independent nation, we are not bound to render an account to any other of the measures we deemed proper for the protection of our own citizens, so long as there was not the slightest ground to suspect that the government ever acquiesced in any aggression.

But permit me to recur to the subject of the decree of the executive directory.

As

As before observed, we are officially informed that the British government have issued no new orders for capturing the vessels of the United States. We are also officially informed, that, on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the minister of the United States at Paris applied for information, "Whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels, and was informed, that no such order was issued, and further, that no such order would be issued, in case the British did not seize our vessels." This communication from the minister of the United States at Paris, to their minister at London, was dated the 28th of August; but the decree of the directory bears date the 14th Messidor, answering to the 2d of July. These circumstances, together with some observations in your note, leave the American government in a state of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government in France. Allow me then to ask, whether, in the actual state of things, our commerce is considered as liable to suffer any new restrictions on the part of the French republic? Whether the restraints now exercised by the British government are considered as of a nature to justify a denial of those rights which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nation? Whether orders have been actually given to the ships of war of the French republic to capture the vessels of the United States? And what, if they exist, are the precise terms of those orders?

The questions, sir, you will see, are highly interesting to the United States. It is with extreme concern that the government finds itself reduced to the necessity of asking an explanation of this nature; and if

it shall be informed that a new line of conduct is to be adopted towards this country, on the ground of the decree referred to, its surprise will equal its regret, that principles should now be questioned, which, after repeated discussions both here and in France, have been demonstrated to be founded, as we conceive, in the obligations of impartial neutrality, of stipulations by treaty, and of the law of nations. I hope, sir, you will find it convenient, by an early answer, to remove the suspense in which the government of the United States is now held on the question above stated.

I shall close this letter by one remark on the singularity of your causing the publication of your note. As it concerned the United States, it was properly addressed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it in such time and manner as it should think fit to the citizens of the United States.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

United States, Philadelphia, Nov. 3.
*To M. Adet, minister plenipotentiary
of the French republic.*

A Proclamation by George Washington, President of the United States of America.

Whereas an explanatory article, to be added to the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and his Britannic majesty, was concluded and signed at Philadelphia, on the 4th day of May last, by Timothy Pickering, esq. secretary of state, on the part of the United States, and by Phineas Bond, esq. the commissioner of his

his Britannic majesty, which explanatory article is in the words following:

EXPLANATORY ARTICLE.

Whereas by the third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London on the nineteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, it was agreed that it should at all times be free to his majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States, freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two contracting parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson Bay company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other, subject to the provisions and limitations contained in the said article: And whereas, by the eighth article of the treaty of peace and friendship concluded at Grenville, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, between the United States, and the nations or tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Putawatimies, Miamis, Eel River, Weeas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias, it was stipulated that no person should be permitted to reside at any of the towns or hunting camps of the said Indian tribes as a trader, who is not furnished with a licence for that purpose, under the authority of the

United States; which latter stipulation has excited doubts whether in its operation it may not interfere with the due execution of the said third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation: and it being the sincere desire of his Britannic majesty, and of the United States, that this point should be so explained as to remove all doubts, and promote mutual satisfaction and friendship: and for this purpose his Britannic majesty having named for his commissioner, Phineas Bond, esq. his majesty's consul general for the middle and southern states of America (and now his majesty's chargé d'affaires to the United States); and the president of the United States having named for their commissioner Timothy Pickering, esq. secretary of state of the United States, to whom, agreeable to the laws of the United States, he has entrusted this negotiation: they, the said commissioners, having communicated to each other their full powers, have, in virtue of the same, and conformably to the spirit of the last article of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, entered into this explanatory article, and do by these presents explicitly agree and declare, That no stipulations in any treaty subsequently concluded by either of the contracting parties with any other state or nation, or with any Indian tribe, can be understood to derogate in any manner from the rights of free intercourse and commerce secured by the aforesaid third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, to the subjects of his majesty, and to the citizens of the United States, and to the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line aforesaid; but that all the said persons shall remain at full liberty
freely

freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the contracting parties, on either side of the said boundary line, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other, according to the stipulations of the said third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation.

This explanatory article, when the same shall have been ratified by his majesty, and by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be added to and make a part of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and shall be permanently binding upon his majesty and the United States.

In witness whereof we, the said commissioners of his majesty the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, have signed this explanatory article, and thereto affixed our seals. Done at Philadelphia, this fourth day of May, in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

P. BOND, (L. S.)
TIMOTHY PICKERING, (L. S.)

And whereas the said explanatory article has by me, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the United States on the one part, and by his Britannic majesty on the other, been duly approved and ratified, and the ratifications have since, to wit, on the sixth day of October last, been duly exchanged: now, therefore, to the end that the said explanatory article may be executed and observed with punctuality and the most sincere regard to good faith on the
1796.

part of the United States, I hereby make known the premises; and enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, to execute and observe the said explanatory article accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, the fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and of the independence of the United States of America the twenty-first.

(L. S.) GEORGE WASHINGTON.
By the president,

TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Secretary of State.

Speech of George Washington, President of the United States of America, to both Houses of Congress, December, 7, 1796.

Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

In recurring to the internal situation of our country since I had last the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to ensure a
(N) con-

continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent of our interior frontier, have been digested and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard, on the one hand, our advanced settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly individuals who cannot be restrained by their tribes; and on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty; to draw them nearer to the civilized state, and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power, as well as justice of the government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Oolera in the state of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by that state, broke up without its being accomplished; the nation having, previously to their departure, instructed them against making any sale: the occasion, however, has been improved, to confirm, by a new treaty with the Creeks, their pre-existing engagements with the United States, and to obtain their consent to the establishment of trading houses and military posts within their boundary, by means of which their friendship and the general peace may be more effectually secured.

The period during the late session, at which the appropriation was passed for carrying into effect the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between the United States and his Britannic majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the posts stipulated to be delivered, beyond the date assigned for that event. As soon, however, as the governor-general of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were

cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation; and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made as appeared indispensable.

The commissioners appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain, to determine which is the river St. Croix mentioned in the treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson, esq. of New York for the third commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrew's, Passaminquodday Bay, in the beginning of October, and directed surveys to be made of the rivers in dispute; but deeming it impracticable to have these surveys completed before the next year, they adjourned to meet at Boston, in August 1797, for the final decision of the question.

Other commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the 7th article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and condemnation of vessels and other property, met the commissioners of his Britannic majesty in London, in August last, when John Trumbull, esq. was chosen by lot for the fifth commissioner. In October following the board were to proceed to business. As yet there has been no communication of commissioners on the part of Great Britain to unite with those who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the sixth article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required that the commissioners for running the boundary line, between the territory of the United States and his catholic majesty's provinces of East and

and West Florida, should meet at the Natches, before the expiration of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Aranjuez, on the 25th of April; and the troops of his catholic majesty, occupying any posts within the limits of the United States, were within the same period to be withdrawn. The commissioner of the United States, therefore, commenced his journey from the Natches in September, and troops were ordered to occupy the posts from which the Spanish garrisons should be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a commissioner on the part of his catholic majesty for running the boundary line, but none of any appointment for the adjustment of the claims of our citizens, whose vessels were captured by the armed vessels of Spain.

In pursuance of the act of congress, passed in the last session, for the protection and relief of American seamen, agents were appointed, one to reside in Great Britain, and the other in the West Indies. The effects of the agency in the West Indies are not yet fully ascertained; but those which have been communicated afford grounds to believe the measure will be beneficial. The agent destined to reside in Great Britain declining to accept the appointment, the business has consequently devolved on the minister of the United States in London; and will command his attention, until a new agent shall be appointed.

After many delays and disappointments, arising out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the dey and regency of Algiers will, in all present appearance, be

crowned with success; but under great, though inevitable disadvantages, in the pecuniary transactions, occasioned by that war; which will render a further provision necessary. The actual liberation of all our citizens who were prisoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itself an earnest of a satisfactory termination of the whole negotiation.

Measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars in which a state is itself a party; but besides this, it is our own experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag, requires a naval force, organized, and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, have no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved. These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen; and their means, in other respects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewise, that their particular situa-

tion will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be advisable to begin, without delay, to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war; and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable, without inconvenience; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present?

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to ensure a continuation of their efforts, in every way which will appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on a public account are inexpedient; but where the state of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture will, for a great length of time, obtain; when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in the time of war, are not establishments for procuring them on the public account, *to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service*, recommended by strong considerations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted? If the necessary articles should in this mode cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising form an ample compensation? Establishments of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in the time of peace, will, in time of war, easily

be extended in proportion to the exigencies of the government, and even perhaps be made to yield a surplus, for the supply of our citizens at large; so as to mitigate the privateers from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches, which are already, or likely soon to be established in the country, in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.

It will not be doubted that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population, and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success than the establishment of boards, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums, and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement.

I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of congress the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. The desirableness of both these institutions has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to them.

The assembly to which I address myself is too enlightened not to be fully

fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation. True it is that our country, much to its honour, contains seminaries of learning, highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest, are too narrow to command the ablest professors in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Among the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and a primary object of such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important; and what duty more pressing on its legislature than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

While, in our external relations, some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome, and others lessened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention, that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering, extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruisers and agents of the French republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of further disturbance of our com-

merce by its authority, and which are, in other respects, far from agreeable.

It has been my constant, sincere, and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony and a perfectly friendly understanding with that republic. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfil it, to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just and indispensable regard to the rights and honour of our country; nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation, that a spirit of justice, candour, and friendship, on the part of the republic, will eventually ensure success.

In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of my countrymen.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Address of the Senate, presented by their President, John Adams, to the President of the United States, in Answer to the above Speech, Dec. 12.

We thank you, sir, for your faithful and detailed exposure of the existing situation of our country; and we sincerely join in sentiments of gratitude to an overruling Providence for the distinguished share of public prosperity and private happiness, which the people of the United States so peculiarly enjoy.

We observe with pleasure, that the delivery of the military posts lately occupied by the British forces within the territory of the United States,

States, was made with cordiality and promptitude, as soon as circumstances would admit; and that the other provisions of our objects of eventual arrangement are now about being carried into effect with entire harmony and good faith.

We perfectly coincide with you in opinion, that the importance of our commerce demands a naval force for its protection against foreign insult and depredation; and our solicitude to attain that object will be always proportionate to its magnitude.

The necessity of accelerating the establishment of certain useful manufactures by the intervention of legislative aid and protection, and the encouragement due to agriculture by the creation of boards (composed of intelligent individuals) to patronize this primary pursuit of society, are subjects which will readily engage our most serious attention.

A national university may be converted to the most useful purposes. The science of legislation being so essentially dependent on the endowments of the mind, the public interest must receive effectual aid from the general diffusion of knowledge; and the United States will assume a more dignified station among the nations of the earth, by the successful cultivation of the highest branches of literature.

We sincerely lament, that while the conduct of the United States has been uniformly impressed with the character of equity, moderation, and love of peace, in the maintenance of all their foreign relations. our trade should be so harassed by the cruisers and agents of the republic of France, through-

out the extensive departments of the West Indies.

We cordially acquiesce in the reflection that the United States, under the operation of the federal government, have experienced a most rapid aggrandizement and prosperity, as well political as commercial.

While contemplating the causes that produce this auspicious result, we must acknowledge the excellence of the constitutional system, and the wisdom of the legislative provisions: but we should be deficient in gratitude and justice, did we not attribute a great portion of these advantages to the virtue, firmness, and talents of your administration, which have been conspicuously displayed in the most trying times, and on the most critical occasions. It is, therefore, with the sincerest regret, that we now receive an official notification of your intentions to retire from the public employments of your country.

When we review the various scenes of your public life, so long and so successfully devoted to the most arduous services, civil and military, as well during the struggles of the American revolution, as the convulsive periods of a recent date, we cannot look forward to your retirement without our warmest affections and most anxious regards accompanying you, and without mingling with our fellow-citizens at large the sincerest wishes for your personal happiness, that sensibility and attachment can express.

The most effectual consolation that can offer for the loss we are about to sustain, arises from the animating reflection, that the influence of your example will ex-

end

tend to your successors, and the United States thus continue to enjoy an able, upright, and energetic administration.

JOHN ADAMS, vice president of the United States, and president of the senate.

The President's Reply.

Gentlemen,

It affords me great satisfaction to find in your address a concurrence in sentiment with me on the various topics which I presented for your information and deliberation; and that the latter will receive from you an attention proportioned to their respective importance.

For the notice you take of my public services, civil and military, and your kind wishes for my personal happiness, I beg you to accept my cordial thanks. Those services, and greater, had I posses-

ed ability to render them, were due to the unanimous calls of my country; and its approbation is my abundant reward.

When contemplating the period of my retirement, I saw virtuous and enlightened men, among whom I rested on the discernment and patriotism of my fellow-citizens to make the proper choice of a successor; men who would require no influential example to ensure to the United States "an able, upright, and energetic administration." To such men I shall cheerfully yield the palm of genius and talents, to serve our common country; but at the same time I hope I may be indulged in expressing the consoling reflection (which consciousness suggests), and to bear it with me to the grave, that none can serve it with purer intentions than I have done, or with a more disinterested zeal.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SUPPLIES granted by PARLIAMENT for the Year 1796.

N A V Y.

Nov. 6, 1795.		£.	s.	d.
FOR 110,000 men, including 18,000 marines,		5,720,000	0	0
Dec. 7.				
Ordinary,	-	624,152	1	8.
Extra,	-	708,400	0	0
MAY 10, 1796.				
Toward discharging the navy debt,	-	500,000	0	0
		<u>£. 7,552,552</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>

A R M Y.

Dec. 2, 1795.		£.	s.	d.
For 49,000 men as guards and garrisons,	-	1,358,624	2	9
Forces in the plantations,	-	1,666,900	3	6
Difference between British and Irish pay,	-	40,195	4	9
Additional to troops in the East Indies,	-	8,345	16	2
Recruiting land forces, contingencies, &c.	-	360,000	0	0
Subsistence paid to innkeepers, &c.	-	120,000	0	0
General and staff officers,	-	103,642	1	3
Staff officers, &c. on general Clarke's expedition,	-	9,259	18	6
Full pay to supernumerary officers,	-	127,779	14	11
Allowance to the paymaster-general, &c.	-	143,490	13	5
Reduced officers of the land forces and marines,	-	118,873	18	6
Reduced horse-guards,	-	126	1	6
Officers late in the service of the states general,	-	1,000	0	0
Reduced officers of British American forces,	-	52,500	0	0
Allowances to several officers of ditto,	-	7,500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencible infantry,	-	917,294	14	1
Contingencies for ditto,	-	210,000	0	0
Clothing for the militia,	-	108,538	17	1
Fencible cavalry,	-	470,636	19	8
Allowances for ditto,	-	115,000	0	0
Dec. 4.				
Extraordinaries,	-	2,646,990	19	10
APRIL 26, 1796.				
Extraordinaries,	-	885,673	19	10
MAY 2.				
Scotch military roads and bridges,	-	4,500	0	0
MAY 3.				
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia,	-	200,000	0	0
MAY 7.				
Chelsea pensioners,	-	146,057	4	2
			Widows	

		£.	s.	d.
Widows' pensions,	-	10,933	16	9
	MAY 10.			
Extraordinaries for 1796,	-	1,350,000	0	0
Foreign troops,	-	438,035	3	2
Completing barracks,	-	290,000	0	0
		£.11,911,899	9	10

O R D N A N C E.

	DEC. 2, 1795.	£.	s.	d.
Land service for 1796,	-	875,488	14	1
Ditto, previous to Dec. 31, 1783,	-	279	4	4
Ditto, unprovided for in 1794,	-	45,656	0	5
Sea service, ditto,	-	61,000	8	9
Land service not provided for in 1795,	-	762,046	13	6
	APRIL 26, 1796.			
Services previous to Dec. 31, 1795, not provided for,		210,194	15	11
		£.1,954,665	17	0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	DEC. 2, 1795.	£.	s.	d.
Civil establishment of Upper Canada,	-	7,100	0	0
Ditto, Nova Scotia,	-	5,415	0	0
Ditto, New Brunswick,	-	4,550	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Island,	-	1,900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton,	-	1,800	0	0
Ditto, Newfoundland,	-	1,232	10	0
Ditto, Bahama Islands,	-	4,200	0	0
Salary of the chief justice of the Bermuda Islands	-	580	0	0
Ditto, of Dominica,	-	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales,	-	5,241	0	0
To discharge exchequer bills,	-	3,500,000	0	0
	FEB. 11, 1796.			
To discharge exchequer bills,	-	2,500,000	0	0
Vote of credit,	-	2,500,000	0	0
	MAY 2.			
To satisfy navy, victualling, and transport bills,	-	4,331,141	14	10
His majesty's service abroad,	-	233,485	4	10
French refugees,	-	129,350	0	0
Allowance to American sufferers,	-	28,500	0	0
Prosecutions, &c, relating to the coin,	-	2,966	4	6
Printing journals of the house of peers,	-	1,858	12	5
Publishing weekly returns of the average price of sugar,	-	1,334	7	0
Mr. Whittam for attendance on a committee,	-	384	7	0

Mr.

Mr. Gunnell, for ditto,	£.	s.	d.
Address money,	51	5	0
Convicts on the Thames,	29,921	12	6
Ditto at Langston and Portsmouth,	8,685	11	4
Expences on account of New South Wales,	12,072	1	6
Ditto, on account of Mr. Hastings' prosecution,	15,088	7	10½
Purchase of the parliament office,	5,000	0	0
Superintendance of the Alien Act,	2,741	16	0½
Stationary shipped for Upper Canada,	2,232	14	4½
For reduction of the national debt,	306	19	0½
American and East Florida sufferers,	200,000	0	0
Ditto,	197,803	5	5½
African forts,	53,387	7	6
Turkey company,	20,000	0	0
Board of Agriculture,	5,000	0	0
British Museum,	3,000	0	0

MAY 10.

Veterinary college,	1,500	0	0
	£.13,821,430	1	2½

DEFICIENCY.

MAY 2, 1796.

Deficiency of Grants in 1795,	£.	s.	d.
	2,347,954	10	9½
Navy,	7,552,552	1	8
Army,	11,911,899	9	10
Ordnance,	1,954,665	17	0
Miscellaneous services,	13,821,430	1	2½
Deficiency,	2,347,951	10	9½
	£.37,588,502	0	6½

WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies for 1796.

Nov. 10, 1795.

Land and malt-tax,	£.	s.	d.
	2,750,000	0	0

DEC. 8.

Annuities,	18,000,000	0	0
------------	------------	---	---

FEB. 11, 1796.

Exchequer bills,	3,500,000	0	0
------------------	-----------	---	---

FEB. 15.

Ditto,	2,500,000	0	0
--------	-----------	---	---

APRIL 19.

Annuities,	7,500,000	0	0
------------	-----------	---	---

MAY 2.

Profit of a lottery, 600,000 tickets, at £13,	280,000	0	0
---	---------	---	---

May 7.

Surplus of the consolidated fund,	3,500,000	0	0
-----------------------------------	-----------	---	---

£.38,030,000 0 0

Public

Public Acts passed in the Sixth Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

Nov. 23, 1795.

Land and malt bills.

An act to prohibit the exportation of corn, meal, &c. and to permit the importation thereof, for a limited time.

Dec. 1.

An act to prohibit, for a limited time, the making of starch, hair-powder, &c. from wheat and other articles of food, and for lowering the duty on the importation of starch, &c.

An act to prohibit the exportation of candles, tallow, and soap, for a limited time.

Dec. 18.

An act for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government, against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts.

An act for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies.

An act for the better relief of the poor in the hundreds, towns, and districts in England, incorporated for their better maintenance and employment.

Dec. 19.

An act for raising eighteen millions by way of annuities.

Dec. 24.

Mutiny bill.

An act to permit bakers to make and sell certain sorts of bread.

An act to amend so much of an act, made in the 9th year of Geo. I. entitled, "An act for amending the laws relating to the settlement, employment, and relief of the poor," as prevents the distributing occasional relief to poor persons in their own houses, under certain circumstances and in certain cases.

March 7, 1796.

Marine mutiny bill.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be granted to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers.

May 14.

An act for the better regulation of mills.

An act for the further support and maintenance of curates within the church of England.

May 18.

An act for continuing the encouragement and reward of persons making certain discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or making other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation.

An act to exempt dairies, and cheese and butter warehouses, kept solely as such, from the duties on windows and lights.



PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1796.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

BIOGRAPHICAL
A N E C D O T E S
AND
C H A R A C T E R S.

B I O G R A P H I C A L

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

CHARACTER OF COSMO DE' MEDICI.

[From the first Volume of Mr. Roscoe's Life of LORENZO DE' MEDICI.]

“**T**HE character of Cosmo de' Medici exhibits a combination of virtues and endowments rarely to be found united in the same person. If in his public works he was remarkable for his magnificence, he was no less conspicuous for his prudence in private life. Whilst in the character of chief of the Florentine republic, he supported a constant intercourse with the sovereigns of Europe, his conduct in Florence was divested of all ostentation, and neither in his retinue, his friendships, or his conversation, could he be distinguished from any other respectable citizen. He well knew the jealous temper of the Florentines, and preferred the real enjoyment of authority, to that open assumption of it, which could only have been regarded as a perpetual insult, by those whom he permitted to gratify their own pride, in the reflection that they were the equals of Cosmo de' Medici.

“ In affording protection to the arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, which then began to revive in Italy, Cosmo set the great

example to those, who by their rank, and their riches, could alone afford them effectual aid. The countenance shewn by him to those arts, was not of that kind which their professors generally experience from the great; it was not conceded as a bounty, nor received as a favour; but appeared in the friendship and equality that subsisted between the artist and his patron. In the erection of the numerous public buildings in which Cosmo expended incredible sums of money, he principally availed himself of the assistance of Michelozzo Michelozzi and Filippo Brunelleschi; the first of whom was a man of talents, the latter of genius. Soon after his return from banishment, Cosmo engaged these two artists to form the plan of a mansion for his own residence. Brunelleschi gave scope to his invention, and produced the design of a palace which might have suited the proudest sovereign in Europe; but Cosmo was led by that prudence which, in his personal accommodation, regulated all his conduct, to prefer

the plan of Michelozzi, which united extent with simplicity, and elegance with convenience. With the consciousness, Brunelleschi possessed also the irritability of genius, and in a fit of vexation, he destroyed a design which he unjustly considered as disgraced by its not being carried into execution. Having completed his dwelling, Cosmo indulged his taste in ornamenting it with the most precious remains of ancient art; and in the purchase of vases, statues, busts, gems, and medals, expended no inconsiderable sum. Nor was he less attentive to the merits of those artists which his native place had recently produced. With Masaccio a better style of painting had arisen, and the cold and formal manner of Giotto, and his disciples, had given way to more natural and expressive composition. In Cosmo de' Medici this rising artist found his most liberal patron and protector. Some of the works of Masaccio were executed in the chapel of the Brancacci, where they were held in such estimation, that the place was regarded as a school of study by the most eminent artists who immediately succeeded him. Even the celebrated Michelangelo, when observing these paintings many years afterwards, in company with his honest and loquacious friend Vasari, did not hesitate to express his decided approbation of their merits. The reputation of Masaccio was emulated by his disciple Filippo Lippi, who executed for Cosmo and his friends many celebrated pictures, of which Vasari has given a minute account. Cosmo however found no small difficulty in controlling the temper and regulating the eccentricities of this extraordinary character. If the efforts of these early masters did not

reach the true end of the art, they afforded considerable assistance towards it; and while Masaccio and Filippo decorated with their admired productions the altars of churches and the apartments of princes, Donatello gave to marble a proportion of form, a vivacity of expression, to which his contemporaries imagined that nothing more was wanting; Brunelleschi raised the great dome of the cathedral of Florence; and Ghiberti cast in brass the stupendous doors of the church of St. John, which Michelangelo deemed worthy to be the gates of paradise.

“ In his person Cosmo was tall; in his youth he possessed the advantage of a prepossessing countenance; what age had taken from his comeliness, it had added to his dignity, and in his latter years, his appearance was so truly venerable as to have been the frequent subject of panegyric. His manner was grave and complacent, but upon many occasions he gave sufficient proofs that this did not arise from a want of talents for sarcasm; and the fidelity of the Florentine historians has preserved many of his shrewd observations and remarks. When Rinaldo de' Albizi, who was then in exile, and meditated an attack upon his native place, sent a message to Cosmo, importing that the hen would shortly hatch, he replied, ‘ She will hatch with an ill grace ‘ out of her own nest.’ On another occasion, when his adversaries gave him to understand that they were not sleeping, ‘ I believe it,’ said Cosmo, ‘ I have spoiled their ‘ sleep.’—‘ Of what colour is my ‘ hair?’ said Cosmo, uncovering his head to the ambassadors of Venice, who came with a complaint against the Florentines, ‘ White,’ they replied; ‘ It will not be long,’ said Cosmo,

Cosmo, 'before that of your senators will be so too.' Shortly before his death, his wife inquiring why he closed his eyes, 'That I may perceive more clearly,' was his reply.

"If, from considering the private character of Cosmo, we attend to his conduct as the moderator and director of the Florentine republic, our admiration of his abilities will increase with the extent of the theatre upon which he had to act. So important were his mercantile concerns, that they often influenced in a very remarkable degree the politics of Italy. When Alfonso king of Naples leagued with the Venetians against Florence, Cosmo called in such immense debts from those places, as deprived them of resources for carrying on the war. During the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, one of his agents in England was resorted to by Edward IV. for a sum of money, which was accordingly furnished, to such an extraordinary amount, that it might almost be considered as the means of supporting that monarch

on the throne, and was repaid when his successes enabled him to fulfil his engagement. The alliance of Cosmo was sedulously courted by the princes of Italy, and it was remarked that by a happy kind of fatality, whoever united their interests with his, were always enabled either to repress, or to overcome their adversaries. By his assistance the republic of Venice resisted the united attacks of Filippo duke of Milan, and of the French nation, but when deprived of his support, the Venetians were no longer able to withstand their enemies. With whatever difficulties Cosmo had to encounter, at home or abroad, they generally terminated in the acquisition of additional honour to his country and to himself. The esteem and gratitude of his fellow-citizens were fully shewn a short time before his death, when by a public decree he was honoured with the title of *Pater Patriæ*, an appellation which was inscribed on his tomb, and which, as it was founded on real merit, has ever since been attached to the name of Cosmo de' Medici."

SHORT REVIEW of the CHARACTER of LORENZO DE' MEDICI, and of the Circumstances attending his Death.

[From the second Volume of the same Work.]

"IN the height of his reputation, and at a premature period of life, died Lorenzo de' Medici; a man who may be selected from all the characters of ancient and modern history, as exhibiting the most remarkable instance of depth of penetration, versatility of talent, and comprehension of mind. Whether genius be a predominating impulse, directing the mind to some particular object, or whether it be

an energy of intellect that arrives at excellence in any department in which it may be employed, it is certain that there are few instances in which a successful exertion in any human pursuit has not occasioned a dereliction of many other objects, the attainment of which might have conferred immortality. If the powers of the mind are to bear down all obstacles that oppose their progress, it seems necessary that

[6] REVIEW of the CHARACTER of LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

that they should sweep along in some certain course, and in one collected mass. What then shall we think of that rich fountain which, whilst it was poured out by so many channels, flowed through each with a full and equal stream? To be absorbed in one pursuit, however important, is not the characteristic of the higher class of genius, which, piercing through the various combinations and relations of surrounding circumstances, sees all things in their just dimensions, and attributes to each its due. Of the various occupations in which Lorenzo engaged, there is not one in which he was not eminently successful; but he was most particularly distinguished in those which justly hold the first rank in human estimation. The facility with which he turned from subjects of the highest importance to those of amusement and levity, suggested to his countrymen the idea that he had two distinct souls combined in one body. Even his moral character seems to have partaken in some degree of the same diversity, and his devotional poems are as ardent as his lighter pieces are licentious. On all sides he touched the extremes of human character, and the powers of his mind were only bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature.

“As a statesman, Lorenzo de' Medici appears to peculiar advantage. Uniformly employed in securing the peace and promoting the happiness of his country by just regulations at home, and wise precautions abroad, and teaching to the surrounding governments those important lessons of political science, on which the civilization and tranquillity of nations have since been found to depend. Though possess-

ed of undoubted talents for military exploits, and of sagacity to avail himself of the imbecility of neighbouring powers, he was superior to that avarice of dominion which, without improving what is already acquired, blindly aims at more extensive possessions. The wars in which he engaged were for security, not for territory; and the riches produced by the fertility of the soil, and the industry and ingenuity of the inhabitants of the Florentine republic, instead of being dissipated in imposing projects and ruinous expeditions, circulated in their natural channels, giving happiness to the individual, and respectability to the state. If he was not insensible to the charms of ambition, it was the ambition to deserve rather than to enjoy; and he was always cautious not to exact from the public favour more than it might be voluntarily willing to bestow. The approximating suppression of the liberties of Florence, under the influence of his descendants, may induce suspicions unfavourable to his patriotism; but it will be difficult, not to say impossible, to discover, either in his conduct or his precepts, any thing that ought to stigmatize him as an enemy to the freedom of his country. The authority which he exercised was the same as that which his ancestors had enjoyed, without injury to the republic, for nearly a century, and had descended to him as inseparable from the wealth, the respectability, and the powerful foreign connexions of his family. The superiority of his talents enabled him to avail himself of these advantages with irresistible effect; but history suggests not an instance in which they were devoted to any other purpose than that of promoting the honour and independence of

of the Tuscan state. It was not by the continuance, but by the dereliction of the system that he had established, and to which he adhered to the close of his life, that the Florentine republic sunk under the degrading yoke of despotic power; and to his premature death we may unquestionably attribute, not only the destruction of the commonwealth, but all the calamities that Italy soon afterwards sustained.

“ The sympathies of mind, like the laws of chemical affinity, are uniform. Great talents attract admiration, the offering of the understanding; but the qualities of the heart can alone excite affection, the offering the heart. If we may judge of Lorenzo de' Medici by the ardour with which his friends and contemporaries have expressed their attachment, we shall form conclusions highly favourable to his sensibility and his social virtues. The exaction of those attentions usually paid to rank and to power, he left to such as had no other claims to respect; he rather chose to be considered as the friend and the equal, than as the dictator of his fellow-citizens. His urbanity extended to the lowest ranks of society; and while he enlivened the city of Florence by magnificent spectacles and amusing representations, he partook of them himself with a relish that set the example of festivity. It was the general opinion in Florence, that whoever was favoured by Lorenzo could not fail of success. Valori relates, that in the representation of an engagement on horseback, one of the combatants, who was supposed to contend under the patronage of Lorenzo, being overpowered and wounded, avowed his resolution to die rather than submit to his adversary, and

it was not without difficulty that he was rescued from the danger, to receive from the bounty of Lorenzo the reward of his well-meant though mistaken fidelity.

“ The death of Lorenzo, which happened on the eighth day of April 1492, was no sooner known at Florence than a general alarm and consternation spread throughout the city, and the inhabitants gave way to the most unbounded expressions of grief. Even those who were not friendly to the Medici lamented in this misfortune the prospect of the evils to come. The agitation of the public mind was increased by a singular coincidence of calamitous events, which the superstition of the people considered as portentous of approaching commotions. The physician, Pier Leoni, whose prescriptions had failed of success, being apprized of the result, left Careggi in a state of distraction, and precipitated himself into a well in the suburbs of the city. Two days preceding the death of Lorenzo, the great dome of the Reparata was struck with lightning, and on the side which approached towards the chapel of the Medici, a part of the building fell. It was also observed that one of the golden *palle* or balls, in the emblazonment of the Medicean arms, was at the same time struck out. For three nights, gleams of light were said to have been perceived proceeding from the hill of Fiesole, and hovering above the church of S. Lorenzo, where the remains of the family were deposited. Besides these incidents, founded perhaps on some casual occurrence, and only rendered extraordinary by the workings of a heated imagination, many others of a similar kind are related by contemporary authors, which, whilst they

exemplify

exemplify that credulity which characterises the human race in every age, may at least serve to shew that the event to which they were supposed to allude was conceived to be of such magnitude as to occasion a deviation from the ordinary course of nature. From Careggi the body of Lorenzo was conveyed to the church of his patron saint, amidst the tears and lamentations of all ranks of people, who bewailed the loss of their faithful protector, the glory of their city, the companion of their amusements, their common father and friend. His obsequies

were without ostentation, he having a short time before his death given express directions to that effect. Not a tomb or an inscription marks the place that received his ashes; but the stranger, who, smitten with the love of letters and of arts, wanders amidst the splendid monuments erected to the chiefs of this illustrious family, the work of Michelagnolo and of his powerful competitors, whilst he looks in vain for that inscribed with the name of Lorenzo, will be reminded of his glory by them all."

MEMOIRS of the ABATE METASTASIO, until his Arrival at VIENNA on his Appointment to the Office of IMPERIAL LAUREATE.

[Extracted from Dr. BURNEY'S MEMOIRS of the LIFE and WRITINGS of that POET.]

"PIETRO TRAPASSO, the second son of Felice Trapasso of Asisi, and Francesca Galasti of Bologna, was born at Rome, Jan. 6th, 1698, in the parish of Santi Lorenzo & Damaso, where he was baptised the 19th of the same month, by Card. Ottoboni.

"His father, though descended from a family in Asisi which had long enjoyed the privileges of free-citizens, but which, by a gradual decline, was reduced to poverty, not being able to subsist in the place of his birth, listed for a soldier in the regiment of Corsi, and soon after married Francesca Galasti, by whom he had many children besides the poet.

"While he was in garrison, to the small pay of a soldier, he added something towards the maintenance of his family, by becoming an amanuensis. And at length, having served the usual time, and by extreme industry and œconomy saved

a little money, he entered into partnership with a shop-keeper at Rome, for the sale of goods which belong to what the Romans call *l'arte bianca*, consisting of oil, flower, pastry, and other culinary materials.

"And having been somewhat prosperous in this kind of merchandise, he placed his two eldest sons, Leopoldo and Pietro, at a Grammar-school. The latter discovered an extraordinary quickness and disposition for literature, and a violent passion for poetry, with a power of making verses, extempore, on any given subject, before he was ten years old.

"This faculty he was habituated to exercise, after school hours, at his father's shop, where great crowds used to assemble in the street of an evening to hear the young Trapassi sing, *all'improvista*; who, besides the harmony of his numbers, was gifted with the melody of a
fine

fine voice. During one of these tuneful fits, the learned civilian Gravina having accidentally passed that way, was struck with the sweetness of the child's voice, and still more with his verses, which he soon found were extempore, and either upon persons who stood near him, or on playful subjects of their suggesting.

"Gravina was so astonished and pleased at the precocity of the little bard's talents, that he stopt to careis, and converse with him, offering him money for his performance, which however the child modestly declined to accept. This so much increased the civilian's admiration, that he instantly conceived a wish to adopt him, for the pleasure of cultivating a soil which nature had rendered so fertile, that even the spontaneous flowers and fruits it produced were of a superior kind. Without hesitation he therefore applied to his parents, soliciting them to transfer to him the care of their son's education, promising to become not only his preceptor, but father.

"As the child was still to remain at Rome, and no cruel preliminary was mentioned, by which his natural parents were prohibited from seeing him and cherishing reciprocal affection, Felix was too wise, and zealous for the welfare of his son, to refuse the proffered patronage; and the next morning Pietro was conducted by his father and mother to the house of Gravina, and wholly consigned to his care and protection.

"Our young bard was now, from the legitimate child of a shop-keeper, become the adopted son of a man of letters. And as his learned patron was partial to Greek literature, and wished to implant in the mind of the young Roman a re-

spect and reverence for ancient lore, he translated his name into Greek: calling him *Metastasio*, instead of *Trapassi*; as *Μεταστας*, *Mutatio*, seemed at once to express his former name of *Trapasso*, and his new situation as an adopted child.

"And having changed his name, he undertook the more difficult task of changing, or at least enlarging, his mental faculties, and at the same time that he was studying the learned languages, and imbruing his mind with the sciences, he wished to make him an orator rather than a poet, and determined that he should study the law as a profession; that, and divinity, being the only two roads by which a man of learning could arrive at honours and dignity in Rome. Poets, indeed, were rewarded with barren praise and acclamation, but wealth and affluence were strangers to their doors.

"Yet while he was obliged to read the dry books of the law, and to hear the wrangling and jargon of the bar, his natural passion never quitted him, but

True as the needle to the Polar star,
Which nightly guides the advent'rous
mariner,
Its glowing influence pointed out the way,
Through flow'ry paths of poetry to stray.

And however he was ostensibly occupied by other studies, he found time, by stealth, to read the great models of the art, of which says an Italian writer, 'he sucked the sweet, and devoured the substance.' Indeed he was as much in disguise in the robes of the forum, as Achilles in those of a female. At the names of Homer and Ariosto, which were his favourite poets, he was unable to contain himself; and Gravina discovering, in spite of his pupil's determination to conform implicitly to his will, that this exclusive pas-

sion

tion for poetry was insuperable, at length permitted him to read those poets which he himself thought not only the best, but the only models of perfection. At the age of fourteen, during the early period of this indulgence, Metastasio produced his tragedy of *Giustino*, conformable to the rigour of all the rules of the ancient Greek dramatic writers, with which his learned preceptor had supplied him. But he lisped the numbers of the dry and formal scenes of this *Coup d'Essai* in a manner which he afterwards disliked in proportion to the pains he had taken to walk the stage in Greek buskins."

"It seems somewhat inconsistent, that Gravina, whose first impressions in favour of his young pupil were the effects of his premature genius for poetry, should check his progress in that art, in favour of another study for which he had no passion or uncommon disposition; but thinking more of his future fortune than fame, he chained him to legislation, pandects, edicts, decrees, codes, rolls, and every species of advocacy that was likely to contribute to his professional knowledge and advancement.

"But after producing the tragedy of *Giustino* upon Gravina's favourite Greek model, the learned civilian seems not only to have tolerated, but encouraged his pupil's adoration of the Muses; and at eighteen carried him to Naples expressly to afford him an opportunity of singing extempore with the most celebrated Improvisatori of Italy at that time."

"And it is related by his biographers, that in this very year of his age, he sung, *all' improvista*, at Naples, forty octave stanzas, on a subject proposed to him by one of the audience, which was 'the mag-

'nificence of princes,' and he was heard with wonder and rapture by all the learned present. They admired the fecundity of his ideas, the sublimity of his conceptions, the flights of his fancy, and the facility and neatness of his expression. Indeed he became in that city, the general and favourite subject of literary academies and assemblies of good taste and polite conversation; where nothing was repeated but the favourite verses which he had sung extempore, and which were remembered by those who had heard them from his own mouth: on these occasions, the order, clearness, and learning, with which he treated the subjects, as well as the beauty of his verses, the sweetness of his voice, the grace of his action, his modest deportment, and the expression of his countenance, were universally extolled. By these excellencies, joined to his fine features and great natural dignity, he became the idol of all who heard and saw him; and the love of his preceptor, Gravina, increased with his years, as the genius and gratitude of his pupil rendered him every day more and more satisfied with his own discernment in selecting and adopting him.

"With his poetical studies Metastasio still continued to pursue those of the law, and in order to obtain a passport through the two most promising roads to preferment at Rome, he cherished also a hope of rising in the church; assumed the clerical habit, and took the minor orders of priesthood; not indeed, say the Italian writers of his life, from any partiality for that profession, but by the advice of his affectionate master, as the most likely means of obtaining honour and emoluments.

"At twenty years of age he had the

the misfortune to lose his learned preceptor and patron, Gravina, who died in 1718, aged fifty-four. It has been doubted whether this event, which his heart inclined him to regard as the greatest calamity, was not a fortunate circumstance for his fame. Metastasio, whose writings evince him to have been all tenderness, gratitude, and disinterested sensibility, bewailed this misfortune with the deepest affliction; and in the Elegy called *La Strada della Gloria*, written on this occasion, and read at a full assembly of the members of the arcadian academy founded by Gravina, he gave a public testimony of his sorrow and gratitude, expressive of those noble sentiments, which he cherished and practised to the end of his life. Nor did the beneficent will of his master diminish his grief or dry his tears, though when opened it was found to have been made in 1717, and that he had appointed him his heir.

“ By this liberal act, he verified his promise to the parents of Metastasio, of treating him as his own child. The advantage to his talents and to the lovers of poetry, which is supposed to have been derived from this early loss of his learned tutor, was the opportunity it afforded his genius, to free itself from the trammels of Grecian rules and servile imitation. But though in his dramas he has more pathos, poetry, nature, and facility, than we are now able to find in the ancient Greek tragedians, yet his early study of them certainly elevated his ideas and style, and taught him how to shun the vulgarity and absurdities with which the early popular dramatists of most countries abound. He may be said to write with classic elegance, though he had liberated himself from classic chains.”

“ Our poet is now become a free agent, master of himself, and a despotic prince over no inconsiderable fortune. His conversation and verses had too much excellence to want admirers. And his table was too well served to be in want of guests. He now wholly quitted the dry study of the law, and devoted himself and his fortune to the muses and his friends. There was no poetical assembly in which he did not read some new production: as our Garrick in the early part of his life was found wherever lovers of theatrical amusements were assembled. Stimulated by the applause which every piece universally received, Metastasio thought of nothing but how to have it renewed by another composition. The love of praise is an infirmity to which the best minds are perhaps the most subject. During this intoxication, not a thought seems to have been bestowed on his present finances or future fortune. If he reflected at all during these times of dissipation, it was on the number of his friends and admirers, and the certainty of patronage whenever he should want it. What his predecessor Petrarca has said of the temple of love, was still more applicable to that of fortune, by Metastasio.

*Errori, sogni, ed immagini smorte
Eran d'intorno all'arco trionfale,
E false opinioni in su le porte,
E lubrico sperar su per le scale.*

Errors and dreams, and thoughts half
form'd abroad,
And crowd the baseless fabric all around;
While at the threshold false opinions
stand,
And on the steps, vain hope, with magic
wand.

“ Those whom the poet's young imagination had dignified with the title of friends, were only indulging their love of poetry and good cheer, at his expence. Among all the lessons

lessons of literature and science, which his learned and liberal patron had taught him, he seems to have forgotten those of worldly wisdom. And in pointing out to his genius and diligence the means of meriting the property he left him, he wholly neglected to tell him how to preserve it, and that the flattery of the poor and the rich is alike selfish: the one for profit, and the other for pleasure. And indeed it is said, that during this time, among his most ardent admirers at Rome, besides those who profited from his bounty, there were many persons of the highest rank and authority, who seemed proud of being thought his patrons and protectors. But the zeal of these cooled in proportion as he became likely to want their protection; and what Pliny has said of the cinnamon tree, seems applicable to the great in general, *corticis, in quo summa gratiæ*, nothing but the bark, the mere outside, is of any value. For want of these instructions, his patron's legacy was soon dissipated; not in the support of vice, but mostly in munificence and good cheer. Many of his fugitive pieces were produced during this period, particularly his sonnet on the celebrated Gasparini, in 1719, (the year after his patron's death,) when that elegant and pleasing composer was in the height of his favour at Rome. Many of his cantatas, canzonets, and sonnets, were produced even at a more early period.

"Finding himself in two year's time wholly reduced to his two small Roman places, his little Neapolitan possessions, and his library, he went to Naples with the firm resolution of seriously resuming the study of the law. Being arrived in that city 1720, he placed himself under the guidance of an advocate

of the name of Paglietti, earnestly entreating his assistance in the study of jurisprudence, and promising on his own part, to second the instructions which he should receive with all possible diligence and docility. Paglietti was one of the most eminent lawyers at that time in the city of Naples; but so rigorous a disciplinarian, and so totally devoted to his profession, that he not only despised but absolutely hated every species of ornamental knowledge or literature. Poetry was therefore ranked by him among the most deadly sins of which an advocate could possibly be guilty. Indeed it was to him an object of such horror, that he trembled at the mere mention of it. It is natural therefore to suppose that Paglietti, devoid of all taste for the arts of elegance, which help to humanize and polish our savage nature, was rough, sour, and forbidding in his address and manners: he was all law, and of that severe and merciless sort, which knows not how to pardon the smallest imprudence or deviation from worldly wisdom.

"Metastasio was not ignorant of his severity and invincible hatred for poetry; but instead of looking upon it as an evil, he was the more eager to place himself under his most rigid discipline, in order to prevent a relapse into poetry, which had hitherto been to him so unprofitable a study. The reception of Metastasio by this Lycurgus, and his first lecture, were perhaps rendered more austere and acrid by the fame of his poetical talents, with which not only Naples, but all Italy, was already filled; but Metastasio hearing it with heroic patience, renewed his promise of unwearied application, and kept it so well during his first residence under the advocate's roof, that he began to

to entertain great hopes of his becoming an excellent lawyer, and treated him with as much sweetness as his bitter nature would allow. He knew that the studies of his young disciple were frequently impeded by the visits of persons of learning and distinction, to whom his poetical abilities were well known, and who remembered him when he was brought to Naples, as an *improvvisatore*, by Gravina. But now their expectations were transferred to his legal abilities, upon which, from his learning and application, they had formed the highest hopes. It is certain that Metastasio at this time, exercising the greatest tyranny over his natural inclination, refrained entirely, not only from writing verses, but from speaking them extempore, in spite of all solicitation. The first breach of contract with the rugged advocate, and first seduction of the muse during his residence at Naples, was in the beginning of 1721, at the instigation of the countess of Althan, who prevailed on him to write an epithalamium for the nuptials of her relation the marquis Pignatelli with a lady of the Pinelli family; it consists of near one hundred octave stanzas, is full of elegance, and in the highest class of poetry. The drama of *ENDYMION*, the first that he produced expressly for music, is said to have been written on the same occasion."

"Metastasio's next infringement of the laws laid down by the advocate Paglietti against the wicked practice of poetry, was occasioned by an application from the viceroy of Naples himself, that he would write a drama for music, to be performed on the birth-day of the empress Elizabeth, consort of the emperor Charles VI. who was then in possession of that kingdom. It

is said that he was with difficulty prevailed upon to enter on his task, and only complied upon a promise that it should be kept a profound secret. Our bard, in perpetual fear of the inexorable lawyer, was obliged to sacrifice his hours of sleep to this contraband commerce with the muses. The piece was entitled 'The Gardens of the Hesperides,' and is one of the most beautiful of his early productions. The viceroy, on receiving it, presented him with two hundred ducats, and is said by the anonymous author of his life to have received his promise of secrecy, which he kept so religiously, that neither the composer, the singers, nor the printer himself, had the least suspicion who was the author. That the young bard may have wished to lie concealed during the rehearsal and first performance of his dramatic attempt, is probable; but that he continued longer to make a mystery of the parentage of this poetical child, when it had received such unequivocal marks of public favour, is fully confuted by the first edition of this drama, which now lies before me, and to the dedication of which his name is subscribed at full length. It has been truly said, that when a falsehood has gained admission into a book, it is more likely to be copied than confuted. And this story of Metastasio wishing to lie concealed during the performance and success of his first drama at Naples, after being hazarded by one biographer, has been taken upon trust by all subsequent writers of his life; and I should have been of the number had I not luckily met with the original printed copy."

"The next drama that was written at the expence of his legal studies, or his moments of rest and recreation, was *Angelica*. This

was

was printed at Naples, 1722, and set by Porpora, for the Empress's birth-day."

"The poems which he produced at Naples, were the admiration of all persons possessed of a love and taste for poetry, particularly 'The Gardens of the Hesperides;' but none felt its beauties so forcibly as the *Bulgarella detta Romanina*, the greatest female singer and actresses of her time; who having performed the part of Venus in that occasional drama, was so enchanted with the uncommon beauty of the poetry, that she could not rest till she had been introduced to the acquaintance of the author. Indeed, tradition says, that this drama had an effect upon the audience in general, which Naples had never before experienced. The recitative was hardly begun, when the spectators formed a more curious spectacle than the actors themselves: so great was the change in their behaviour and mode of listening that was instantly produced. Violent noise and unbridled clamour, used to reign in every part of that theatre, and could never be subdued but with great difficulty, even when some capital singer had a favourite air to perform; and it was no sooner over, than the din was renewed with such vehemence, that even the orchestra could not be heard. But now, every one delighted by the new and decorous arrangement of the scenes, the original beauty and sweetness of the verse, the force of the sentiments, the texture of the parts, and all the wonders of Metastasio's dramatic poetry, was forced, almost insensibly, into profound silence and attention. The companions of Dido, while Eneas was relating the tragical events which happened at the siege of Troy, could not have

listened with more eagerness than the Neapolitan audience did at this representation. Universal curiosity was excited, and enquiries made after the author, who, though a poet and fond of praise, is said to have wished to lie concealed. But the Bulgarini, who was not only pleased in common with the lovers of poetry, but impressed with the most lively gratitude to the author of the *Hesperides*, for the flattering reception and unbounded applause which this piece had procured her, both as an actress and singer, was impatient to be personally acquainted with him. And having discovered that she knew one of his intimate friends, she prevailed upon him to try to bring the poet to her house. He at first resisted the solicitation; but, at length, ceasing to be inexorable, he was induced to make her a visit. The *Romanina* (as she was generally called from being a native of that city), had no sooner seen him, than she felt an uncommon regard for him. His poetical abilities, elegance of manners, and fine countenance, together with the circumstance of his being her countryman, or rather townsman, all joined to increase her regard; while Metastasio, on his part, felt equally unable, with all the stoicism he could muster, to resist the desire of improving the acquaintance; and frequently returned to enjoy the pleasure of her conversation.

"He had soon reason to believe, from the countenance and behaviour of Paglietti, that neither his theatrical production, nor the new stage acquaintance which he had made, was unknown to him. The praises he received from the *Romanina*, and all those to whom the secret had been divulged, and their pressing instances that he would con-

con-

continue to write, awakened his passion for poetry, which he had flattered himself was wholly subdued. He now began to feel, that by the narrow and contracted study of the law, his genius could never expand in his own original ideas, but would be constantly tied down to those of others. His reflections upon the sordidness of sacrificing his whole life to a distasteful business, for the mere hope of acquiring wealth (as he afterwards confessed to his confidential friends), joined to the harsh treatment of the old advocate, which became more intolerable in proportion as the assiduity of Metastasio diminished, entirely determined him to quit both him and his profession.

“ His female friend perceived the conflict and internal war; and in order to stimulate his courage and resolution, she and her husband invited him in the most pressing manner to reside under the same roof, and assured him that they would contribute every thing in their power, to render his life as easy and comfortable as possible. He remained several months in a state of uncertainty; but at length determined to accept their offer, to return to poetry, and to enjoy the pleasures of society in full liberty. Yet he did not seem insensible of the apparent indecorum and want of fortitude which he manifested in quitting, with such seeming levity, the pursuit of studies which had been recommended to him by his deceased patron; nor was he quite at his ease on the side of delicacy, as to appearances; the obligations to the Bulgarini, under which he was loading himself, frequently oppressed his mind. And yet so limited is our power of penetrating into future events, that the measures which he now pursued, far

from impeding either his fame or fortune, were the foundations of all his subsequent celebrity.”

“ Sig. Saverio Mattei relates a curious anecdote which he had from the prince's Belmonte, concerning the power of our young author's extemporaneous poetry, during his residence at Naples, after the decease of Gravina. The poet having a lawsuit on his hands, for part of the possessions bequeathed to him in that kingdom by the civilian, applied to this princess for her interest with the judge (an iniquitous practice in almost every country but England), and she told him, if he would first make her mistress of the subject, by pleading his own cause himself, *all improvista*, and convince her that justice was on his side, she would use her utmost influence in his favour. He at first excused himself, on account of want of practice, in a faculty which he had discontinued for many years. But the princess persisting in her wish, as the only condition on which she should interest herself in the business, he at length began; and pleaded his cause in a song, with such lively and insinuating expressions, that he soon drew tears from his patroness. And while he was in the act of incantation, other company came in, who were equally affected by his enchantments. The next day, princess Belmonte applied to the judge, begged, prayed, and related, not only the merits of the cause, but the extraordinary talents of her client; intreating him to be present at a similar exhibition. A day being fixed, and Metastasio desired to repeat his pleadings to a new audience in the princess's palace, he consented; and without repeating a single verse of what he had sung before, such were the fire, elegance,

elegance, and touching enthusiasm of his numbers, as left not a dry eye in the room. The cause was soon after juridically determined in his favour.

“ We will suppose from the innate probity and honour of Metastasio, that he had justice as well as poetry on his side; but when eloquence, or a firen voice, is employed to confound right and wrong, facts, which should alone determine legal right, are so concealed, disguised, and perverted, that justice, which should be not only blind but deaf to all but facts, is totally banished the court.

“ The Bulgarini was engaged to sing in the theatre of Naples, during the carnival of 1724; and being very ambitious of appearing to as much advantage in the next opera as she had done in that for the birth-day of the empress, she pressed the poet to write a drama, in which, as first woman, such a character might fall to her share, as would give her an opportunity of displaying all her powers, both as an actress and singer. It is easy to imagine with what zeal the abate went to work, in order to gratify her wish. After many heroines had passed in review, Dido was at length chosen, and the drama entitled *Didone Abbandonata* produced; in which he chose the period of the hero, Æneas, quitting the Carthaginian queen; as it furnished scenes of the greatest force and passion, as well as more expression for his pen, and more abundant opportunities for the display of the Romanina's abilities, than any other. This was the first perfect musical drama, perhaps, that ever graced the Italian stage. The applause it obtained, was equal to that of the *Orti Esperidi*; and though the story was so well known, that no effects

could be produced by surprise, yet the pleasure of the audience was excessive. The different editions circulated in a short time, were innumerable; and the Italians, proud of the resurrection of their drama, began to challenge all the rest of Europe, where their theatrical productions were thought superior, to shew any one, originally written for music, equally perfect.”

“ Didone, which had produced our poet, at Naples, another sum of two hundred ducats, was thought a much less considerable advantage to him, than the constant increase of the regard and affection of the Romanina; who is said to have exulted extremely, as well as her husband, in the sagacity with which they had made choice of so dear and valuable a guest.”

“ In 1727, the Romanina having fulfilled all her theatrical engagements at Naples and elsewhere, prepared to return to Rome, yet declared at the same time, that she would never see her native city again, unless in the company of her dear friend. He remained for a while irresolute; but, at length, the warm affection he retained for the place of his nativity, in spite of the neglect and disappointment which had driven him thence, heightened perhaps by his regard for the Bulgarini, and fortified by the desire of seeing his father, and the rest of his family, determined him to quit Naples, in company with his benefactrice; but not before he had obtained a promise from her, that, in return for the hospitality which he had received under her roof at Naples, she and her family should become his guests, at Rome. To this proposition all parties having acceded, he wrote to his agents, to provide a house sufficient for the two families

lies of Trapassi and Bulgarini. And from the time of his arrival in that city, till his departure for Germany, they all lived under the same roof, and constituted one family. The Romanina, as more rich, and accustomed to the management of a family, was invested with the superintendence of all household concerns; the rest had nothing to do, but to attend their own pursuits; while Metastasio received visits, wrote verses, improved his circumstances, and encreased his celebrity.

“The first drama which he produced, expressly for Rome, was *Catone in Utica*, which was set by Vinci, and performed in that city, 1728, and in 1729, at Venice, to the music of Leo. He chose the subject purposely to please the Romans, supposing that he should gain both applause and gratitude, by displaying the virtue of one of their own heroes. But as it seldom happens that a prophet or a poet (which in ancient times were united in the same person) receives due honour in his own country, particularly at Rome, which is proverbially called the residence of strangers; in spite of the excellence of this drama, which abounds with sublime, as well as tender sentiments and delineations, of the passions of glory, ambition, anger, and love; and in which the conduct was natural, and catastrophe happy, it was instantly attacked by the satirical genius of the Romans, and the performance suspended. The frivolous scenes, and feeble poetry to which they had been long accustomed, had corrupted the taste of the Roman public in general; and except a few learned men, less invidious than the rest, who, if they knew of no modern Cato, had read, at least, about the ancient, this piece was at first very coldly

received; though afterwards, when their minds and tastes were enlightened and refined by other original and beautiful works of our author, this drama was treated with more justice.

“The next opera which our author produced, was *Exio*, set by Porpora, in 1728, and *Semiramide Riconosciuta*, set by the same composer, 1729; but though both these dramas were received in the most favorable manner, and the praises bestowed upon the poet were unbounded, his fortune was not greatly improved by their success. Poetry has more frequently enriched the bookseller, than the author, in every country; but at Rome, it is a drug of less value, even to the bookseller, than elsewhere; and Metastasio’s muse, however chaste, was but little better treated for not being meretricious. If Metastasio had been a mere psalmodist, or hymnologist, his monkish rhymes might have obtained him some ecclesiastical preferment; but the poetry which he produced on pagan and secular subjects, precluded him from every avenue to the church. He was, however, far from necessitous, and with the assistance of the Romanina, whose purse was always at his service, his fortune and situation were tolerably easy. But the being sometimes obliged to avail himself of the liberality of his generous friend, was a circumstance which humbled and mortified him beyond any other. He could not bear to reflect on being a burthen to her for whom chiefly he wished to be rich, not only to exempt her from the expences which she incurred on his account, but to manifest his gratitude for the benefits she had already conferred on him.

“His amiable friend tried every

B

means

means in her power, to set his mind at ease, concerning his obligations to her: assuring him that he had contributed much more to her professional fame than it had been in her power to do to his fortune; that she was in such circumstances as rendered the small friendly offices which she had been able to perform, more a pleasure than an inconvenience; and pressed him, in the most urgent manner, to tranquilize his mind on that account, and to believe (which she assured him was the truth) that he was doing her the greatest favour when he afforded her an opportunity of dividing with him her possessions.

“The afflicted poet drew some comfort from these declarations, but it was of short duration. He was perpetually convinced of the ingratitude of his pretended Roman friends, and the duplicity of his protectors; and having nourished in his soul an ardent passion for general esteem, respect, and admiration, his narrow circumstances threw him into so profound a fit of melancholy, that he became incapable of receiving consolation.

“Such was his state of despondency, when, to his great astonishment, he received the following letter from prince Pio of Savoy, inspector of the Imperial theatre at Vienna.

LETTER I.

‘Your dramas and other poetical compositions, which have acquired you such universal applause, have been so far approved by his imperial majesty, that he is desirous to engage you in his service, on such conditions as shall seem most worthy of your acceptance. It will be therefore necessary for you to mention, in your answer, some specific annual appointment,

‘which will be fixed and invariable. Sig. Apostolo Zeno desires no other colleague than yourself, not knowing at present any one so fit to serve such an enlightened monarch. Upon your answer and requisition, will depend the remitting a sum of money necessary to defray the expences of your journey. I am happy in this opportunity of manifesting, with how much esteem and zeal, I am your sincere and affectionate servant,

‘Luigi Principe Pio di Savoia.
‘Vienna, Aug. 31, 1729.’

“Metastasio was infinitely more surprised and flattered, by this unsolicited and splendid offer, from finding himself recommended to the emperor’s notice, by the celebrated and learned Apostolo Zeno, who was himself at this time laureate to the emperor Charles VI. a prince, who had long supported his Lyric theatre with the greatest magnificence. Zeno had enjoyed his office in this court, from the year 1718, where his chief employment consisted in furnishing dramas for music, which had long been justly thought the best of which the Italian language could boast.

“And yet the offer of this employment to Metastasio, however dazzling, was not long productive of joy without deduction. The quitting Rome, for which he had always a filial fondness, as well as leaving his family, friends, and perhaps, more than all, the Romanina, impressed his mind with a sorrowful alloy to his happiness. But he was too well read in his friend Horace not to know that

Nihil est ab omni

Parte beatum.

“Upon consulting with his family, they instantly conceived such magni-

magnificent hopes of his future aggrandizement, as contributed much to their consolation at losing him; and the Romanina was so generous and disinterested, in spite of secret affliction, as to use her utmost eloquence in removing his doubts, and diminishing the causes of his repugnance, at quitting Rome and his friends.

“ After many consultations, and discussions, of the several arguments amical and inimical to the acceptance of the unexpected proposition from Vienna, the following is the answer which he sent, and which contains so many characteristic traits of modesty, propriety, and delicacy, that it deserves to be preserved, as a model of conduct under similar circumstances.

LETTER II.

TO PRINCE PIO OF SAVOY.

THE haste with which I am obliged to answer the letter, that your excellence has deigned to write to me, will not allow time sufficient for my recovery from the surprise which the unexpected honour of his imperial majesty's commands must necessarily have produced; an honour to which I had never dared aspire, even in my vainest moments. The doubt of my slender abilities, would make me accept with extreme timidity the glory of serving his majesty, if his own most animating and august approbation, had not deprived me of the liberty of self-diffidence. I shall therefore only wait for your excellency's orders, which will be executed as soon as received. Your excellency has repeatedly prescribed to me in your letter, to mention my wish, as to an annual appointment. This law weakens my repugnance, and will be an excuse for my pre-

sumption. It is said, that the usual allowance to the poets who have been in the service of the court of Vienna, and that which Sig. Apost. Zeno receives at present, is four thousand florins per annum: so that, regulating my expectations by former usage, I shall confine them within the same limits; humbly requesting it may be remembered, that in quitting my country, I am obliged to leave a sufficiency, for the maintenance of an aged and helpless father, and for others of my numerous relations, who have no support, but the fruits arising, in Italy, from my feeble talents; I must live in the most splendid court of Europe, in such a manner as will not disgrace the monarch whom I shall have the honour to serve; and lastly, weighing the possibility that my abilities may fall short of expectation, and be inferior to the task with which I shall be honoured, I shall live in perpetual terrors of impending poverty, and paternal wants. I have thus ventured to comply with your excellency's injunctions; but beg that my frankness may be regarded as an act of obedience; and whatever my circumstances may be, I shall, with the utmost alacrity, execute those orders which it shall please my august patron to enjoin me. I am fully sensible how much is due to the incomparable signor Ap. Zeno; who, not content with having hitherto protected my writings, thus generously honours me with his beneficent recommendation, for which I shall retain the most lively gratitude, to the end of my existence.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.
Rome, Sept. 19, 1729.”

“The prince replied to this letter, October 28, of the same year.

LETTER III.

PRINCE PIO, OF SAVOY, TO METASTASIO.

‘It was not possible to answer your satisfactory letter sooner, as I was absent from Vienna, on a hunting party, with the emperor; but upon communicating your sentiments to his majesty, I have the pleasure to assure you, that he was well pleased, with the propriety, prudence, and good sense, manifested in your letter, concerning your future establishment. It is true signor Apost. Zeno had a pension of four thousand florins per annum; but this high salary was granted to him in consequence of his being imperial historiographer, as well as poet. But I have no doubt that in process of time, you will arrive at the same appointment. I assure you that the Abate Pariati had but two thousand florins per annum. However, in consequence of your superior merit, his majesty has granted you three thousand florins annually, and one hundred *ungheri* to defray the expences of your journey; for which an order is sent to the imperial banker at Rome. I trust, therefore, that you will not disappoint the hopes I have conceived of seeing you soon at Vienna, and of assuring you in person, how much my heart inclines me to serve you with zeal and affection.

‘LUIGI, PRINCE OF SAVOY.’

“Metastasio, his family, and friends, thought it right implicitly to submit to the terms proposed in this letter, of which the only part that occasioned them any uneasiness, was the solicitude expressed

by prince Pio, for his speedy arrival in Vienna; which could not take place without leaving his affairs in great confusion, and failing in his engagement to furnish the Roman theatre with two new dramas for the ensuing carnival. He saw no better means of solving those difficulties, than by speaking the truth, and explaining to his illustrious correspondent the real state of his circumstances.”

“This had all the effect he wished, and obtained him permission to remain at Rome, till he had completed his two dramas of *Artaserse* & *Alessandro nell' Indie*, for the carnival of 1720, which were both set by Leonardo Vinci, and performed at Rome before the poet's departure, with universal applause.”

“Upon quitting Rome, Metastasio consigned into the hands of his zealous and affectionate friend, the Romanina, all his effects, interests, and concerns; together with the management of his family affairs. She most willingly submitting to these several tasks, as well as to the care of the produce of the little places, and sums of money, which he left behind him.

“At length, he departed with a heavy heart, and a most sovereign contempt for the friendship and flattering promises of the great, by whose delusions he had so long entertained hopes of preferment in his native city; whence, at last, he was driven into a kind of splendid banishment, for the rest of his life. These early disappointments, from being extremely credulous, rendered him incurably sceptical, as to all future presages of good fortune; and the effects of hoping too much in early life, and too little after, produced, perhaps, the principal defects in his character. Metastasio arrived at Vienna, in July 1720.”

Sketch

SKETCH of the LIFE and CHARACTER of ANTHONY RAPHAEL MENGES.

[From the First Volume of the Works of that Painter, translated from the Italian published by the Chevalier DON JOSEPH NICHOLAS D'AZARA, Spanish Minister at Rome.]

THE forefathers of Menges were of Lusatia. His grandfather was established at Hamburgh, and from thence went to Copenhagen, where the father of Menges was born. This being his twentieth child, according to the account of his brothers, he knew not what name to give him, and on opening the Bible, the first name which presented itself was Ismael, which he made choice of. He had for godfather a painter of no superior abilities, but this was a sufficient motive for applying the boy's talents to painting. From this inferior school Ismael was soon removed to that of Mr. Cofre, a Frenchman, and the best painter at that court, and procuring some productions of Vandyke from a friend, he acquired by copying him the art of colouring; for which perfection he was remarkable during his life. His master had a niece, of whom Ismael became enamoured; but this affected lady, not being able to suffer the smell of oil, the good Ismael, in obedience to her will, dedicated himself alone to miniature painting; and with such application and success, that in a short time he arrived to great perfection in the art, and then was united to this beautiful, though capricious lady. On account of a contagious distemper, he soon after abandoned that country, and travelled to various courts of Germany, where he acquired the difficult art of painting in enamel, for which he was ever after very famous.

“ From this alliance our Menges was born, in the city of Aufig, in

Bohemia, the 12th of March 1728, and to whom were given the names of Anthony and Raphael, in memory of the two great painters, Raphael d'Urbino, and Anthony Allegri da Correggio, of whom his father was a passionate admirer. Thus destined for a painter, even from his cradle, nothing was ever given to him for his amusement, but implements of this nature, such as pencils, paper, &c. and before he had attained his sixth year, he was placed to the study of drawing. The first rudiments which his father taught him, were the most simple straight lines, as the vertical, the horizontal, and the oblique, which he practised till he was quite perfect, and from this he proceeded, with the same care, to the most simple geometrical figures, but always without rule and compass, in order to accustom his eye to exactness. After that, he proceeded to delineate the contours of the different parts of the human body, and was obliged to reduce them, as well as he was able, to geometrical rule; from thence he arrived to join and arrange those parts, and at last to give them their necessary grace and perfection. Then he proceeded to take sketches; and, according to the manuscripts left by Ismael, mentioning this particular, it was very difficult to constrain the vivacity of his son, who was not willing to subject himself to a certain neatness and cleanliness, for which reason he obliged him to draw with Indian ink, which took from him every possibility of continuing the same error.

“ In this study he continued for two years, after which he began to paint in oil. His father then seeing the great talent which he displayed, sought every means strongly to impress in him the first principles of the art, and made him return again with the greatest attention and prolixity to the study of drawing.

“ At the same time he taught him chemistry, in which he was the most intelligent in Europe; and to paint in enamel and miniature. This, however, did not interrupt his study of drawing, since not a day passed in which he did not delineate two entire figures of Raphael, or of Caracci; and not to lose a moment of time, he studied likewise perspective, and the most necessary parts of anatomy. Although at Dresden, where he was at that time, yet he did not think it necessary to study this science upon dead bodies, but contented himself to learn it from books, and from the dry bones of skeletons.

“ After this study he began to draw antique figures by parts, the same size of the originals, which his father had brought from Rome; and by night copied by artificial light, models in miniature of the same statues. By this method he put in practice that which he had learnt from perspective and anatomy, such as the degradation and diminution of the members, and the variation of form of the muscles when in action. He still improved himself in studying the effect of light, of its degradation, upon shade, and of reflection, the which things he distinguished better by artificial light, than by that of the sun, and thus repeating the same operation in different places, he comprehended better the force of the light and shade. In this manner he employ-

ed his time to the age of twelve years.

“ His father then seeing that he studied with reflection, and that it was time to form in him a just taste, which was not to be obtained out of Italy, he resolved to conduct him to Rome, which he did in the year 1741. The young Menges remained astonished at sight of such beautiful objects which that capital afforded of the arts, and wished to embrace the whole, but was restrained by his father, who made him study the most perfect although the most difficult, such as the Laocoon, the Torso of Belvidere, and the works of Michael Angelo in the chapel Sistina. After having made him study these in the different modes, he removed him to the chambers of Raphael to practice the most beautiful heads, and dressed figures, in order to learn the taste of drapery, for which Raphael is so excellent. Ismael was at that time painter to Augustus III. king of Poland; and being very desirous to send him some essay of the abilities of his son, he made him copy in miniature, two pieces of Raphael, which were in the Novitiate, and in the Profession House, then belonging to the Jesuits; and wishing, at the same time, to send to his majesty a painting in enamel, sufficiently large of the same kind, he ordered his son to begin a drawing of his own invention, which the father executed to a certain point, and then left it to his son to give it the finishing hand. Never did a work of that kind receive more admiration, as Ismael was the best painter in enamel ever known, even to this day, and his works have been ever considered as invaluable for his beautiful colouring, and practice in the art. His only misfortune was, not having had in his youth a better

a better school for painting, which he was sensible of, and for that reason he urged his son so much to the study of the first principles. Till now we behold Ismael directing the studies of his son, and giving him that education which has contributed so much to his progress in the arts, and conduct through life; we shall then proceed to treat likewise of his character. A man more severe and rigid to his children never was known. He exacted from them the most indefatigable labour, without ever allowing the least moment of recreation. They were at this time grown up, and had never had any intercourse with the world, or scarcely spoken with familiarity to any persons except their family; so much so, that many people with whom Ismael was in the habits of intimacy, were quite ignorant of his having a family. His passion for music only could soften him so as to admit to his house a certain gentleman of the name of Annibale, well known and justly esteemed at the court, and who by a singular contrivance (as we shall see) made known to the king of Poland the merits of the young Menges. When he went from home, he always left his children shut up in the house, and on his return strictly examined if they had performed the task imposed on them to execute during his absence. His chastisement was more like a severe master than a father. He was a perfect tyrant in his house. In Rome he continued the same conduct. Having conducted our young Anthony to the Vatican, he would there order him what he was to accomplish in that day; and with a flask of water, and a little bread, would leave him embroiled with the fatiguing task he had to study. After which Ismael would return to reconduct him to

the house, where he made him render account of what he had done, and one might well suppose the examination was sufficiently rigid. This sort of study rendered him so reflective, that he could form a history of all the thoughts of Raphael. To hear him describe the beauties of the different paintings in the aforesaid chamber, one would suppose it was Raphael himself who was giving the description. From the style in which one part was painted, he demonstrated that from which the author had founded his original idea; and from thence he discovered his first design. Then following that which was executed in another style, he pointed out the motives the painter necessarily must have had in making those changes.

“ He marked the changes and corrections from which he drew those reflections, and finishing to review the picture, one had the perfect history of what ideas occupied the mind of Raphael in the execution of that work. Menges explained the whole with reasons and observations, so clear and evident, that the understanding was compelled to render him the credit of geometrical demonstration.

“ This education, so favourable for the arts, was so disadvantageous to the person of our young student, that it implanted in him such an habitual carelessness for his appearance, that those who knew him not would have taken him for a clown. A perfect ignorance of the world rendered him almost destitute of common civility in his behaviour; a certain confined manner, which appeared a kind of diffidence, and lastly, a negligence of his own interests, were the cause of his own infelicity, and that of his family, whilst he lived.

“ After three years thus spent in
B 4 study

study at Rome, he returned to Dresden, where he applied himself to painting in crayons, and there painted his own portrait in two different styles of painting, and that of the aforesaid signor Annibale, by whose means he was made known to that sovereign. His majesty being in doubt that a boy of his age could have arrived to such perfection in the arts, ordered that in presence of an Italian paintress, a disciple of the celebrated Rosalba Cariera, he should take the likeness of her husband, which being done, the king remained surprised at such ability, and immediately wished him to paint his portrait, in which Menges expressed the most perfect resemblance of that nobleness which was the characteristic of this prince, and for which he merited the greatest esteem.

“ In the year 1745, the king retired to Poland, on account of the war, and after the peace, returning again to Dresden, he desired to have the portraits of all the family of Menges, and wished for Anthony to take that of his father; and that his eldest sister, who likewise painted very eminently, should take his. All were therefore placed in the cabinet of Crayons. Anthony was then chosen cabinet painter, with a pension of six hundred talleri, and a place of habitation, without any other restraint or obligation, than to give the king the preference of those works he might make choice of, for which he would pay such price as Anthony himself should fix upon them. Anthony did not accept this good fortune without the permission to return again to Rome, a pretension which afforded some scandal to the count de Bruhl, the most powerful minister that king ever had. He, however, in place of being offended, approved the

idea of the painter, and granted him licence with the greatest good will.

“ He returned therefore to Rome with his father, and his two sisters, and took a house near the Vatican, in order to have the greatest accommodation for pursuing his ancient studies. He drew from paintings and statues; frequented the academies and lectures on anatomy in the hospital of the holy ghost. He drew at the same time some miniatures at the request of his father.

“ In this exercise he continued four years, after which time he dedicated himself to composition. From one piece of the Holy Family, he met with very great applause. The first personages of the city came to admire it, which rendered our Anthony very famous in Rome, and so much esteemed, that he was requested by the first people to settle there, offering to obtain permission of his sovereign, by assigning him a certain number of his works. This offer was gratefully received by Menges, being thus able to pursue his studies in presence of such marvellous productions of the arts as are to be found at Rome; but his father prized greater the advantage of establishing him in Saxony, which he accordingly did. However, before parting, Anthony married a young lady sufficiently beautiful and respectable, called Margarita Guazzi, which he happened to meet when seeking a model for the head of the Madonna, referred to in the aforesaid picture.

“ The family, thus augmented, left Rome at the end of the year 1749, and arrived at Dresden at Christmas. The severe cold of that climate in winter, and various domestic disturbances, occasioned a great melancholy in our Menges. His father, in continuation of his
cruel

cruel disposition, seized on the whole property which was in the house of his son, even to the last penny; after which he turned him out in the street, without either goods or money. Some friends, and particularly his good friend Annibale (who to the end of his days proved his faithful friend), assisted him by their generosity; but, above all, the king, and his son the electorate prince, consoled him by assigning him a comfortable habitation and a carriage. He applied likewise for the title of first painter to the king, which was granted to him very graciously in place of Mr. Silvestre, who retired to Paris; and the king increased his pension to one thousand talleri without any obligation. From that time numerous were the privileges and honours which that sovereign and the royal family bestowed upon Menges; and to prove his goodness of heart, he never after would speak of that court but in expressions of the highest sense of gratitude. The king Augustus having at that time built a church of tolerable size in the palace, which was consecrated in the year 1751, wished Menges to paint a piece for the high altar, and for the other two at the sides. He executed the two last at Dresden; but for that of the high altar, he asked permission to go to Rome to finish it there, as much from the motive of re-establishing his health, which was much impaired by this rigid climate, as for the perfection of this work, which he was better able to execute in that country so congenial to the arts. His majesty well understood the difference of the countries, and being instructed in the history of painters, knew what advantages were to be found in Italy for perfecting their works; therefore instantly granted him the licence he required.

“ In the spring of 1752, Menges returned again to Rome with his wife, and a daughter born at Dresden; the which is at present wife to Don Manuel Carmona, a celebrated engraver at Madrid. The climate of Rome soon re-established his health, and the satisfaction of finding himself again in the centre of the arts, furnished him with spirits equal to the task of the most arduous undertaking.

“ The first work which he finished was a copy of the great painting of Raphael, called the School of Athens, for lord Northumberland. He accepted this commission only to reflect on, and study as much as possible that invaluable painter. In fact, he has since confessed that he then found how very imperfectly he had known Raphael before that time.

“ This copy being finished, he began the painting for the altar of Dresden with the greatest application and delight. In the mean time arrived the unfortunate intelligence, that the war between the empress and the king of Prussia, occasioned the invasion of Saxony, and the flight of the king from his states, which proved the interruption of the stipend allowed to Menges. By this news, reduced to the greatest misery, he was obliged to accept of the works offered him by different individuals, in order to maintain his family, which every year increased. He therefore thought of making himself better known to the public by means of some work, which he could exhibit in public, and for this reason embraced an opportunity which offered of painting a piece in fresco, which the fathers Celestini wished for the ceiling of the church of Saint Eusebius.

“ The father abbot del Guidice, desiring, what his sect could not find,

find, which was, a painter whose demands were conformable to the little money he had to bestow on him, presented himself to Mengs, and made him the proposition, telling him plainly at the same time the little he had to pay him, and that he ought well to consider working for charity, as he could only make up the expence of the carpenters and masons, and give him two hundred scudi. In spite of these inadequate conditions, Mengs accepted the undertaking, in order to make himself known, and to exercise a kind of painting which no one in Rome at that time practised; Corrado Giacquinto being then gone to Madrid. When the work was finished, it received universal applause, as it was at first held impossible to execute a fresco of that kind; and although the composition was not of the taste of painters of the modern schools, yet, notwithstanding, they were not able to censure it for any essential defects; and it was more esteemed by them than the author himself could have expected.

“ When he departed from Dresden, the king gave him orders to go to Naples to paint the portraits of all the royal family, forbidding him to take any recompence. This were well whilst the pay of that court was continued; but being affrayed by the aforesaid changes, and without hope that they would soon be accommodated, he was forced to think after another manner; so that the duke de Cerisano, minister from that court then at Rome, being desirous of those portraits, he gave him a note of the prices he was to have received for them in Saxony, protesting besides, that he had a contrary order from his sovereign. The answer he received was, that the queen

had said he was exorbitant in the price which he demanded for those portraits, and that it was not necessary he should execute them. Thus we behold one of the many traits which the envy of the artists of the court have invented against Mengs; who, from his own character, being honourable and sincere, was incapable of judging the reverse of others, therefore guarded not against their machinations. The sequel of which was, that the king of Naples having commissioned him to execute a painting for the chapel of Caserta, and having advanced him three hundred zecchini, the half of its price, he received a letter from his majesty's first architect, in the which he informed him, that he might take his leisure in finishing that painting, for that it would not be required for many years. A short time after, the count de Lagnasco, minister of Poland at Rome, went to Naples, and assured Mengs, that the queen was very much surprised at him, that after she had granted him all that he had demanded, he had not finished the portraits; and that not having in consequence wished to receive the other paintings for the chapel of Caserta, she had employed other painters. This was sufficient to teach Mengs the secrets of the rage of emulation, and how easy it was to abuse authority the most respectable.

“ In order to oppose the effect of this calumny, Mengs finished this painting with haste, and presented it to the king at the time when he was departing for Spain to take possession of that kingdom on account of the death of his brother Ferdinand the sixth. His majesty was pleased with it in the highest degree, and commissioned him to take

take the portrait of his son, whom he left king of Naples. Notwithstanding, to accomplish which, he encountered many difficulties, occasioned by those who presided at the court, and who gave him to understand, that he would do well to depart from that capital.

“ Returning to Rome, he undertook to paint the cieling of the gallery of the villa of the cardinal Alexander Albani, in which he represented Apollo with the Goddess of Memory, and the Muses their offspring.”

“ At this time, Menges thought to be able to fix himself in Rome; when Charles III. who by accident had penetrated into his merit at Naples, invited him, by means of Don Manuel de Roda, then his minister at Rome, to come to Spain, and be in his service; offering him a salary of two thousand doblones, a house, carriage, and all the expences attending his profession; and in case he would accept it, he offered him likewise the accommodation of a ship of war then at Naples, which was about to return to Spain. Menges therefore embarked with his family, and happily arrived at Alicant, the 7th day of October 1761.

“ Having reached the court, the king received him with such kindness as astonished him; and the same attention he ever after continued, notwithstanding all the trammels and arts of envy which were practised against him.”

“ At the same time that Menges was occupied in adorning the palace of his sovereign, he sought also to render himself useful, by establishing a school of the arts in Spain, and proposed to the academy, of which he was a member, various regulations according to his

sublime ideas, which were at first accepted; but ignorance and passion so predominated, that they were not afterwards put in practice, or followed; instead of which, they retorted with disgust on the whole of his projects, and even threatened his reputation. We shall therefore draw a veil over this scene of human frailty, and hide it in forgetfulness for the honour of humanity.

“ Affliction of mind (the privation of every delight of life) and disordinate application to his profession, compleatly impaired his health.

“ At the dawn of day he began his labour, and without interruption, except to dine, he continued till night; then taking very little food, he shut himself up in his house, at some other work, either in drawing, or preparing materials for the following day. He had sent his family to Rome, and was by this deprived of the greatest comfort and delight he could enjoy. This increased his infirmity; he lost his appetite and fell into a decline, when every one expected his death as near approaching. In this state the king granted him licence to return to Rome, but not being able to support so fatiguing a journey, he was obliged to rest at Monaco, where the abilities of a physician, and the goodness of the air, recruited his strength sufficient to proceed.

“ Being arrived, he soon recovered his spirits, and became sufficiently re-established in his health.”

“ At that time pope Clement XIV. proposed to him to paint some things for the Vatican. This was ever his most anxious desire, to leave something in memory of himself in that grand emporium of the arts; he therefore quickly accepted

cepted the proposal, but with injunction that nothing should be spoken to him of recompence.

“ He undertook therefore the painting of the cabinet of the museum, which was designed in the Vatican to keep the fragments of ancient Papiri.”

“ He had been near three years in Italy before he had finished this work, and was perfectly re-established in his health; in consequence he had no reason for remaining so long without giving an account to the king, who nevertheless continued him his stipend the same as if he had remained at Madrid. He had besides undertaken this work of the Papiri without leave and even without his knowledge. Any other sovereign but Charles III. would have resented this abuse of his bounty; but his unwearied patience contented itself to make me search reservedly the motives which detained Menges at Rome: I represented to his majesty the truth, excusing Menges on account of his passion for Rome, the centre of the polite arts; likewise for the tenderness he bore his family, from whom he had not the courage to separate himself; and for his ambition (so excusable in an artist of his merit) to leave some testimony in memory of his abilities, with those of Raphael; and lastly, relieved his delicacy, by saying he had sought nothing from any other sovereign since he served the king of Spain, promising at the same time what I would do in order to induce him soon to depart for Madrid.

“ At the indirect insinuation I gave him, he was uneasy, and resolved precipitately to leave incomplete the work of the Papiri, and to depart immediately. No reflection was capable of diverting him from this resolution. He went first to

Naples to take the portraits of those sovereigns, according as he had promised the king their father; but instead of finishing them both according as he had determined before he left Rome, he entertained himself in Naples all the winter, and returned to Rome with only the heads finished; and being arrived he could not resist the desire of completing what remained to be done in the chamber of the Papiri; and it was then that he finished the painting of the aforesaid saint Peter.

“ At last he left Rome to return to Spain with part of his family, leaving his five daughters in a convent, recommended to his brother-in-law, the celebrated painter, signor Marron. Four months after, passing through Florence to go to Parma, I found him at that place, not having the resolution to proceed any further; and on my return two months after, he was still remaining there. During my short stay at Florence, he drew my portrait; and his friendship for me made him perform wonders in the execution. I returned to Rome; and five months after, passing again by way of Florence, I induced him finally to depart for Spain.”

“ In this year which Menges remained in Italy, he studied or more properly speaking, meliorated much his style. His former works bear no comparison with those he did after that period. The most serious study of the ancients, and especially the paintings of Herculaneum, manifested to him the true fountain of beauty, and the way by which the Grecians had attained it. In his first works, notwithstanding his corrections, his colouring, and his harmony, one discovers at the same time study and labour; in his last works, all is facility and grace, and

and appear the effect of the hidden and insensible force of nature. His clare obscure has more vigour, and the effect of reflective light, and his perspective sky, bear an allusion which one does not find in any other painter.

“ In that style he painted at Madrid the grand saloon where the king dines ; and this work alone is sufficient to establish him the reputation of one of the first painters. Upon the dining table of his majesty, he painted the Apotheosis of Trajan, a Spanish prince, and the best that ever occupied the throne of the Cæsars, and the model of that Trajan who now reigns in Spain.

“ In front is the temple of Glory, to which all the Virtues lead, who unite in the composition : but this painting, and all the others which Menges left in Spain, I shall mention in the account which I shall give of them apart.

“ In the private theatre of the princes at Aranjuez, he painted the ceiling, in the middle of which Time irritated seizes on Pleasure, from whose head drops a garland of flowers. This fancy is one of the most graceful ever produced by Menges. In the expression one beholds the abuse of Time, and the precept to profit oneself of it. The rest of the ceiling is filled up by *cariatides*, in clare obscure, which will ever be a monument and school of design of that great man.

“ It seems impossible that in little more than two years from the time Menges was returned to Madrid, he could have painted so many things. This surprise, however, ceases, when we consider the application and incessant labour of that man, whose whole pleasure, during life, was painting and study ; from which attention nothing could ever divert his mind.

“ But this fatigue injured his health, and moved the king to condescend to his desire of once more returning to Rome, the centre of his delight. His majesty treated him with that generosity which is peculiar to him ; leaving him at full liberty with the pay of three thousand scudi, and one thousand more to divide in dowers among his daughters.

“ We again behold Menges in Rome, surrounded by his family, and with a reputation established throughout the world, and with a fortune sufficient to relieve him from the necessity of searching a subsistence by his labours. It appears, then, that he ought to have been the most happy and tranquil man in the universe : he was, notwithstanding, entirely the contrary. In a short time he lost his wife, whom he adored as an example of virtue and affection. From that time he became entirely changed both in manner and in disposition, being one continual scourge to himself and those around him. His former complaints relapsed and increased. The impression of the cold, which in the nights of that winter was excessive, made him give into the other extreme, by living and painting in rooms shut up from every circulation of air, and heated by stoves and immense fires. This excessive heat rarified and dried the air more than was proper for natural perspiration. His lungs, therefore, lost their elasticity, and received the prejudicial emanation of an infinity of mineral tinctures united with the ambient heat.

“ I have many times been deprived of his company from not being able to raise my head in the pestilential atmosphere of his apartment. When he painted in fresco it was even worse, because he put his scaffold in a posture forced against

against the ceiling, by which he respired the acrid poisons of the cement and the minerals which they use in that kind of painting. His lymph or fluids thickened in such a manner, as no longer to nourish his blood. His muscles and veins lost their elasticity; he almost entirely lost his voice; a dry cough tormented him, and his appearance was quite that of a lifeless corpse. The physicians, not knowing what other term to give his complaint, pronounced him phthysical."

"His impatience, joined to a most ardent imagination, made him take faith in a mountebank, a compatriot of his, who promised to cure him in a few days. Thus secretly, without consulting any of the faculty, or of his family, he gave him a medicine so violent that it exhausted entirely the little strength which remained in him, and occasioned him various fits, in which he was left for dead. Recovering, however, from this attack, though badly, he was possessed with a restless desire of changing to another house, molesting all his people to make all enquiries, and to see all the houses that were to be let in Rome. It is to be remarked, that at that time he had three houses, one which he built, and two which he rented. Nevertheless, one morning he removed suddenly to a lodging situated in the *Strada Condutti*, carrying with him the burthen some weight of all his evils, corporeal and mental; and a few days after he was again removed to the *Strada Gregoriana*, still continuing his clandestine correspondence with the empiric, who had induced him to take certain balsams which a nun of Narni had distributed with much fame and miracle. In compliment to that work he mixed with it (as was afterwards discovered) a good

dose of diaphoretic antimony, which in a little time destroyed that machine, already half ruined. In that manner a charlatan, and an unfortunate superstition, combined to deprive the world of a man worthy of much longer life; for at this time he had attained only fifty-one years and three months.

"His corpse was interred at the foot of the janiculum, in the parish of Saint Michael, and at the obsequies attended the professors of the academy of saint Lucas. His statue of bronze, which had been modelled under his direction, was afterwards collocated in the pantheon, by the side of that of Raphael, under which was written the following inscription:

ANT. RAPHAELI MENGES.

PICTORI. PHILOSOPHO.

**IOS. NIC. DE. AZAKA. Amico
Suo. P.**

1779.

VIXIT ANN. 51. MENSES 3. DIES 17.



"The paintings and writings of Menges insure him a seat in the temple of Immortality, and his goodness and bounty will engrave on the bosoms of his friends an everlasting testimony to his memory.

"The life and studies of this great man ought to serve as a stimulus to every one who would wish to apply to, and perfect themselves in, the noble arts. His father directed him sufficiently well in his infancy, by accustoming his eye to exactness; but I have heard him many times lament having occupied so much time in drawing from prints, which, however good they may be of their kind, always lose by the incision part of the excellence of their originals; their contours are always overcharged, and are
wide

wide from that simplicity which characterizes true beauty.

“The method to give a scrupulous reason for every thing is necessary ; but it ought, notwithstanding, to be used with discretion, otherwise it accustoms youth to observe too much the minuteness of every little part, and not to attend sufficiently to the grandeur of the whole. He likewise lamented much, that his father had accustomed him to paint in enamel, and in miniature ; as it afterwards cost him great trouble to correct the dry and minute taste of that species of painting. The truth is, that Mengs knew latterly how to liberate himself intirely from that defect which he has plainly shewn in those miniatures which he painted by way of complaisance. I do not know, however, that he finished more than four, three of the which are in my possession.

“His veneration for antiquity was great, without being fanatical. Where he found defects, he always acknowledged them. To point out the errors, or beauty of a work, is this difference ; for the one, it is necessary that the eye should be endowed with the illustration of reason, and accompanied by that fine sensibility which is not common to all men. Envy and Malignity, in order to abase the works of others, and to elevate themselves by their ruin, look with piercing eyes after their defects ; but he who manifests only the errors, and is silent on the beauties of a work, is either ignorant or invidious, or perhaps both the one and the other.

“None like Mengs ever understood and manifested the perfections of the ancient statues. How many times has he contemplated with me the beauties of the sublime Laocoon, till he was fired with enthusiasm at

its excellence, and on one occasion observed to me that the right tibia of one of his children was much shorter than the other.

“On account of having given to the king, for his academy, all the chalk figures of his collection of statues, (a collection which had cost him a sum superior to his finances,) he thought of writing a treatise on the manner of viewing antiquities, and of discovering their beauties ; but he feared, that there might be found in Europe, persons, who from some defect, would take umbrage, and declaim against the real merit of these works. Death has therefore deprived the world of this publication, which I am sure would have been a model of sagacity and wisdom. It was him alone who was capable of discovering and demonstrating, as he did in a letter to monsignor Fabroni, that the group of Niobe was only an inferior copy of the famous original mentioned by Pliny. His intelligence in antiquities is clear from the following circumstance : One day found in a cave in the villa of Pisoni at Tivoli, a head much battered and ill treated, so as one would suppose to be unintelligible, yet, as soon as he saw it, he said it was a sculpture of the time of Alexander the Great : a few days after was found the remainder of the inscription, which proved it to be the head of the same Alexander.

“Lastly, it is worthy to know, that all the technical parts in the history of the arts, by Winkelman, are of his friend Mengs ; which is sufficient to give an idea, how much he had studied the works of the ancients.”

“The frankness of his manner was certainly singular ; and it is well known that his enthusiasm for the arts extinguished in him every other

other passion. His veracity, and the horror he bore towards every species of falsehood, was ever visible in all his actions; for proof of which I shall give only one example of the many which I could adduce.

“On entering France by Pont Vauvoisin, the last time he went to Spain, the officers of the custom-house saw that he had some gold boxes ornamented with brilliants, which were given him by different princes. They asked him if he carried them for sale, or for his own use. He replied, that he was not a merchant, and that he did not take snuff; with which they were not contented, and insisted that he would reply to the second part of their demand, if they were for his own use, in order that he might be at liberty to take them: but they were not able to draw from him a word of untruth, that is to say, that he had ever taken snuff; for which reason they were obliged, against their will, to seize the boxes as vendible goods, which he suffered, nor ever would have taken the trouble to recover them, if the marquis de Llano and myself had not represented the affair at Paris.

“I remember another trait of

him, which is too characteristic to be omitted. The king of Poland requested of him an allegorical painting, and when the commission was given him by his minister, then resident in Rome, Mengs replied, ‘that with the greatest pleasure he ‘would grant the request which his ‘majesty had honoured him with, ‘but having already various commissions from other sovereigns, ‘reason dictated that he should ‘accomplish those first, according ‘to the orders which he had received; and besides, that he had ‘given his word to some friends, to ‘finish them some paintings, and ‘those ought to be the first, because ‘he preferred friendship to all the ‘honours and dignities of this ‘world.’

“He was a most faithful husband, and tender father to his children, to whom he gave a rigid and excellent education. Nevertheless, he has much injured his family by his want of economy, and carelessness of money. One might reckon, that in his last eighteen years he received more than one hundred and eighty thousand scudi, and scarce left enough at his death to pay the expences of his funeral.”

PORTRAIT of the MARQUIS AZO the SECOND, from whom the KINGS of GREAT BRITAIN are lineally descended.

[From the second Volume of the MISCELLANEOUS WORKS of EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.]

“THE name and character of the marquis, Albert-Azo the Second, shine conspicuous through the gloom of the eleventh century. The most remarkable features in the portrait are, 1. His Ligurian marquifate. 2. His riches.

3. His long life. 4. His marriages. 5. His rank of nobility in the public opinion. The glory of his descendants is reflected on the founder; and Azo II. claims our attention as the stem of the two great branches of the pedigree; as the common

common father of the Italian and German princes of the kindred lines of Este and Brunswick.

“ 1. The fair conjecture that the two Otberts, the father and son, commanded at Milan and Genoa with the title and office of marquis, acquires a new degree of probability for Azo I. and ascends to the level of historic truth in the person of Azo II. Before the middle of the eleventh century the ruins of Genoa had been restored; its active inhabitants excelled in the arts of navigation and trade: their arms had been felt on the African coast, and their credit was established in the ports of Egypt and Greece. Their riches increased with their industry, and their liberty with their riches. Yet they continued to obey, or at least to revere, the majesty of the emperors. In an act, as it should seem of the year one thousand and forty-eight, the marquis Albert-Azo presides at Genoa in a court of justice, and his assessors, the magistrates of the city, are proud to style themselves, the consuls and judges of the sacred palace. The royal dignity of Pavia was gradually eclipsed by the wealth and populousness of Milan, the first of the Italian cities that dared to erect the standard of independence. The government of Milan was divided between the two representatives of St. Ambrose and of Cæsar. The veneration of the flock for the shepherd was fortified by the temporal state and privileges of the archbishop, and his annual revenue of fourscore thousand pieces of gold, supplied an ample fund for benevolence or luxury. The civil and military powers were exercised by the duke or marquis of Milan (for these titles were promiscuously used), and the voice of tradition is clear and positive that

1796.

this hereditary office was vested in the ancestors of the house of Este. Some of the prerogatives which they assumed are expressive of the rigour of the feudal system: they were the heirs of all who died childless and intestate, and a fine was paid on the birth of each infant who defeated their claim: their officers levied a tax on the markets, and their minute inquisition exacted the first loaf of bread from each oven, and the first log of wood from every cart load that entered the gates. Yet an old historian, more forcibly affected with the calamities of his own days, deploras the long lost felicity of their golden age, which had been equally praised by the blessings of the feeble, and the curses of the strong. They drew their swords for the service of the prince and people, but their reign was distinguished by long intervals of prosperity and peace. The distant possessions and various avocations of the duke or marquis often diverted him from the exercise of this municipal trust: his powers were devolved on the viscounts and captains of Milan; these subordinate tyrants formed an alliance, or rather conspiracy, with the *valvassors*, or nobles of the first class; and the people were afflicted by the discord or the union of a lawless oligarchy. A private insult exasperated the patience of the plebeians: they rose in arms, and their numbers and fury prevailed in the bloody contest. The captains and nobles retired; but they retired with a spirit of revenge; collected their vassals and peasants of the adjacent country; encompassed the city with a circumvallation of six fortresses, and in a siege or blockade of three years reduced the inhabitants to the last extremes of famine and distress. By the interposition

G

terposition of the emperor and the archbishop the peace of Milan was restored: the factions were reconciled: they wisely refused a garrison of four thousand Germans; but they acquiesced in the civil government of the empire. The marquis again ascended his tribunal, and that marquis is Albert-Azo the second. A judicial act of the year one thousand and forty-five attests his title and jurisdiction; and as the representative of the emperor, he imposes a fine of a thousand pieces of gold. The progress of Italian liberty reduced his office to the empty name of marquis of Liguria, and such he is styled by the historians of the age. In the next century, his grandson, Obizo I. is invested by the emperor Frederic I. with the honours of marquis of Milan and Genoa, as his grandfather Azo held them of the empire; but this splendid grant commemorates the dignity, without reviving the power, of the house of Este.

“ 2. Like one of his Tuscan ancestors, Azo the second was distinguished among the princes of Italy by the epithet of the *Rich*. The particulars of his rent-roll cannot now be ascertained: an occasional, though authentic deed of investiture, enumerates eighty-three fiefs or manors which he held of the empire in Lombardy and Tuscany, from the marquisate of Este to the county of Lunj: but to these possessions must be added the lands which he enjoyed as the vassal of the church, the ancient patrimony of Otbert (the *Terra Obertenga*) in the counties of Arezzo, Pisa, and Lucca, and the marriage portion of his first wife, which, according to the various readings of the manuscripts, may be computed either at twenty, or at two hundred thousand

English acres. If such a mass of landed property were now accumulated on the head of an Italian nobleman, the annual revenue might satisfy the largest demands of private luxury or avarice, and the fortunate owner would be rich in the improvement of agriculture, the manufactures of industry, the refinement of taste, and the extent of commerce. But the barbarism of the eleventh century diminished the income, and aggravated the expence, of the marquis of Este. In a long series of war and anarchy, man and the works of man had been swept away; and the introduction of each ferocious and idle stranger had been over-balanced by the loss of five or six perhaps of the peaceful industrious natives. The mischievous growth of vegetation, the frequent inundations of the rivers, were no longer checked by the vigilance of labour; the face of the country was again covered with forests and morasses; of the vast domains which acknowledged Azo for their lord, the far greater part was abandoned to the wild beasts of the field, and a much smaller portion was reduced to the state of constant and productive husbandry. An adequate rent may be obtained from the skill and substance of a free tenant, who fertilizes a grateful soil, and enjoys the security and benefit of a long lease. But faint is the hope, and scanty is the produce of those harvests, which are raised by the reluctant toil of peasants and slaves, condemned to a bare subsistence, and careless of the interests of a rapacious master. If his granaries are full, his purse is empty; and the want of cities or commerce, the difficulty of finding or reaching a market, obliges him to consume on the spot a part of his useless stock, which cannot be exchanged.

exchanged for merchandize or money. The member of a well-regulated society is defended from private wrongs by the laws, and from public injuries by the arms of the state; and the tax which he pays is a just equivalent for the protection which he receives. But the guard of his life, his honour, and his fortune, was abandoned to the private sword of a feudal chief; and if his own temper had been inclined to moderation and patience, the public contempt would have roused him to deeds of violence and revenge. The entertainment of his vassals and soldiers, their pay and rewards, their arms and horses, surpassed the measure of the most oppressive tribute, and the destruction which he inflicted on his neighbours was often retaliated on his own lands. The costly elegance of palaces and gardens was superseded by the laborious and expensive construction of strong castles, on the summits of the most inaccessible rocks; and some of these, like the fortrefs of Canossa in the Appenine, were built and provided to sustain a three years' siege against a royal army. But his defence in this world was less burthenome to a wealthy lord than his salvation in the next: the demands of his chapel, his priests, his alms, his offerings, his pilgrimages, were incessantly renewed; the monastery chosen for his sepulchre was endowed with his fairest possessions, and the naked heir might often complain, that his father's sins had been redeemed at too high a price. The marquis Azo was not exempt from the contagion of the times: his devotion was amused and inflamed by the frequent miracles which were performed in his presence; and the monks of Vangadizza, who yielded to his request

the arm of a dead saint, were ignorant of the value of that inestimable jewel. After satisfying the demands of war and superstition, he might appropriate the rest of his revenue to use and pleasure. But the Italians of the eleventh century were imperfectly skilled in the liberal and mechanic arts: the objects of foreign luxury were furnished at an exorbitant price by the merchants of Pisa and Venice; and the superfluous wealth, which could not purchase the real comforts of life, was idly wasted on some rare occasions of vanity and pomp. Such were the nuptials of Boniface, duke or marquis of Tuscany, whose family was long afterwards united with that of Azo, by the marriage of their children. These nuptials were celebrated on the banks of the Mincius, which the fancy of Virgil has decorated with a more beautiful picture. The princes and people of Italy were invited to the feast, which continued three months: the fertile meadows, which are intersected by the slow and winding course of the river, were covered with innumerable tents, and the bridegroom displayed and diversified the scenes of his proud and tasteless magnificence. All the utensils of service were of silver, and his horses were shod with plates of the same metal, loosely nailed, and carelessly dropped, to indicate his contempt of riches. An image of plenty and profusion was expressed in the banquet: the most delicious wines were drawn in buckets from the well; and the spices of the east were ground in water-mills like common flour. The dramatic and musical arts were in the rudest state; but the marquis had summoned the most popular singers, harpers, and buffoons, to exercise their talents on

this splendid theatre. Their exhibitions were applauded, and they applauded the liberality of their patron. After this festival, I might remark a singular gift of the same Bonifate to the emperor Henry III. a chariot and oxen of solid silver, which were designed only as a vehicle for a hoghead of vinegar. If such an example should seem above the imitation of Azo himself, the marquis of Este was at least superior in wealth and dignity to the vassals of his compeer. One of these vassals, the viscount of Mantua, presented the German monarch with one hundred falcons; and one hundred bay horses, a grateful contribution to the pleasures of a royal sportsman: In that age, the proud distinction between the nobles and princes of Italy was guarded with jealous ceremony: the viscount of Mantua had never been seated at the table of his immediate lord: he yielded to the invitation of the emperor; and a stag's skin, filled with pieces of gold, was graciously accepted by the marquis of Tuscany as the fine of his presumption.

“ 3. The temporal felicity of Azo was crowned by the long possession of honours and riches: he died in the year one thousand and ninety-seven, aged upwards of an hundred years; and the term of his mortal existence was almost commensurate with the lapse of the eleventh century. The character, as well as the situation of the marquis of Este, rendered him an actor in the revolutions of that memorable period: but time has cast a veil over the virtues and vices of the man, and I must be content to mark some of the eras, the milestones of his life, which measure the extent and intervals of the vacant way. Albert-Azo the second was

no more than seventeen when he first drew the sword of rebellion of patriotism, when he was involved with his grand-father, his father, and his three uncles, in a common proscription. In the vigour of manhood, about his fiftieth year, the Ligurian marquis governed the cities of Milan and Genoa, as the minister of imperial authority. He was upwards of seventy when he passed the Alps to vindicate the inheritance of Maine for the children of his second marriage. He became the friend and servant of Gregory VII., and in one of his epistles, that ambitious pontiff recommends the marquis Azo as the most faithful and best beloved of the Italian princes; as the proper channel through which a king of Hungary might convey his petitions to the apostolic throne. In the mighty contest between the crown and the mitre, the marquis Azo and the countess Matilda led the powers of Italy, and when the standard of St. Peter was displayed, neither the age of the one, nor the sex of the other, could detain them from the field. With these two affectionate clients the pope maintained his station in the fortress of Canossa, while the emperor, barefoot on the frozen ground, fasted and prayed three days at the foot of the rock: they were witnesses to the abject ceremony of the penance and pardon of Henry IV.; and in the triumph of the church, a patriot might foresee the deliverance of Italy from the German yoke. At the time of this event of Este was above in the twenty so was still alive and revolutions of pea last act which he ted above a centu and in that act th

possesses the command of his faculties, his family, and his fortune. In this rare prerogative of longevity Albert-Azo II. stands alone; nor can I recollect in the authentic annals of mortality a single example of a king or prince, of a statesman or general, of a philosopher or poet, whose life has been extended beyond the period of an hundred years. Nor should this observation, which is justified by universal experience, be thought either strange or surprising. It has been found, that of twenty-four thousand newborn infants, seven only will survive to attain that distant term; and much smaller is the proportion of those who will be raised by fortune or genius, to govern, or afflict, or enlighten, their age or country. The chance that the same individual should draw the two great prizes in the lottery of life, will not easily be defined by the powers of calculation. Three approximations, which will not hastily be matched, have distinguished the present century, Aurungzeb, Cardinal Fleury, and Fontenelle. Had a fortnight more been given to the philosopher, he might have celebrated his secular festival; but the lives and labours of the Mogul king and the French minister were terminated before they had accomplished their ninetyeth year. A strong constitution may be the gift of nature; but the few who survive their contemporaries must have been superior to the passions and appetites which urge the speedy decay and dissolution of the mind and body. The marquis of Este may be presumed, from his riches and longevity, to have understood the economy of health and fortune.

"4. I remember a Persian tale of three old men, who were successively questioned by a traveller

as he met them on the road. The youngest brother, under the load of a wife and a numerous family, was sinking into the grave before his time. The second, though much older, was far less infirm and decrepid: he had been left a widower and without children. But the last and eldest of the three brothers still preserved, at an incredible age, the vigour and vivacity of the autumnal season: he had always preferred a life of celibacy. The enjoyment of domestic freedom could not, however, contribute to the longevity of the marquis Azo: he married three wives; he educated three sons; and it is doubtful whether chance or prudence delayed his first nuptials till he had at least accomplished the fortieth year of his age. These nuptials were contracted with Cuniza, or Cunegonda, a German maid, whose ancestors, by their nobility and riches, were distinguished among the Suanian and Bavarian chiefs; whose brother was invested by the emperor Henry III. with the duchy of Carinthia, and the marquisate of Verona, on the confines of the Venetian possessions of the house of Este. The marriage of Azo and Cunegonda was productive of a son, who received at his baptism the name of Guelph, to revive and perpetuate the memory of his uncle, his grandfather, and his first progenitors, on the maternal side. I have already defined the ample domain which was given as a marriage-portion to the daughter of the Guelphs: but on the failure of heirs male, her fortunate son inherited the patrimonial estates of the family, obtained the dukedom of Bavaria, and became the founder of the eldest, or German branch, of the house of Este, from which the dukes of Brunswick, the electors of

Hanover, and the kings of Great Britain, are lineally descended. After the decease of Cunegonda, who must have departed this life in the flower of her age, the marquis of Este solicited a second alliance beyond the Alps: but his delicacy no longer insisted on the choice of a virgin; the widower was contented with a widow; and he excused the ambitious stain which might adhere to his bride by a divorce from her first husband. Her name was Garfenda, the daughter, and at length the heiress, of the counts of Main. She became the mother of two sons, Hugo and Fulk, and the younger of these is the acknowledged parent of the dukes of Ferrara and Modena. The same liberal fortune which had crowned the offspring of the first, seemed to attend the children of the second nuptials of the marquis Azo: but their fortune was hollow and fallacious, and after the loss of their Gallic inheritance, the sons of Garfenda reluctantly acquiesced in some fragments of their Italian patrimony. Matilda, the third wife of Azo, was another widow of noble birth, since she was his own cousin in the fourth degree; but this consanguinity provoked the stern and impartial justice of Gregory VII. His friend was summoned to appear before a synod at Rome: the inflexible priest pronounced a sentence of divorce, and whatsoever idea may be formed of the marquis's vigour, at the age of seventy-eight, he might submit, without much effort, to the canons of the church. Besides his three sons, Azo had a daughter named Adalais, who was educated in the family of the countess Matilda. But the damsel is only mentioned to attest the miraculous virtue of Anselm bishop of Lucca; she was re-

lieved in the night from a violent fit of the cholic, by the local application of a pillow, on which the saint had formerly reposed his head.

"5. A wealthy marquis of the eleventh century must have commanded a proud hereditary rank in civil society. In the judgment of the pope, the emperor, and the public, Albert-Azo was distinguished among the princes, and the first princes, of the kingdom of Italy. His double alliance in Germany and France may prove how much he was known and esteemed among foreign nations; and he strengthened his political importance by a domestic union with the conquerors of Apulia and Sicily. I shall not repeat the story of the Norman adventurers, nor shall I again delineate the character and exploits of Robert Guiscard, which, to the readers of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, are sufficiently familiar. But as duke Robert had four daughters, the choice of his other three sons-in-law may serve as a test, a touchstone, of the comparative weight and value of the house of Este. Michael, emperor of the Greeks, was the first name in the christian world. Raymond, count of Barcelona, was the independent sovereign of a warlike people; and the meanest of the three, a French baron, of military renown, was the cousin of the kings of France and Jerusalem, the brother-in-law of the king of Navarre and Arragon. Such were three of the sons, by alliance, of the Norman conqueror, who had previously rejected a the eldest son of the emperor IV.: the marriage daughter will be more represented in the Apulian poet: 'Whi

'resided within the walls of the
 'Trojan city, he received the visit
 'of a certain noble Lombard mar-
 'quis, accompanied by many no-
 'bles of his country. Azo was his
 'name. The object of his journey
 'was to request that the duke's
 'daughter might be granted as a
 'wife to Hugo, his illustrious son.
 'The duke convened an assembly
 'of his chiefs, and with their con-
 'sent and advice, the daughter of
 'Robert was delivered to the son
 'of Azo. The nuptial rites were
 'solemnized in due form, and the
 'festival was celebrated with gifts
 'and banquets. After the con-
 'summation of the marriage, the
 'duke solicited his counts and
 'powerful vassals to bestow a free
 'gift, which might grace the joyful
 'departure of the bride and bride-
 'groom, and he enforced his de-
 'mand, by reminding them that no
 'subsidy whatsoever had been given
 'to her sister, the Greek empress.
 'The demand of a tribute was en-
 'tertained with a murmur of sur-
 'prise and discontent; but all op-
 'position was fruitless, and they
 'presented their sovereign with
 'mules and horses, and various
 'offerings. He bestowed them on
 'the husband of his daughter, with

'an addition from his own trea-
 'sures: a fleet was prepared, and
 'both the father and son were trans-
 'ported with great honour to their
 'native shores.' This evidence of
 a contemporary poet, or rather
 historian, who had no temptation
 to flatter the princes of Este,
 would alone be sufficient to esta-
 blish the nobility and splendour of
 their family, the family of Brunf-
 wick, beyond the distant term of
 seven hundred years. If the mar-
 quis Azo were the first of his race
 whose name and memory had been
 preserved, we might acquiesce in
 our ignorance, with a just per-
 suasion of the dignity and power of
 his unknown ancestors. Of these
 illustrious ancestors, the zeal and
 diligence of Leibnitz and Muratori
 have discovered four probable, and
 four certain degrees. After the ex-
 amination of their proofs, a scrup-
 ulous critic may suspect, that in
 deriving the marquisses of Este from
 those of Tuscany, 'the ascent of
 'reason has been aided by the
 'wings of imagination;' but he
 must confess, that since the begin-
 ning of the tenth century, the se-
 ries of generations flows in a clear
 and unbroken stream."

PARTICULARS of the EARLIER YEARS of Mr. GIBBON'S LIFE, and of
 the COURSE of STUDIES which laid the Foundation of his subse-
 quent Celebrity.

[From the First Volume of the same Publication.]

"I Was born at Putney, in the
 county of Surry, the 27th
 of April, O. S. in the year one
 thousand seven hundred and thirty-
 seven; the first child of the mar-
 riage of Edward Gibbon, esq. and
 of Judith Porten. My lot might
 have been that of a slave, a savage,

or a peasant; nor can I reflect with-
 out pleasure on the bounty of na-
 ture, which cast my birth in a free
 and civilized country, in an age of
 science and philosophy, in a family
 of honourable rank, and decently
 endowed with the gifts of fortune.
 From my birth I have enjoyed the

right of primogeniture; but I was succeeded by five brothers and one sister, all of whom were snatched away in their infancy. My five brothers, whose names may be found in the parish register of Putney, I shall not pretend to lament: but from my childhood to the present hour I have deeply and sincerely regretted my sister, whose life was somewhat prolonged, whom I remember to have seen an amiable infant. The relation of a brother and a sister, especially if they do not marry, appears to me of a very singular nature. It is a familiar and tender friendship with a female, much about our own age; an affection perhaps softened by the secret influence of sex, but pure from any mixture of sensual desire, the sole species of Platonic love that can be indulged with truth, and without danger."

"The death of a new-born child before that of its parents may seem an unnatural, but it is strictly a probable, event: since of any given number the greater part are extinguished before their ninth year, before they possess the faculties of the mind or body. Without accusing the profuse waste or imperfect workmanship of nature, I shall only observe, that this unfavourable chance was multiplied against my infant existence. So feeble was my constitution, so precarious my life, that, in the baptism of each of my brothers, my father's prudence successively repeated my christian name of Edward, that, in case of the departure of the eldest son, this patronymic appellation might be still perpetuated in the family.

— *Uno cordis non deficit alter.*

To preserve and to rear so frail a being, the most tender assiduity was

scarcely sufficient; and my mother's attention was somewhat diverted by her frequent pregnancies, by an exclusive passion for her husband, and by the dissipation of the world, in which his taste and authority obliged her to mingle. But the maternal office was supplied by my aunt, Mrs. Catharine Porten; at whose name I feel a tear of gratitude trickling down my cheek. A life of celibacy transferred her vacant affection to her sister's first child: my weakness excited her pity; her attachment was fortified by labour and success: and if there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman they must hold themselves indebted. Many anxious and solitary days did she consume in the patient trial of every mode of relief and amusement. Many wakeful nights did she sit by my bed-side in trembling expectation that each hour would be my last. Of the various and frequent disorders of my childhood my own recollection is dark; nor do I wish to expatiate on so disgusting a topic. Suffice it to say, that while every practitioner, from Sloane and Ward to the chevalier Taylor, was successively summoned to torture or relieve me, the care of my mind was too frequently neglected for that of my health: compassion always suggested an excuse for the indulgence of the master, or the idleness of the pupil; and the chain of my education was broken, as often as I was recalled from the school of learning to the bed of sickness.

"As soon as the use had prepared my infant the admission of knowledge taught the arts of reading and arithmetic. So remote, so vague is the

their origin in myself, that, were not the error corrected by analogy, I should be tempted to conceive them as innate. In my childhood I was praised for the readiness, with which I could multiply and divide, by memory alone, two sums of several figures: such praise encouraged my growing talent; and had I persevered in this line of application, I might have acquired some fame in mathematical studies.

“ After this previous institution at home, or at a day-school at Putney, I was delivered at the age of seven into the hands of Mr. John Kirkby, who exercised about eighteen months the office of my domestic tutor. His own words, which I shall here transcribe, inspire in his favour a sentiment of pity and esteem.—‘ During my abode in my native county of Cumberland, in quality of an indigent curate, I used now-and-then in a summer, when the pleasures of the season invited, to take a solitary walk to the seashore, which lies about two miles from the town where I lived. Here I would amuse myself, once while in viewing at large the agreeable prospect which surrounded me, and another while (confining my sight to nearer objects) in admiring the vast variety of beautiful shells, thrown upon the beach; some of the choicest of which I always picked up, to divert my little ones upon my return. One time among the rest, taking such a journey in my head, I sat down upon the declivity of the beach with my face to the sea, which was now come up within a few yards of my feet; when immediately the sad thoughts of the wretched condition of my family, and the unsuccessfulness of all endeavours to amend it,

‘ came crowding into my mind, which drove me into a deep melancholy, and ever and anon forced tears from my eyes.’ Distress at last forced him to leave the country. His learning and virtue introduced him to my father; and at Putney he might have found at least a temporary shelter, had not an act of indiscretion again driven him into the world. One day reading prayers in the parish church, he most unluckily forgot the name of king George: his patron, a loyal subject, dismissed him with some reluctance, and a decent reward; and *how* the poor man ended his days I have never been able to learn.”

“ In my ninth year (January 1746), in a lucid interval of comparative health, my father adopted the convenient and customary mode of English education; and I was sent to Kingston upon Thames, to a school of about seventy boys, which was kept by Dr. Wooddeson and his assistants. Every time I have since passed over Putney Common, I have always noticed the spot where my mother, as we drove along in the coach, admonished me that I was now going into the world, and must learn to think and act for myself. The expression may appear ludicrous; yet there is not, in the course of life, a more remarkable change than the removal of a child from the luxury and freedom of a wealthy house, to the frugal diet and strict subordination of a school; from the tenderness of parents, and the obsequiousness of servants, to the rude familiarity of his equals, the insolent tyranny of his seniors, and the rod, perhaps, of a cruel and capricious pedagogue. Such hardships may steel the mind and body against the injuries of fortune; but my timid re-
serve

serve was astonished by the crowd and tumult of the school; the want of strength and activity disqualified me for the sports of the play-field; nor have I forgotten how often in the year forty-six I was reviled and buffeted for the sins of my tory ancestors. By the common methods of discipline, at the expence of many tears and some blood, I purchased the knowledge of the Latin syntax: and not long since I was possessed of the dirty volumes of Phædrus and Cornelius Nepos, which I painfully construed and darkly understood."

"My studies were too frequently interrupted by sickness; and after a real or nominal residence at Kingston-school of near two years, I was finally recalled (December 1747) by my mother's death, which was occasioned, in her thirty-eighth year, by the consequences of her last labour. I was too young to feel the importance of my loss; and the image of her person and conversation is faintly imprinted in my memory. The affectionate heart of my aunt, Catherine Porten, bewailed a sister and a friend; but my poor father was inconsolable, and the transport of grief seemed to threaten his life or his reason. I can never forget the scene of our first interview, some weeks after the fatal event; the awful silence, the room hung with black, the mid-day tapers, his sighs and tears; his praises of my mother, a saint in heaven; his solemn adjuration that I would cherish her memory and imitate her virtues; and the fervor with which he kissed and blessed me as the sole surviving pledge of their loves. The storm of passion insensibly subsided into calmer melancholy. At a convivial meeting of his friends, Mr. Gibbon might affect or enjoy a gleam of cheer-

fulness; but his plan of happiness was for ever destroyed: and after the loss of his companion he was left alone in a world, of which the business and pleasures were to him irksome or insipid. After some unsuccessful trials he renounced the tumult of London and the hospitality of Putney, and buried himself in the rural or rather rustic solitude of Buriton; from which, during several years, he seldom emerged.

"As far back as I can remember, the house, near Putney-bridge and church-yard, of my maternal grandfather appears in the light of my proper and native home. It was there that I was allowed to spend the greatest part of my time, in sickness or in health, during my school vacations and my parents' residence in London, and finally after my mother's death. Three months after that event, in the spring of 1748, the commercial ruin of her father, Mr. James Porten, was accomplished and declared. He suddenly absconded: but as his effects were not sold, nor the house evacuated, till the Christmas following, I enjoyed during the whole year the society of my aunt, without much consciousness of her impending fate. I feel a melancholy pleasure in repeating my obligations to that excellent woman, Mrs. Catherine Porten, the true mother of my mind and health. Her natural good sense was improved by the perusal of the best books in the English language; and if her reason was sometimes clouded by prejudice, her sentiments were never disguised by hypocrisy or affectation. Her indulgent and frankness of her temper innate rising curiosity, so ed all distance between friends of an equal age,

conversed on every topic, familiar or abstruse; and it was her delight and reward to observe the first shoots of my young ideas. Pain and languor were often soothed by the voice of instruction and amusement; and to her kind lessons I ascribe my early and invincible love of reading, which I would not exchange for the treasures of India. I should perhaps be astonished, were it possible to ascertain the date, at which a favourite tale was engraved, by frequent repetition, in my memory: the Cavern of the Winds; the Palace of Felicity; and the fatal moment, at the end of three months or centuries, when prince Adolphus is overtaken by Time, who had worn out so many pair of wings in the pursuit. Before I left Kingston school I was well acquainted with Pope's Homer and the Arabian Nights Entertainments, two books which will always please by the moving picture of human manners and specious miracles: nor was I then capable of discerning that Pope's translation is a portrait endowed with every merit, excepting that of likeness to the original. The verses of Pope accustomed my ear to the sound of poetic harmony: in the death of Hector, and the shipwreck of Ulysses, I tasted the new emotions of terror and pity; and seriously disputed with my aunt on the vices and virtues of the heroes of the Trojan war. From Pope's Homer to Dryden's Virgil was an easy transition; but I know not how, from some fault in the author, the translator, or the reader, the pious Æneas did not so forcibly seize on my imagination; and I derived more pleasure from Ovid's Metamorphoses, especially in the fall of Phaëton, and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses. My grandfather's flight unlocked the door of a

tolerable library; and I turned over many English pages of poetry and romance, of history and travels. Where a title attracted my eye, without fear or awe I snatched the volume from the shelf; and Mrs. Porten, who indulged herself in moral and religious speculations, was more prone to encourage than to check a curiosity above the strength of a boy. This year (1748), the twelfth of my age, I shall note as the most propitious to the growth of my intellectual stature.

“ The relics of my grandfather's fortune afforded a bare annuity for his own maintenance; and his daughter, my worthy aunt, who had already passed her fortieth year, was left destitute. Her noble spirit scorned a life of obligation and dependence; and after revolving several schemes, she preferred the humble industry of keeping a boarding-house for Westminster-school, where she laboriously earned a competence for her old age. This singular opportunity of blending the advantages of private and public education decided my father. After the Christmas holidays in January 1749, I accompanied Mrs. Porten to her new house in College-street; and was immediately entered in the school, of which Dr. John Nicoll was at that time headmaster. At first I was alone: but my aunt's resolution was praised; her character was esteemed; her friends were numerous and active: in the course of some years she became the mother of forty or fifty boys, for the most part of family and fortune; and as her primitive habitation was too narrow, she built and occupied a spacious mansion in Dean's Yard. I shall always be ready to join in the common opinion, that our public schools,

Schools, which have produced so many eminent characters, are the best adapted to the genius and constitution of the English people. A boy of spirit may acquire a previous and practical experience of the world; and his playfellows may be the future friends of his heart or his interest. In a free intercourse with his equals, the habits of truth, fortitude, and prudence will insensibly be matured. Birth and riches are measured by the standard of personal merit; and the mimic scene of a rebellion has displayed, in their true colours, the ministers and patriots of the rising generation. Our seminaries of learning do not exactly correspond with the precept of a Spartan king, 'that the child should be instructed in the arts, which will be useful to the man;' since a finished scholar may emerge from the head of Westminster or Eton, in total ignorance of the business and conversation of English gentlemen in the latter end of the eighteenth century. But these schools may assume the merit of teaching all that they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages: they deposit in the hands of a disciple the keys of two valuable chests; nor can he complain, if they are afterwards lost or neglected by his own fault. The necessity of leading in equal ranks so many unequal powers of capacity and application, will prolong to eight or ten years the juvenile studies, which might be dispatched in half that time by the skilful master of a single pupil. Yet even the repetition of exercise and discipline contributes to fix in a vacant mind the verbal science of grammar and prosody: and the private or voluntary student, who possesses the sense and spirit of the classics, may offend, by a false quantity, the scru-

pulous ear of a well-fledged critic. For myself, I must be content with a very small share of the civil and literary fruits of a public school. In the space of two years (1749, 1750), interrupted by danger and debility, I painfully climbed into the third form; and my riper age was left to acquire the beauties of the Latin, and the rudiments of the Greek tongue. Instead of audaciously mingling in the sports, the quarrels, and the connections of our little world, I was still cherished at home under the maternal wing of my aunt; and my removal from Westminster long preceded the approach of manhood.

"The violence and variety of my complaints, which had excused my frequent absence from Westminster-school, at length engaged Mrs. Porten, with the advice of physicians, to conduct me to Bath: at the end of the Michaelmas vacation (1750) she quitted me with reluctance, and I remained several months under the care of a trusty maid-servant. A strange nervous affection, which alternately contracted my legs, and produced, without any visible symptoms, the most excruciating pain, was ineffectually opposed by the various methods of bathing and pumping. From Bath I was transported to Winchester, to the house of a physician; and after the failure of his medical skill, we had again recourse to the virtues of the Bath waters. During the intervals of these fits, I moved with my father to Burton and Putney; and a short unsuccessful trial was attended by my attendance at school. But my ill was not to be reconciled and discipline of art and instead of a who might have

honourable moments, and gently advanced the progress of my learning, my father was too easily content with such occasional teachers, as the different places of my residence could supply. I was never forced, and seldom was I persuaded, to admit these lessons: yet I read with a clergyman at Bath some odes of Horace, and several episodes of Virgil, which gave me an imperfect and transient enjoyment of the Latin poets. It might now be apprehended that I should continue for life an illiterate cripple: but, as I approached my sixteenth year, Nature displayed in my favour her mysterious energies: my constitution was fortified and fixed; and my disorders, instead of growing with my growth and strengthening with my strength, most wonderfully vanished. I have never possessed or abused the insolence of health: but since that time few persons have been more exempt from real or imaginary ills; and, till I am admonished by the gout, the reader will no more be troubled with the history of my bodily complaints. My unexpected recovery again encouraged the hope of my education; and I was placed at Esher, in Surry, in the house of the Reverend Mr. Philip Francis, in a pleasant spot, which promised to unite the various benefits of air, exercise, and study (January 1752). The translator of Horace might have taught me to relish the Latin poets, had not my friends discovered in a few weeks, that he preferred the pleasures of London, to the instruction of his pupils. My father's perplexity at this time, rather than his prudence, was urged to embrace a singular and desperate measure. Without preparation or delay he carried me to Oxford; and I was matriculated in the uni-

versity as a gentleman commoner of Magdalen college, before I had accomplished the fifteenth year of my age (April 3, 1752).

"The curiosity, which had been implanted in my infant mind, was still alive and active; but my reason was not sufficiently informed to understand the value, or to lament the loss, of three precious years from my entrance at Westminster to my admission at Oxford. Instead of repining at my long and frequent confinement to the chamber or the couch, I secretly rejoiced in those infirmities, which delivered me from the exercises of the school, and the society of my equals. As often as I was tolerably exempt from danger and pain, reading, free desultory reading, was the employment and comfort of my solitary hours. At Westminster, my aunt sought only to amuse and indulge me; in my stations at Bath and Winchester, at Buriton and Putney, a false compassion respected my sufferings; and I was allowed, without controul or advice, to gratify the wanderings of an unripe taste. My indiscriminate appetite subsided by degrees in the *historic* line: and since philosophy has exploded all innate ideas and natural propensities, I must ascribe this choice to the assiduous perusal of the Universal History, as the octavo volumes successively appeared. This unequal work, and a treatise of Hearne, the *Ductor historicus*, referred and introduced me to the Greek and Roman historians, to as many at least as were accessible to an English reader. All that I could find were greedily devoured, from Littlebury's lame Herodotus, and Spelman's valuable Xenophon, to the pompous folios of Gordon's Tacitus, and a ragged Procopius of the beginning of the last century.

ture. The cheap acquisition of so much knowledge confirmed my dislike to the study of languages; and I argued with Mrs. Porten, that, were I master of Greek and Latin, I must interpret to myself, in English the thoughts of the original, and that such extemporary versions must be inferior to the elaborate translations of professed scholars; a silly sophism, which could not easily be confuted by a person ignorant of any other language than her own. From the ancient I leaped to the modern world: many crude lumps of Speed, Rapin, Mezeray, Davila, Machiavel, Father Paul, Bower, &c. I devoured like so many novels; and I swallowed with the same voracious appetite the descriptions of India and China, of Mexico and Peru.

“ My first introduction to the historic scenes, which have since engaged so many years of my life, must be ascribed to an accident. In the summer of 1751, I accompanied my father on a visit to Mr. Hoare’s, in Wiltshire; but I was less delighted with the beauties of Stourhead, than with discovering in the library a common book, the Continuation of Echard’s Roman History, which is indeed executed with more skill and taste than the previous work. To me the reigns of the successors of Constantine were absolutely new; and I was immersed in the passage of the Goths over the Danube, when the summons of the dinner-bell reluctantly dragged me from my intellectual feast. This transient glance served rather to irritate than to appease my curiosity; and as soon as I returned to Bath I procured the second and third volumes of Howell’s History of the World, which exhibit the Byzantine period on a larger scale. Mahomet and his Sa-

racens soon fixed my attention; and some instinct of criticism directed me to the genuine sources. Simon Ockley, an original in every sense, first opened my eyes; and I was led from one book to another, till I had ranged round the circle of oriental history. Before I was sixteen, I had exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and Turks; and the same ardour urged me to guess at the French of D’Herbelot, and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocock’s Abulfaragius. Such vague and multifarious reading could not teach me to think, to write, or to act; and the only principle, that darted a ray of light into the indigested chaos, was an early and rational application to the order of time and place. The maps of Cellarius and Wells imprinted in my mind the picture of ancient geography: from Stranchius I imbibed the elements of chronology: the Tables of Helvicus and Anderson, the Annals of Usher and Prideaux, distinguished the connection of events, and engraved the multitude of names and dates in a clear and indelible series. But in the discussion of the first ages I overleaped the bounds of modesty and use. In my childish balance I presumed to weigh the systems of Scaliger and Petavius, of Marsham and Newton, which I could seldom study in the originals; and my sleep has been disturbed by the difficulty of reconciling the Septuagint with the Hebrew computation. I arrived at Oxford with a stock of erudition, that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance, of which a school-boy would have been ashamed.”

“ To the university of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son,

a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar; but I cannot affect to believe that Nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure, may doubtless be alleged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses of their proper weight. Yet in my sixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childish reading had displayed an early though blind propensity for books; and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well-constituted academy, under the guidance of skilful and vigilant professors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics; from dead languages to living science; my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should have escaped the temptations of idleness, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford."

"The first tutor into whose hands I was resigned appears to have been one of the best of the tribe: Dr. Waldegrave was a learned and pious man, of a mild disposition, strict morals, and abstemious life, who seldom mingled in the politics or the jollity of the college. But his knowledge of the world was confined to the university; his learning was of the last, rather than of the present age; his temper was indolent; his faculties,

which were not of the first rate, had been relaxed by the climate, and he was satisfied, like his fellows, with the slight and superficial discharge of an important trust. As soon as my tutor had founded the insufficiency of his disciple in school-learning, he proposed that we should read every morning from ten to eleven the comedies of Terence. The sum of my improvement in the university of Oxford is confined to three or four Latin plays; and even the study of an elegant classic, which might have been illustrated by a comparison of ancient and modern theatres, was reduced to a dry and literal interpretation of the author's text. During the first weeks I constantly attended these lessons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared equally devoid of profit and pleasure, I was once tempted to try the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was accepted with a smile. I repeated the offence with less ceremony; the excuse was admitted with the same indulgence: the slightest motive of laziness or indisposition, the most trifling avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impediment; nor did my tutor appear conscious of my absence or neglect. Had the hour of lecture been constantly filled, a single hour was a small portion of my academic leisure. No plan of study was recommended for my use; no exercises were prescribed for his inspection; and, at the most precious season of youth, whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse without labour or amusement, without advice or account. I should have listened to the voice of reason and of my tutor; his mild behaviour had gained my confidence. I preferred his society to

to that of the younger students; and in our evening walks to the top of Heddington-hill, we freely conversed on a variety of subjects. Since the days of Pocock and Hyde, oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford, and I once expressed an inclination to study Arabic. His prudence discouraged this childish fancy; but he neglected the fair occasion of directing the ardour of a curious mind. During my absence in the summer vacation, Dr. Waldegrave accepted a college living at Washington in Sussex, and on my return I no longer found him at Oxford. From that time I have lost sight of my first tutor; but at the end of thirty years (1781) he was still alive; and the practice of exercise and temperance had entitled him to a healthy old age.

"The long recess between the Trinity and Michaelmas terms empties the colleges of Oxford, as well as the courts of Westminster. I spent, at my father's house at Buriton in Hampshire, the two months of August and September. It is whimsical enough, that as soon as I left Magdalen College, my taste for books began to revive; but it was the same blind and boyish taste for the pursuit of exotic history. Unprovided with original learning, unformed in the habits of thinking, unskilled in the arts of composition, I resolved—to write a book. The title of this first essay, *The Age of Sesostris*, was perhaps suggested by Voltaire's *Age of Lewis XIV.* which was new and popular; but my sole object was to investigate the probable date of the life and reign of the conqueror of Asia. I was then enamoured of Sir John Marham's *Canon Chronicus*; an elaborate work, of whose merits and defects I was not yet qualified to judge. According to his spe-

cious, though narrow plan, I flattered my hero about the time of Solomon, in the tenth century before the Christian era. It was therefore incumbent on me, unless I would adopt Sir Isaac Newton's shorter chronology, to remove a formidable objection; and my solution, for a youth of fifteen, is not devoid of ingenuity. In his version of the sacred books, Manetho the high priest has identified Sesostris, or Sesostris, with the elder brother of Danaus, who landed in Greece, according to the Parian Marble, fifteen hundred and ten years before Christ. But in my supposition the high priest is guilty of a voluntary error; flattery is the prolific parent of falsehood. Manetho's *History of Egypt* is dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who derived a fabulous or illegitimate pedigree from the Macedonian kings of the race of Hercules. Danaus is the ancestor of Hercules; and after the failure of the elder branch, his descendants, the Ptolemies, are the sole representatives of the royal family, and may claim by inheritance the kingdom which they hold by conquest. Such were my juvenile discoveries; at a riper age, I no longer presume to connect the Greek, the Jewish, and the Egyptian antiquities, which are lost in a distant cloud. Nor is this the only instance, in which the belief and knowledge of the child are superseded by the more rational ignorance of the man. During my stay

at Buriton, my diligent prosecution was interrupted by diversions; as the music of public discovery of my return to Oxford Sesostris was wisely

the imperfect sheets remained twenty years at the bottom of a drawer, till, in a general clearance of papers, (November 1772), they were committed to the flames.

“ After the departure of Dr. Waldegrave, I was transferred, with his other pupils, to his academical heir, whose literary character did not command the respect of the college. Dr. **** well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform. Instead of guiding the studies, and watching over the behaviour of his disciple, I was never summoned to attend even the ceremony of a lecture; and, excepting one voluntary visit to his rooms, during the eight months of his titular office, the tutor and pupil lived in the same college as strangers to each other. The want of experience, of advice, and of occupation, soon betrayed me into some improprieties of conduct, ill-chosen company, late hours, and inconsiderate expence. My growing debts might be secret; but my frequent absence was visible and scandalous: and a tour to Bath, a visit into Buckinghamshire, and four excursions to London in the same winter, were costly and dangerous frolics. They were, indeed, without a meaning, as without an excuse. The irksomeness of a cloistered life repeatedly tempted me to wander; but my chief pleasure was that of travelling; and I was too young and bashful to enjoy, like a manly Oxonian in town, the pleasures of London. In all these excursions I eloped from Oxford; I returned to college; in a few days I eloped again, as if I had been an independent stranger in a hired lodging, without once hearing the voice of admonition, without once feeling the hand of con-

1796.

trol. Yet my time was lost, my expences were multiplied, my behaviour abroad was unknown; folly as well as vice should have awakened the attention of my superiors, and my tender years would have justified a more than ordinary degree of restraint and discipline.

“ It might at least be expected, that an ecclesiastical school should inculcate the orthodox principles of religion. But our venerable mother had contrived to unite the opposite extremes of bigotry and indifference: an heretic, or unbeliever, was a monster in her eyes; but she was always, or often, or sometimes, remiss in the spiritual education of her own children. According to the statutes of the university, every student, before he is matriculated, must subscribe his assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which are signed by more than read, and read by more than believe them. My insufficient age excused me, however, from the immediate performance of this legal ceremony; and the vice-chancellor directed me to return, as soon as I should have accomplished my fifteenth year; recommending me, in the mean while, to the instruction of my college. My college forgot to instruct: I forgot to return, and was myself forgotten by the first magistrate of the university. Without a single lecture, either public or private, either christian or protestant, without any academical subscription, without any episcopal confirmation, I was left by the dim light of my catechism to grope my way to the chapel and communion-table, where I was admitted; without a question, how far, or by what means, I might be qualified to receive the sacrament. Such almost incredible neglect was productive of the worst mischiefs. From

my

my childhood I had been fond of religious disputation: my poor aunt has been often puzzled by the mysteries which she strove to believe; nor had the elastic spring been totally broken by the weight of the atmosphere of Oxford. The blind activity of idleness urged me to advance without armour into the dangerous mazes of controversy; and at the age of sixteen, I bewildered myself in the errors of the church of Rome.

“The progress of my conversion may tend to illustrate, at least, the history of my own mind. It was not long since Dr. Middleton’s free inquiry had sounded an alarm in the theological world: much ink and much gall had been spilt in the defence of the primitive miracles; and the two dullest of their champions were crowned with academic honours by the university of Oxford. The name of Middleton was unpopular; and his proscription very naturally led me to peruse his writings, and those of his antagonists. His bold criticism, which approaches the precipice of infidelity, produced on my mind a singular effect; and had I persevered in the communion of Rome, I should now apply to my own fortune the prediction of the Sybil,

—*Via prima salutis,
Quod minimè reris, Gratiâ pandetur ab urbe.*

The elegance of style and freedom of argument were repelled by a shield of prejudice. I still revered the character, or rather the names, of the saints and fathers whom Dr. Middleton exposes; nor could he destroy my implicit belief, that the gift of miraculous powers was continued in the church, during the first four or five centuries of christianity. But I was unable to resist the weight of historical evidence,

that within the same period most of the leading doctrines of popery were already introduced in theory and practice: nor was my conclusion absurd, that miracles are the test of truth, and that the church must be orthodox and pure, which was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity. The marvellous tales which are so boldly attested by the Basils and Chrysostoms, the Austins and Jeroms, compelled me to embrace the superior merits of celibacy, the institution of the monastic life, the use of the sign of the cross, of holy oil, and even of images, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics, the rudiments of purgatory in prayers for the dead, and the tremendous mystery of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, which insensibly swelled into the prodigy of transubstantiation. In these dispositions, and already more than half a convert, I formed an unlucky intimacy with a young gentleman of our college, whose name I shall spare. With a character less resolute, Mr. **** had imbibed the same religious opinions; and some Popish books, I know not through what channel, were conveyed into his possession. I read, I applauded, I believed: the English translations of two famous works of Bossuet bishop of Meaux, the Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine, and the History of the Protestant Variations, atchieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand.”

“No sooner had I settled my new religion than I resolved to profess myself a catholic. Youth is sincere and impetuous; and a momentary glow of enthusiasm had raised me above all temporal considerations.”

“In my last excursion to London, I addressed myself to Mr. Lewis,

Lewis, a Roman catholic bookseller in Russell-street, Covent Garden, who recommended me to a priest, of whose name and order I am at present ignorant. In our first interview he soon discovered that persuasion was needless. After sounding the motives and merits of my conversion, he consented to admit me into the pale of the church; and at his feet, on the eighth of June 1753, I solemnly, though privately, abjured the errors of heresy. The seduction of an English youth of family and fortune was an act of as much danger as glory; but he bravely overlooked the danger, of which I was not then sufficiently informed. 'Where a person is reconciled to the see of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence (says Blackstone) amounts to high treason.' And if the humanity of the age would prevent the execution of this sanguinary statute, there were other laws of a less odious cast, which condemned the priest to perpetual imprisonment, and transferred the proselyte's estate to his nearest relation. An elaborate controversial epistle, approved by my director, and addressed to my father, announced and justified the step which I had taken. My father was neither a bigot nor a philosopher; but his affection deplored the loss of an only son; and his good sense was astonished at my strange departure from the religion of my country. In the first sally of passion he divulged a secret which prudence might have suppressed, and the gates of Magdalen College were for ever shut against my return."

"After carrying me to Putney, to the house of his friend Mr. Mallet, by whose philosophy I was rather scandalized than reclaimed, it was necessary for my father to form

a new plan of education, and to devise some method which, if possible, might effect the cure of my spiritual malady. After much debate it was determined, from the advice and personal experience of Mr. Eliot (now lord Eliot) to fix me, during some years, at Lausanne in Switzerland. Mr. Frey, a Swiss gentleman of Basil, undertook the conduct of the journey: we left London the 19th of June, crossed the sea from Dover to Calais, travelled post through several provinces of France, by the direct road of St. Quentin, Rheims, Langres, and Besançon, and arrived the 30th of June at Lausanne, where I was immediately settled under the roof and tuition of Mr. Pavilliard, a Calvinist minister.

"The first marks of my father's displeasure rather astonished than afflicted me: when he threatened to banish, and disown, and disinherit a rebellious son, I cherished a secret hope that he would not be able or willing to effect his menaces; and the pride of conscience encouraged me to sustain the honourable and important part which I was now acting. My spirits were raised and kept alive by the rapid motion of my journey, the new and various scenes of the continent, and the civility of Mr. Frey, a man of sense, who was not ignorant of books or the world. But after he had resigned me into Pavilliard's hands, and I was fixed in my new habitation, I had leisure to contemplate the strange and melancholy prospect before me. My first complaint arose from my ignorance of the language. In my childhood I had once studied the French grammar, and I could imperfectly understand the easy prose of a familiar subject. But when I was thus suddenly cast on a foreign land, I

found myself deprived of the use of speech and of hearing; and, during some weeks, incapable not only of enjoying the pleasures of conversation, but even of asking or answering a question in the common intercourse of life. To a home-bred Englishman every object, every custom was offensive; but the native of any country might have been disgusted with the general aspect of his lodging and entertainment. I had now exchanged my elegant apartment in Magdalen College, for a narrow, gloomy street, the most unfrequented of an unhandſome town, for an old inconvenient house, and for a small chamber ill-contrived and ill-furnished, which, on the approach of winter, instead of a companionable fire, must be warmed by the dull invisible heat of a stove. From a man I was again degraded to the dependance of a school-boy. Mr. Pavilliard managed my expences, which had been reduced to a diminutive ſtate: I received a ſmall monthly allowance for my pocket-money; and helpless and awkward as I have ever been, I no longer enjoyed the indiſpenſable comfort of a ſervant. My condition ſeemed as deſtitute of hope, as it was devoid of pleaſure: I was ſeparated for an indefinite, which appeared an infinite term from my native country; and I had loſt all connection with my catholic friends. I have ſince reflected with ſurpriſe, that as the Romiſh clergy of every part of Europe maintain a cloſe correſpondence with each other, they never attempted, by letters or meſſages, to reſcue me from the hands of the heretics, or at leaſt to confirm my zeal and conſtancy in the profeſſion of the faith. Such was my firſt introduction to Lauſanne; a place where I ſpent nearly

five years with pleaſure and profit, which I afterwards re- viſited without compulſion, and which I have finally ſelected as the moſt grateful retreat for the decline of my life.

“ But it is the peculiar felicity of youth that the moſt unpleaſing objects and events ſeldom make a deep or laſting impreſſion; it forgets the paſt, enjoys the preſent, and anticipates the future. At the flexible age of ſixteen I ſoon learned to endure, and gradually to adopt, the new forms of arbitrary manners: the real hardships of my ſituation were alienated by time. Had I been ſent abroad in a more ſplendid ſtyle, ſuch as the fortune and bounty of my father might have ſupplied, I might have returned home with the ſame ſtock of language and ſcience, which our countrymen uſually import from the continent. An exile and a priſoner as I was, their example betrayed me into ſome irregularities of wine, of play, and of idle excuſions: but I ſoon felt the impoſſibility of aſſociating with them on equal terms; and after the departure of my firſt acquaintance, I held a cold and civil correſpondence with their ſucceſſors. This ſecluſion from Engliſh ſociety was attended with the moſt ſolid benefits. In the Pays de Vaud, the French language is uſed with leſs imperfection than in moſt of the diſtant provinces of France: in Pavilliard’s family, neceſſity compelled me to liſten and to ſpeak; and if I was at firſt diſheartened by the apparent ſlowneſs, in a few months I was aſtoniſhed by the rapidity of my progreſs. My pronounciation was formed by the conſtant repetition of the ſame ſounds; the variety of words and idioms, the rules of grammar, and diſtinctions of genders, were impreſſed in my memory: eaſe and freedom

freedom were obtained by practice; correctness and elegance by labour; and before I was recalled home, French, in which I spontaneously thought, was more familiar than English to my ear, my tongue, and my pen. The first effect of this opening knowledge was the revival of my love of reading, which had been chilled at Oxford; and I soon turned over, without much choice, almost all the French books in my tutor's library. Even these amusements were productive of real advantage: my taste and judgment were now somewhat ripen. I was introduced to a new mode of style and literature: by the comparison of manners and opinions, my views were enlarged, my prejudices were corrected, and a copious voluntary abstract of the *Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire* by le Sueur, may be placed in a middle line between my childish and my manly studies. As soon as I was able to converse with the natives, I began to feel some satisfaction in their company: my awkward timidity was polished and emboldened; and I frequented, for the first time, assemblies of men and women. The acquaintance of the Pavilliards prepared me by degrees for more elegant society. I was received with kindness and indulgence in the best families of Lausanne; and it was in one of these that I formed an intimate and lasting connection with Mr. Deyverdun, a young man of an amiable temper and excellent understanding. In the arts of fencing and dancing, small indeed was my proficiency; and some months were idly wasted in the riding-school. My unfitness to bodily exercise reconciled me to a sedentary life, and the horse, the favourite of my coun-

trymen, never contributed to the pleasures of my youth.

"My obligations to the lessons of Mr. Pavilliard, gratitude will not suffer me to forget: he was endowed with a clear head and a warm heart; his innate benevolence had assuaged the spirit of the church; he was rational, because he was moderate: in the course of his studies he had acquired a just though superficial knowledge of most branches of literature; by long practice, he was skilled in the arts of teaching; and he laboured with assiduous patience to know the character, gain the affection, and open the mind of his English pupil. As soon as we began to understand each other, he gently led me, from a blind and undistinguishing love of reading, into the path of instruction. I contented with pleasure that a portion of the morning-hours should be consecrated to a plan of modern history and geography, and to the critical perusal of the French and Latin classics; and at each step I felt myself invigorated by the habits of application and method. His prudence repressed and dissembled some youthful sallies; and as soon as I was confirmed in the habits of industry and temperance, he gave the reins into my own hands. His favourable report of my behaviour and progress gradually obtained some latitude of action and exence; and he wished to alleviate the hardships of my lodging and entertainment. The principles of philosophy were associated with the examples of taste; and by a singular chance, the book, as well as the man, which contributed the most effectually to my education, has a stronger claim on my gratitude than on my admiration. Mr. De

D. 3. Croufay

Croufaz, the adversary of Bayle and Pope, is not distinguished by lively fancy or profound reflection; and even in his own country, at the end of a few years, his name and writings are almost obliterated. But his philosophy had been formed in the school of Locke, his divinity in that of Limborch and Le Clerc; in a long and laborious life, several generations of pupils were taught to think, and even to write; his lessons rescued the academy of Lausanne from Calvinistic prejudice; and he had the rare merit of diffusing a more liberal spirit among the clergy and people of the Pays de Vaud. His system of logic, which in the last editions has swelled to six tedious and prolix volumes, may be praised as a clear and methodical abridgment of the art of reasoning, from our simple ideas to the most complex operations of the human understanding. This system I studied, and meditated, and abstracted, till I have obtained the free command of an universal instrument, which I soon presumed to exercise on my catholic opinions. Pavilliard was not unmindful that his first task, his most important duty, was to reclaim me from the errors of popery. The intermixture of sects has rendered the Swiss clergy acute and learned on the topics of controversy; and I have some of his letters in which he celebrates the dexterity of his attack, and my gradual concessions, after a firm and well-managed defence. I was willing, and I am now willing, to allow him a handsome share of the honour of my conversion; yet I must observe, that it was principally effected by my private reflections; and I still remember my solitary transport at the discovery of a philosophical argument against the doctrine of

transubstantiation: that the text of scripture, which seems to inculcate the real presence, is attested only by a single sense—our sight; while the real presence itself is disproved by three of our senses—the sight, the touch, and the taste. The various articles of the Romish creed disappeared like a dream; and after a full conviction, on Christmas-day 1754, I received the sacrament in the church of Lausanne. It was here that I suspended my religious inquiries, acquiescing with implicit belief in the tenets and mysteries, which are adopted by the general consent of catholics and protestants.

“Such, from my arrival at Lausanne, during the first eighteen or twenty months (July 1753—March 1755), were my useful studies, the foundation of all my future improvements. But every man who rises above the common level has received two educations: the first from his teachers; the second, more personal and important, from himself. He will not, like the fanatics of the last age, define the moment of grace; but he cannot forget the æra of his life, in which his mind has expanded to its proper form and dimensions. My worthy tutor had the good sense and modesty to discern how far he could be useful: as soon as he felt that I advanced beyond his speed and measure, he wisely left me to my genius; and the hours of lesson were soon lost in the voluntary labour of the whole morning, and sometimes of the whole day. The desire of prolonging my time, gradually confirmed the salutary habit of early rising; to which I have always adhered, with some regard to seasons and situations: but it is happy for my eyes and my health, that my temperate ardour has never
— been

been seduced to trespass on the hours of the night. During the last three years of my residence at Lausanne, I may assume the merit of serious and solid application; but I am tempted to distinguish the last eight months of the year 1755, as the period of the most extraordinary diligence and rapid progress. In my French and Latin translations I adopted an excellent method, which, from my own success, I would recommend to the imitation of students. I chose some classic writer, such as Cicero and Vertot, the most approved for purity and elegance of style. I translated, for instance, an epistle of Cicero into French; and after throwing it aside, till the words and phrases were obliterated from my memory, I re-translated my French into such Latin as I could find; and then compared each sentence of my imperfect version, with the ease, the grace, the propriety of the Roman orator. A similar experiment was made on several pages of the *Revolutions* of Vertot; I turned them into Latin, returned them after a sufficient interval into my own French, and again scrutinized the resemblance and dissimilitude of the copy and the original. By degrees I was less ashamed, by degrees I was more satisfied with myself; and I persevered in the practice of these double translations, which filled several books, till I had acquired the knowledge of both idioms, and the command at least of a correct style. This useful exercise of writing was accompanied and succeeded by the more pleasing occupation of reading the best authors. The perusal of the Roman classics was at once my exercise and reward. Dr. Middleton's *History*, which I then appreciated above its true value, na-

turally directed me to the writings of Cicero. The most perfect editions, that of Olivet, which may adorn the shelves of the rich, that of Ernesti, which should lie on the table of the learned, were not in my power. For the familiar epistles I used the text and English commentary of bishop Ross: but my general edition was that of Verburgius, published at Amsterdam in two large volumes in folio, with an indifferent choice of various notes. I read with application and pleasure, all the epistles, all the orations, and the most important treatises of rhetoric and philosophy; and as I read, I applauded the observation of Quintilian, that every student may judge of his own proficiency, by the satisfaction which he receives from the Roman orator. I tasted the beauties of language, I breathed the spirit of freedom, and I imbibed from his precepts and examples the public and private sense of a man. Cicero in Latin, and Xenophon in Greek, are indeed the two ancients whom I would first propose to a liberal scholar; not only for the merit of their style and sentiments, but for the admirable lessons, which may be applied almost to every situation of public and private life. Cicero's *Epistles* may in particular afford the models of every form of correspondence, from the careless effusions of tenderness and friendship, to the well-guarded declaration of discreet and dignified resentment. After finishing this great author, a library of eloquence and reason, I formed a more extensive plan of reviewing the Latin classics, under the four divisions of, 1. historians, 2. poets, 3. orators, and 4. philosophers, in a chronological series, from the days of Plautus and Sallust, to the decline of the language and empire

Rome; and this plan, in the last twenty-seven months of my residence at Lausanne (January 1756—April 1758), I *nearly* accomplished. Nor was this review, however rapid, either hasty or superficial. I indulged myself in a second and even a third perusal of Terence, Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, &c. and studied to imbibe the sense and spirit most congenial to my own. I never suffered a difficult or corrupt passage to escape, till I had viewed it in every light of which it was susceptible: though often disappointed, I always consulted the most learned or ingenious commentators, Torrentius and Dacier on Horace, Catrou and Servius on Virgil, Lipsius on Tacitus, Meziriac on Ovid, &c.; and in the ardour of my inquiries, I embraced a large circle of historical and critical erudition. My abstracts of each book were made in the French language: my observations often branched into particular essays; and I can still read, without contempt, a dissertation of eight folio pages on eight lines (287—294) of the fourth Georgic of Virgil. Mr. Deyverdun, my friend, whose name will be frequently repeated, had joined with equal zeal, though not with equal perseverance, in the same undertaking. To him every thought, every composition, was instantly communicated; with him I enjoyed the benefits of a free conversation on the topics of our common studies.

“ But it is scarcely possible for a mind endowed with any active curiosity to be long conversant with the Latin classics, without aspiring to know the Greek originals, whom they celebrate as their masters, and of whom they so warmly recommend the study and imitation;

—*Vos exemplaria Græcæ
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.*

“ It was now that I regretted the early years which had been wasted in sickness or idleness, or mere idle reading; that I condemned the perverse method of our schoolmasters, who, by first teaching the mother-language, might descend with so much ease and perspicuity to the origin and etymology of a derivative idiom. In the nineteenth year of my age I determined to supply this defect; and the lessons of Pavilliard again contributed to smooth the entrance of the way, the Greek alphabet, the grammar, and the pronunciation according to the French accent. At my earnest request we presumed to open the Iliad; and I had the pleasure of beholding, though darkly and through a glass, the true image of Homer, whom I had long since admired in an English dress. After my tutor had left me to myself, I worked my way through about half the Iliad, and afterwards interpreted alone a large portion of Xenophon and Herodotus. But my ardour, destitute of aid and emulation, was gradually cooled, and, from the barren task of searching words in a lexicon, I withdrew to the free and familiar conversation of Virgil and Tacitus. Yet in my residence at Lausanne I had laid a solid foundation, which enabled me, in a more propitious season, to prosecute the study of Grecian literature.

“ From a blind idea of the usefulness of such abstract science, my father had been desirous, and even pressing, that I should devote some time to the mathematics; nor could I refuse to comply with so reasonable a wish. During two winters I attended the private lectures of
monseigneur.

monfieur de Traytorrens, who explained the elements of algebra and geometry, as far as the conic sections of the marquis de l'Hôpital, and appeared fatisfied with my diligence and improvement. But as my childifh propensity for numbers and calculations was totally extinct, I was content to receive the paffive impreffion of my professor's lectures, without any active exercife of my own powers. As foon as I understood the principles, I relinquifhed for ever the purfuit of the mathematics; nor can I lament that I defifted, before my mind was hardened by the habit of rigid demonstration, fo destructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which muft, however, determine the actions and opinions of our lives. I liftened with more pleafure to the propofal of ftudying the law of nature and nations, which was taught in the academy of Lausanne by Mr. Vicat, a professor of fome learning and reputation. But; inftead of attending his public or private courfe, I preferred in my clofet the lessons of his mafters, and my own reason. Without being difgusted by Grotius or Puffendorf, I ftudied in their writings the duties of a man, the rights of a citizen, the theory of juftice (it is, alas! a theory), and the laws of peace or war, which have had fome influence on the practice of modern Europe. My fatigues were alleviated by the good fenfe of their commentator Barbeyrac. Locke's *Treatife of Government* inftructed me in the knowledge of whig principles, which are rather founded in reason than experience; but my delight was in the frequent perufal of Montesquieu, whole energy of ftyle, and boldnefs of hypothesis, were powerful to awaken and ftimulate the genius of the age. The

logic of De Croufaz had prepared me to engage with his mafter Locke, and his antagonist Bayle; of whom the former may be ufed as a bridle, and the latter applied as a fpur, to the curiofity of a young philofopher. According to the nature of their refpective works, the fchools of argument and objection, I carefully went through the *Essay on Human Understanding*, and occafionally confulted the moft interefting articles of the *Philofophic Dictionary*. In the infancy of my reason I turned over, as an idle amufement, the moft ferious and important treatife: in its maturity, the moft trifling performance could not exercife my tafte or judgment; and more than once I have been led by a novel into a deep and inftructive train of thinking. But I cannot forbear to mention three particular books, fince they may have remotely contributed to form the hiftorian of the Roman empire. 1. From the *Provincial Letters of Pascal*, which almoft every year I have perufed with new pleafure, I learned to manage the weapon of grave and temperate irony, even on fubjects of ecclefiaftical folemnity. 2. The *Life of Julian*, by the Abbé de la Bleterie, firft introduced me to the man and the times; and I fhould be glad to recover my firft effay on the truth of the miracle which ftopped the re-building of the Temple of Jerufalem. 3. In Giannone's *Civil Hiftory of Naples*, I obferved with a critical eye the progress and abufe of facerdotal power, and the revolutions of Italy in the darker ages. This various reading, which I now conducted with difcretion, was digefted, according to the precept and model of Mr. Locke, into a large common-place book; a practice, however, which I do not ftrenuoufly

ously recommend. The action of the pen will doubtless imprint an idea on the mind as well as on the paper: but I much question whether the benefits of this laborious method are adequate to the waste of

time; and I must agree with Dr. Johnson, (Idler, No. 74.) 'that
' what is twice read, is commonly
' better remembered, than what is
' transcribed."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

SKETCH of the MANNERS of the INHABITANTS of PARAMARIBO, the Capital of SURINAM, and of the PLANTERS on the Estates in the Country.

[From the first and second Volumes of CAPTAIN STEDMAN'S NARRATIVE of a FIVE YEARS' EXPEDITION against the REVOLTED NEGROES of SURINAM.]

PARAMARIBO is a very lively place, the streets being generally crowded with planters, sailors, soldiers, Jews, Indians, and negroes, while the river is covered with canoes, barges, &c. constantly passing and repassing, like the wherries on the Thames, often accompanied with bands of music; the shipping also in the road, adorned with their different flags, guns firing, &c.; not to mention the many groupes of boys and girls playing in the water, altogether form a pleasing appearance; and such gaiety and variety of objects serve, in some measure, to compensate for the many inconveniences of the climate. Their carriages and dress are truly magnificent; silk embroidery, Genoa velvets, diamonds, gold and silver lace, being daily worn, and even the masters of trading ships, appear with buttons and buckles of solid gold. They are equally expensive at their tables, where every thing that can be called delicate is produced at any price, and served up in plate and china of the newest fashion, and most exquisite workmanship. But nothing displays the luxury of the inhabitants of Surinam, more than the

number of slaves by whom they are attended, often twenty or thirty in one family. White servants are seldom to be met with in this colony.

“The current money, as I have already stated, are stamped cards of different value, from five shillings to fifty pounds: gold and silver is so scarce, that the exchange premium for specie is often above ten per cent. A base Dantzic coin, called a bit, value something less than sixpence, is also current in Surinam. English and Portuguese coin are sometimes met with, but mostly used as ornaments by the Mulatto, Samboe, Quaderoon, and negro girls. The negro slaves never receive any paper money, for as they cannot read, they do not understand its value: besides, in their hands, it would be liable to many accidents, from fire or children, and particularly from the rats, when it becomes a little greasy.

“This town is well supplied with provisions, viz. butchers' meat, fowls, fish, and venison. Vegetables, in particular, the country abounds with: besides the luxuries peculiar to this climate, they import whatever Europe, Africa, and Asia, can

can afford. Provisions, however, are excessively dear in general, especially those imported, which are mostly sold by the Jews and masters of ships. The first enjoy extraordinary privileges in this colony; the latter erect temporary warehouses for the purpose of trade, during the time their ships are loading with the productions of the climate. Wheat flour is sold from four-pence to one shilling per pound; butter two shillings; butchers' meat never under one shilling, and often at one shilling and six-pence; ducks and fowls from three to four shillings a couple. A single turkey has cost me one guinea and a half; eggs are sold at the rate of five, and European potatoes twelve for six-pence. Wine three shillings a bottle. Jamaica rum a crown a gallon. Fish and vegetables are cheap, and fruit almost for nothing. My black boy, Quaco, has often brought me forty oranges for six-pence, and half a dozen pine-apples for the same price; while limes and tamarinds may be had for gathering. House rent is excessively high. A small room unfurnished costs three or four guineas a month; and a house with two apartments on a floor lets for one hundred guineas yearly. Shoes sell for half-a-guinea a pair; and a suit of cloaths, with silver binding, has cost me twenty guineas."

"The whites or Europeans in this colony, and who reside principally in the town, are computed at five thousand, including the garrison. The negro slaves at about seventy-five thousand. The military mount guard every morning at eight o'clock, in the fortress; but the safety of the town is entrusted to the burghers or militia, who keep watch during the night. At six

o'clock in the morning, and the same hour in the evening, the morning and evening guns are fired by the commanding ship in the harbour; at the evening signal, all the flags are instantly lowered on board the different vessels; their bells are set a ringing, whilst the drums and fifes beat the tattoo through the town. The watch is then set, and no negro of either sex is allowed to appear in the streets or on the river, without a proper pass signed by his owner; without this he is taken up, and infallibly flogged the next morning. At ten at night, a band of black drums beat the burgher, or militia retreat, through the streets of Paramaribo.

"At this time the ladies begin to make their appearance, who are particularly fond of a *tête-à-tête* by moonlight, when they entertain with sherbet, fangaree, and wine and water; besides the most unreserved and unequivocal conversation concerning themselves, as well as the peculiar qualifications of their husbands, and the situation of their female slaves, whom they propose the acceptance of to the gentlemen they converse with, at so much per week, according to their own estimation. Sometimes, placing half a dozen of them in a row, the lady says, 'Sir, this is a *callebasse*, that is a maid, and this 'is not.' Thus are they not only unreserved in their conversation, but also profuse in their encomiums upon such gentlemen as have the honour of their instructive company, and whose person or figure meets with their approbation.

"They are also rigid disciplinarians, as the backs of their poor slaves, male and female, sufficiently testify. Thus every country has its customs, and from these customs exceptions are to be made; for I have

have known ladies in Surinam, whose delicacy and polite conversation would have graced the first circles in Europe. Besides the amusements of feasting, dancing, riding, and cards, they have a small theatre, where the inhabitants of fashion act plays for their own amusement, and that of their friends. As they are elegant in their dress, so they keep their houses extremely clean. They use the finest linen, exquisitely well washed with Castile soap; its whiteness can only be compared to mountain snow, and would make the best bleached linen in Europe appear like canvass. Their parlour floors are always scoured with sour oranges cut through the middle, which gives the house an agreeable fragrance: the negro girls, taking one half in each hand, keep singing aloud while they rub the boards. Such is the town, and such are the inhabitants of Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam; and the character will apply to the natives of all the Dutch settlements in the West Indies."

"A planter in Surinam, when he lives on his estate, (which is but seldom, as they mostly prefer the society of Paramaribo,) gets out of his hammock with the rising sun, viz. about six o'clock in the morning, when he makes his appearance under the piazza of his house; where his coffee is ready waiting for him, which he generally takes with his pipe, instead of toast and butter; and there he is attended by half a dozen of the finest young slaves, both male and female, of the plantation, to serve him; at this *sanctum sanctorum* he is next accosted by his overseer, who regularly attends every morning at his levee, and having made his bows at several yards distance, with the most profound respect informs his great-

ness, what work was done the day before; what negroes deserted, died, fell sick, recovered, were bought, or born; and, above all things, which of them neglected their work, affected sickness, or had been drunk, or absent, &c.; the prisoners are generally present, being secured by the negro-drivers, and instantly tied up to the beams of the piazza, or a tree, without so much as being heard in their own defence; when the flogging begins, with men, women, or children, without exception. The instruments of torture on these occasions are long hempen whips, that cut round at every lash, and crack like pistol-shot; during which they alternately repeat, '*Dankee, massera,*' (Thank you, master.) In the mean time, he stalks up and down with his overseer, affecting not so much as to hear their cries, till they are sufficiently mangled, when they are untied, and ordered to return to their work, without so much as a dressing.

"This ceremony being over, the dressy negro (a black surgeon) comes to make his report; who being dismissed with a hearty curse, for allowing any slaves to be sick, next makes her appearance a superannuated matron, with all the young negro children of the estate, over whom she is governess; these, being clean washed in the river, clap their hands, and cheer in chorus, when they are sent away to breakfast on a large platter of rice and plantains; and the levee ends with a low bow from the overseer, as it begun.

"His worship now saunters out in his morning dress, which consists of a pair of the finest Holland trowsers, white silk stockings, and red or yellow Morocco slippers; the neck of his shirt open, and nothing over it, a loose flowing night-gown,

gown, of the finest India chintz, excepted. On his head is a cotton night-cap, as thin as a cobweb, and over that an enormous beaver hat, that protects his meagre visage from the sun, which is already the colour of mahogany, while his whole carcase seldom weighs above eight or ten stone, being generally exhausted by the climate and dissipation.

“ Having loitered about his estate, or sometimes ridden on horseback to his fields, to view his increasing stores, he returns about eight o'clock, when, if he goes abroad, he dresses, but if not, remains just as he is. Should the first take place, having only exchanged his trowsers for a pair of thin linen or silk breeches, he sits down, and holding out one foot after the other, like a horse going to be shod, a negro boy puts on his stockings and shoes, which he also buckles, while another dresses his hair, his wig, or shaves his chin, and a third is fanning him to keep off the musquitoes. Having now shifted, he puts on a thin coat and waistcoat, all white; when, under an umbrella, carried by a black boy, he is conducted to his barge, which is in waiting for him with six or eight oars, well provided with fruit, wine, water, and tobacco, by his overseer, who no sooner has seen him depart, than he resumes the command with all the usual insolence of office. But should this prince not mean to stir from his estate, he goes to breakfast about ten o'clock, for which a table is spread in the large hall, provided with a bacon ham, hung beef, fowls, or pigeons broiled; plantains and sweet cassavas roasted; bread, butter, cheese, &c. with which he drinks strong beer, and a glass of Madeira, Rhenish, or Mozell wine,

while the cringing overseer sits at the farther end, keeping his proper distance, both being served by the most beautiful slaves that can be selected: and this is called breaking the poor gentleman's fast.

“ After this he takes a book, plays at chess or billiards, entertains himself with music, &c. till the heat of the day forces him to return into his cotton hammock, to enjoy his meridian nap, which he could no more dispense with than a Spaniard with his *siesta*, and in which he rocks to and fro, like a performer on the slack rope, till he falls asleep, without either bed or covering;—and during which time he is fanned by a couple of his black attendants, to keep him cool, &c.

“ About three o'clock he awakes by natural instinct, when, having washed and perfumed himself, he sits down to dinner, attended as at breakfast by his deputy governor and scribe pages, where nothing is wanting that the world can afford in a western climate, of meat, fowls, venison, fish, vegetables, fruits, &c. and the most exquisite wines are often squandered in profusion; after this a cup of strong coffee and a liqueur finish the repast. At six o'clock he is again waited on by his overseer, attended as in the morning by negro-drivers and prisoners, when the flogging once more having continued for some time, and the necessary orders being given for the next day's work, the assembly is dismissed, and the evening spent with weak punch, sangaree, cards, and tobacco.—His worship generally begins to yawn about ten or eleven o'clock, when he withdraws, and is undressed by his sooty pages. He then retires to rest, where he passes the night in the arms of one or other of his scribe sultanas (for he always keeps a *seraglio*)

raglio) till about six in the morning, when he again repairs to his piazza walk, where his pipe and coffee are waiting for him; and where, with the rising sun, he begins his round of dissipation, like a petty monarch, as capricious as he is despotic and despicable.

“Such absolute power, indeed, cannot fail to be peculiarly delightful to a man, who, in all probability, was in his own country, Europe, a——nothing.

“But, in this colony, this is too frequently the case, where plantations are sold upon credit, and left (by the absent proprietor) to the appraisers, who, by selling cheap, have generally an understanding with the buyer.

“These are the planters who are the pest of the colony; such as the fine gentleman just described, who, while he lives at the above rate, pays nobody, under pretence of bad crops, mortality amongst the slaves, &c. but, like an upstart rascal, massacres the negroes by double labour, ruins and pillages the estate of all its productions, which he clandestinely sells for ready money,

makes a purse, and runs away. Exceptions, however, take place in every circumstance of life; and I have known many planters in Surinam as good men as I ever would desire to be acquainted with, which I have already mentioned.

“As for the ladies, they indulge themselves just as much, by giving way to their unbounded passions, and especially to the most relentless barbarity. But while I can bear witness to the exalted virtues of such a woman as Mrs. Elizabeth Danforth, now Mrs. Godfrey, and a few more whose characters shine with treble lustre, I shall draw a veil over all the imperfections, too common to their sex in this climate. Before I drop this subject, however, I must attest, that hospitality is in no country practised with greater cordiality, or with less ceremony, a stranger being every where at home, and finding his table and his bed at whatever estate necessity or choice may occasion him to visit. This is the more to be regarded, as no inns are to be met with in the neighbourhood of any of the Surinam rivers.”

DESCRIPTION of the PERSONS, DISPOSITIONS, and CUSTOMS, of the NORTHERN INDIANS, in the Vicinity of the BRITISH SETTLEMENTS in HUDSON'S BAY.

[FROM MR. HEARNE'S JOURNEY FROM PRINCE OF WALES'S FORT, to the NORTHERN OCEAN.]

“AS to the persons of the Northern Indians, they are in general above the middle size; well-proportioned, strong, and robust, but not corpulent. They do not possess that activity of body, and liveliness of disposition, which are so commonly met with among the other tribes of Indians who in-

habit the west coast of Hudson's bay.

“Their complexion is somewhat of the copper cast, inclining rather toward a dingy brown; and their hair, like all the other tribes in India, is black, strong, and straight. Few of the men have any beard; this seldom makes its appearance till

till they are arrived at middle-age, and then is by no means equal in quantity to what is observed on the faces of the generality of Europeans; the little they have, however, is exceedingly strong and bristly. Some of them take but little pains to eradicate their beards, though it is considered as very unbecoming; and those who do, have no other method than that of pulling it out by the roots between their fingers and the edge of a blunt knife. Neither sex have any hair under their arm pits, and very little on any other part of the body, particularly the women; but on the place where nature plants the hair, I never knew them attempt to eradicate it.

“ Their features are peculiar, and different from any other tribe in those parts; for they have very low foreheads, small eyes, high cheek-bones, Roman noses, full cheeks, and in general long broad chins. Though few of either sex are exempt from this national set of features, yet nature seems to be more strict in her observance of it among the females, as they seldom vary so much as the men. Their skins are soft, smooth, and polished; and when they are dressed in clean clothing, they are as free from an offensive smell as any of the human race.

“ Every tribe of Northern Indians, as well as the copper and dog-ribbed Indians, have three or four parallel black strokes marked on each cheek; which is performed by entering an awl or needle under the skin, and, on drawing it out again, immediately rubbing powdered charcoal into the wound.

“ Their dispositions are in general morose and covetous, and they seem to be entirely unacquainted even with the name of gratitude.

They are for ever pleading poverty, even among themselves; and when they visit the factory, there is not one of them who has not a thousand wants.

“ When any real distressed objects present themselves at the Company's factory, they are always relieved with victuals, clothes, medicines, and every other necessary; *gratis*; and, in return, they instruct every one of their countrymen how to behave, in order to obtain the same charity. Thus it is very common to see both men and women come to the fort half naked, when either the severe cold in winter, or the extreme troublesome-ness of the flies in summer, make it necessary for every part to be covered. On those occasions, they are seldom at a loss for a plausible story, which they relate as the occasion of their distress, (whether real or pretended,) and never fail to interlard their history with plenty of sighs, groans, and tears, sometimes affecting to be lame, and even blind, in order to excite pity. Indeed, I know of no people who have more command of their passions on such occasions; and in this respect the women exceed the men, as I can affirm with truth I have seen some of them with one side of the face bathed in tears; while the other has exhibited a significant smile. False pretences for obtaining charity are so common among those people, and so often detected, that the governor is frequently obliged to turn a deaf ear to many who apply for relief; for if he did not, he might give away the whole of the company's goods, and by degrees all the northern tribe would make a trade of begging, instead of bringing furs, to purchase what they want. It may truly be said, that they possess a considerable degree

of deceit, and are very complete adepts in the art of flattery, which they never spare, as long as they find that it conduces to their interest, but not a moment longer. They take care always to seem attached to a new governor, and flatter his pride, by telling him that they look up to him as the father of their tribe, on whom they can safely place their dependance; and they never fail to depreciate the generosity of his predecessor, however extensive that might have been, however humane or disinterested his conduct; and if aspersing the old, and flattering the new governor, has not the desired effect in a reasonable time, they represent him as the worst of characters, and tell him to his face that he is one of the most cruel of men; that he has no feeling for the distresses of their tribe, and that many have perished for want of proper assistance (which, if it be true, is only owing to want of humanity among themselves), and then they boast of having received ten times the favours and presents from his predecessor. It is remarkable that those are most lavish in their praises, who have never either deserved or received any favours from him. In time, however, this language also ceases, and they are perfectly reconciled to the man whom they would willingly have made a fool, and say, 'he is no child, and not to be deceived by them.'

"They differ so much from the rest of mankind, that harsh uncourteous usage seems to agree better with the generality of them, particularly the lower class, than mild treatment; for if the least respect be shewn them, it makes them intolerably insolent; and though some of their leaders may be exempt from this imputation, yet there are

1796.

but few even of them who have sense enough to set a proper value on the favours and indulgences which are granted to them while they remain at the company's factories, or elsewhere within their territories. Experience has convinced me, that by keeping a northern Indian at a distance, he may be made serviceable both to himself and the company; but by giving him the least indulgence at the factory, he will grow indolent, inactive, and troublesome, and only contrive methods to tax the generosity of an European.

"The greatest part of these people never fail to defraud Europeans whenever it is in their power, and take every method to over-reach them in the way of trade. They will disguise their persons and change their names, in order to defraud them of their lawful debts, which they are sometimes permitted to contract at the company's factory; and all debts that are outstanding at the succession of a new governor are entirely lost, as they always declare, and bring plenty of witnesses to prove, that they were paid long before, but that their names had been forgotten to be struck out of the book.

"Notwithstanding all these bad qualities, they are the mildest tribe of Indians that trade at any of the company's settlements; and as the greatest part of them are never heated with liquor, are always in their senses, and never proceed to riot, or any violence beyond bad language.

"The men are in general very jealous of their wives, and I make no doubt but the same spirit reigns among the women; but they are kept so much in awe of their husbands, that the liberty of thinking is the greatest privilege they enjoy.

E

The

The presence of a northern Indian man strikes a peculiar awe into his wives, as he always assumes the same authority over them that the master of a family in Europe usually does over his domestic servants.

“ Their marriages are not attended with any ceremony; all matches are made by the parents, or next of kin. On those occasions the women seem to have no choice, but implicitly obey the will of their parents, who always endeavour to marry their daughters to those that seem most likely to be capable of maintaining them, let their age, person, or disposition, be ever so despicable.

“ The girls are always betrothed when children, but never to those of equal age, which is doubtless sound policy with people in their situation, where the existence of a family depends entirely on the abilities and industry of a single man. Children, as they justly observe, are so liable to alter in their manners and disposition, that it is impossible to judge from the actions of early youth what abilities they may possess when they arrive at puberty. For this reason the girls are often so disproportionably matched for age, that it is very common to see men of thirty-five or forty years old have young girls of no more than ten or twelve, and sometimes much younger. From the early age of eight or nine years, they are prohibited by custom from joining in the most innocent amusements with children of the opposite sex; so that, when sitting in their tents, or even when travelling, they are watched and guarded with such an unremitting attention, as cannot be exceeded by the most rigid discipline of an English boarding-school. Custom, however, and constant example, make

such uncommon restraint and confinement sit light and easy even on children, whose tender ages seem better adapted to innocent and cheerful amusement, than to be cooped up by the side of old women, and constantly employed in scraping skins, mending shoes, and learning other domestic duties, necessary in the care of a family.

“ Notwithstanding those uncommon restraints on the young girls, the conduct of their parents is by no means uniform or consistent with this plan; as they set no bounds to their conversation, but talk before them, and even to them, on the most indelicate subjects. As their ears are accustomed to such language from their earliest youth, this has by no means the same effect on them it would have on girls born and educated in a civilized country, where every care is taken to prevent their morals from being contaminated by obscene conversation. The southern Indians are still less delicate in conversation, in the presence of their children.

“ The women among the northern Indians are in general more backward than the southern Indian women; and though it is well known that neither tribe lose any time, those early connections are seldom productive of children for some years.

“ Divorces are pretty common among the northern Indians; sometimes for incontinency, but more frequently for want of what they deem necessary accomplishments, or for bad behaviour. This ceremony, in either case, consists of neither more nor less than a good drubbing, and turning the woman out of doors; telling her to go to her paramour, or relations, according to the nature of her crime.

“ But

“ Providence is very kind in causing these people to be less prolific than the inhabitants of civilized nations; it is very uncommon to see one woman have more than five or six children; and these are always born at such a distance from one another, that the youngest is generally two or three years old before another is brought into the world. Their easy births, and the ceremonies which take place on those occasions, have already been mentioned; I shall therefore only observe here, that they make no use of cradles, like the southern Indians, but only tie a lump of moss between their legs; and always carry their children at their backs, next the skin, till they are able to walk. Though their method of treating young children is in this respect the most uncouth and awkward I ever saw, there are few among them that can be called deformed, and not one in fifty who is not bow-legged.

“ There are certain periods, at which they never permit the women to abide in the same tent with their husbands. At such times, they are obliged to make a small hovel for themselves at some distance from the other tents. As this is an universal custom among all the tribes, it is also a piece of policy with the women, upon any difference with their husbands, to make that an excuse for a temporary separation; when, without any ceremony, they creep out (as is their usual custom on those occasions) under the eaves of that side of the tent at which they happen to be sitting; for at those times they are not permitted to go in or out through the door. This custom is so generally prevalent among the women, that I have frequently known some of the sulky dames

leave their husbands and tent for four or five days at a time, and repeat the farce twice or thrice in a month, while the poor men have never suspected the deceit, or if they have, delicacy on their part has not permitted them to enquire into the matter. I have known Matonabee's handsome wife, who eloped from him in May one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, live thun-nardy, as they call it, (that is alone) for several weeks together, under this pretence; but as a proof he had some suspicion, she was always carefully watched, to prevent her from giving her company to any other man. The southern Indians are also very delicate in this point; for though they do not force their wives to build a separate tent, they never lie under the same clothes during this period. It is, however, equally true, that the young girls, when those symptoms make their first appearance, generally go a little distance from the other tents for four or five days; and at their return wear a kind of veil or curtain, made of beads, for some time after, as a mark of modesty; as they are then considered marriageable, and of course are called women, though some at those periods are not more than thirteen, while others at the age of fifteen or sixteen have been reckoned as children, though apparently arrived at nearly their full growth.

“ On those occasions a remarkable piece of superstition prevails among them; women in this situation are never permitted to walk on the ice of rivers or lakes, or near the part where the men are hunting beaver, or where a fishing-net is set, for fear of averting their success. They are also prohibited at those times from partaking of the head of any animal, and even from

walking in, or crossing the track where the head of a deer, moose, beaver, and many other animals, have lately been carried, either on a sledge or on the back. To be guilty of a violation of this custom is considered as of the greatest importance; because they firmly believe that it would be a means of preventing the hunter from having an equal success in his future excursions.

“Those poor people live in such an inhospitable part of the globe, that for want of firing they are frequently obliged to eat their victuals quite raw, particularly in the summer season, while on the barren ground; but early custom and frequent necessity makes this practice so familiar to them, that so far from finding any inconvenience arise from it, or having the least dislike to it, they frequently do it by choice, and particularly in the article of fish; for when they do make a pretence of dressing it, they seldom warm it through. I have frequently made one of a party who has set round a fresh-killed deer, and assisted in picking the bones quite clean, when I thought that the raw brains and many other parts were exceedingly good; and, however strange it may appear, I must bestow the same epithet on half-raw fish: even to this day I give the preference to trout, salmon, and the brown titemeg, when they are not warm at the bone.

“The extreme poverty of those Indians in general will not permit one half of them to purchase brass kettles from the Company; so that they are still under the necessity of continuing their original mode of boiling their victuals in large upright vessels made of birch-rind. As those vessels will not admit of being exposed to the fire, the In-

dians, to supply the defect, heat stones red-hot, and put them into the water, which soon occasions it to boil; and by having a constant succession of hot stones, they may continue the process as long as it is necessary. This method of cooking, though very expeditious, is attended with one great evil: the victuals which are thus prepared are full of sand; for the stones thus heated, and then immersed in the water, are not only liable to shiver to pieces, but many of them being of a coarse gritty nature, fall to a mass of gravel in the kettle, which cannot be prevented from mixing with the victuals which are boiled in it. Besides this, they have several other methods of preparing their food, such as roasting it by a string, broiling it, &c. but these need no farther description.”

“When northern Indians are at the factory, they are very liable to steal any thing they think will be serviceable; particularly iron hoops, small bolts, spikes, carpenters’ tools, and, in short, all small pieces of iron-work which they can turn to advantage, either for their own use, or for the purpose of trading with such of their countrymen as seldom visit the Company’s settlement: among themselves, however, the crime of theft is seldom heard of.

“When two parties of those Indians meet, the ceremonies which pass between them are quite different from those made use of in Europe on similar occasions; for when they advance within twenty or thirty yards of each other, they make a full halt, and in general sit or lie down on the ground, and do not speak for some minutes. At length one of them, generally an elderly man, if any be in company, breaks silence, by acquainting the other party with every misfortune that

that has befallen him and his companions from the last time they had seen or heard of each other; and also of all deaths and other calamities that have befallen any other Indians during the same period, at least as many particulars as have come to his knowledge.

“ When the first has finished his oration, another aged orator (if there be any) belonging to the other party, relates, in like manner, all the bad news that has come to his knowledge; and both parties never fail to plead poverty and famine on all occasions. If those orations contain any news that in the least affect the other party, it is not long before some of them begin to sigh and sob, and soon after break out into a loud cry, which is generally accompanied by most of the grown persons of both sexes; and sometimes it is common to see them all, men, women, and children, in one universal howl. The young girls, in particular, are often very obliging on those occasions; for I never remember to have seen a crying match (as I called it), but the greatest part of the company assisted, although some of them had no other reason for it, but that of seeing their companions do the same. When the first transports of grief subside, they advance by degrees, and both parties mix with each other, the men always associating with the men, and the women with the women. If they have any tobacco among them, the pipes are passed round pretty freely, and the conversation soon becomes general. As they are on their first meeting acquainted with all the bad news, they have by this time nothing left but good, which in general has so far the predominance over the former, that in less than half an hour nothing but smiles

and cheerfulness are to be seen in every face; and if they be not really in want, small presents of provisions, ammunition, and other articles, often take place; sometimes merely as a gift, but more frequently by way of trying whether they cannot get a greater present.

“ They have but few diversions; the chief is shooting at a mark with bow and arrows; and another outdoor game, called Holl, which in some measure resembles playing with quoits; only it is done with short clubs, sharp at one end. They also amuse themselves at times with dancing, which is always performed in the night. It is remarkable, that those people, though a distinct nation, have never adopted any mode of dancing of their own, or any songs to which they can dance; so that when any thing of this kind is attempted, which is but seldom, they always endeavour to imitate either the dog-ribbed or southern Indians, but more commonly the former, as few of them are sufficiently acquainted either with the southern Indian language, or their manner of dancing. The dog-ribbed method is not very difficult to learn, as it only consists in lifting the feet alternately from the ground in a very quick succession, and as high as possible, without moving the body, which should be kept quite still and motionless; the hands at the same time being closed, and held close to the breast, and the head inclining forward. This diversion is always performed quite naked, except the breech-cloth, and at times that is also thrown off; and the dancers, who seldom exceed three or four at a time, always stand close to the music. The music may, by straining a point, be called both vocal and instrumental, though both are

sufficiently humble. The former is no more than a frequent repetition of the words hee, hee, hee, ho, ho, ho, &c. which, by a more or less frequent repetition, dwelling longer on one word, and shorter on another, and raising and lowering the voice, produce something like a tune, and has the desired effect. This is always accompanied by a drum or tabor; and sometimes a kind of rattle is added, made with a piece of dried buffalo skin, in shape exactly like an oil-flask, into which they put a few shot or pebbles, which, when shook about, produces music little inferior to the drum, though not so loud.

“ This mode of dancing naked is performed only by the men; for when the women are ordered to dance, they always exhibit without the tent, to music which is played within it; and though their method of dancing is perfectly decent, yet it has still less meaning and action than that of the men; for a whole heap of them crowd together in a straight line, and just shuffle themselves a little from right to left, and back again in the same line, without lifting their feet from the ground; and when the music stops, they all give a little bend of the body and knee, somewhat like an awkward curtsy, and pronounce, in a little shrill tone, h-e-e, h-o-o-o-e.

“ Beside these diversions, they have another simple in-door game, which is that of taking a bit of wood, a button, or any other small thing, and after shifting it from hand to hand several times, asking their antagonist, which hand it is in? When playing at this game, which only admits of two persons, each of them have ten, fifteen, or twenty small chips of wood, like matches; and when one of the

players guesses right, he takes one of his antagonist's sticks, and lays it to his own; and he that first gets all the sticks from the other in that manner, is said to win the game, which is generally for a single load of powder and shot, an arrow, or some other thing of inconsiderable value.

“ The women never mix in any of their diversions, not even in dancing; for when that is required of them, they always exhibit without the tent, as has been already observed; nor are they allowed to be present at a feast. Indeed, the whole course of their lives is one continued scene of drudgery, viz. carrying and hauling heavy loads, dressing skins for clothing, curing their provisions, and practising other necessary domestic duties which are required in a family, without enjoying the least diversion of any kind, or relaxation, on any occasion whatever; and except in the execution of those homely duties, in which they are always instructed from their infancy, their senses seem almost as dull and frigid as the zone they inhabit. There are indeed some exceptions to be met with among them, and I suppose it only requires indulgence and precept to make some of them as lofty and insolent as any women in the world. Though they wear their hair at full length, and never tie it up, like the southern Indians; and though not one in fifty of them is ever possessed of a comb, yet by a wonderful dexterity of the fingers, and a good deal of patience, they make shift to stroke it out so as not to leave two hairs entangled; but when their heads are infested with vermin, from which very few of either sex are free, they mutually assist each other in keeping them under.”

“ When any of the principal
northern

northern Indians die, it is generally believed that they are conjured to death, either by some of their own countrymen, by some of the Southern Indians, or by some of the Esquimaux: too frequently the suspicion falls on the latter tribe, which is the grand reason of their never being at peace with those poor and distressed people. For some time past, however, those Esquimaux who trade with our sloops at Knapp's bay, Navel's bay, and Whale cove, are in perfect peace and friendship with the northern Indians; which is entirely owing to the protection they have for several years past received from the chiefs at the Company's fort at Churchill river. But those of that tribe who live so far to the north, as not to have any intercourse with our vessels, very often fall a sacrifice to the fury and superstition of the northern Indians, who are by no means a bold or warlike people; nor can I think from experience, that they are particularly guilty of committing acts of wanton cruelty on any other part of the human race beside the Esquimaux. Their hearts, however, are in general so unsusceptible of tenderness, that they can view the deepest distress in those who are not immediately related to them, without the least emotion; not even half so much as the generality of mankind feel for the sufferings of the meanest of the brute creation. I have been present when one of them, imitating the groans, distorted features, and contracted position, of a man who had died in the most excruciating pain, put the whole company, except myself, into the most violent fit of laughter.

“The northern Indians never bury their dead, but always leave the bodies where they die, so that

they are supposed to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey; for which reason they will not eat foxes, wolves, ravens, &c. unless it be through mere necessity.

“The death of a near relation affects them so sensibly, that they rend all their clothes from their backs, and go naked, till some persons less afflicted relieve them. After the death of a father, mother, husband, wife, son, or brother, they mourn, as it may be called, for a whole year, which they measure by the moons and seasons. Those mournful periods are not distinguished by any particular dress, except that of cutting off the hair; and the ceremony consists in almost perpetually crying. Even when walking, as well as at all other intervals from sleep, eating, and conversation, they make an odd howling noise, often repeating the relationship of the deceased. But as this is in a great measure mere form and custom, some of them have a method of softening the harshness of the notes, and bringing them out in a more musical tone than that in which they sing their songs. When they reflect seriously on the loss of a good friend, however, it has such an effect on them for the present, that they give an uncommon loose to their grief. At those times they seem to sympathise (through custom) with each other's afflictions so much, that I have often seen several scores of them crying in concert, when at the same time not above half a dozen of them had any more reason for so doing than I had, unless it was to preserve the old custom, and keep the others in countenance. The women are remarkably obliging on such occasions; and as no restriction is laid on them, they may with truth be said to cry with

all their might and main ; but in common conversation they are obliged to be very moderate."

"Religion has not as yet begun to dawn among the northern Indians ; for though their conjurers do indeed sing songs, and make long speeches, to some beasts and birds of prey, as also to imaginary beings, which they say assist them in performing cures on the sick, yet they, as well as their credulous neighbours, are utterly destitute of every idea of practical religion. It is true, some of them will reprimand their youth for talking disrespectfully of particular beasts and birds ; but it is done with so little energy, as to be often retorted back in derision. Neither is this, nor their custom of not killing wolves and quiquehatches, universally observed, and those who do it can only be viewed with more pity and contempt than the others ; for I always found it arose merely from the greater degree of confidence which they had in the supernatural power of their conjurers, which induced them to believe, that talking lightly or disrespectfully of any thing they seemed to approve, would materially affect their health and happiness in this world : and I never found any of them that had the least idea of futurity. Matonabee, without one exception, was a man of as clear ideas in other matters as any that I ever saw : he was not only a perfect master of the southern Indian language, and their belief, but could tell a better story of our Saviour's birth and life, than one half of those who call themselves Christians ; yet he always declared to me, that neither he, nor any of his countrymen, had an idea of a future state. Though he had been taught to look on things of this kind as useless, his own good

sense had taught him to be an advocate for universal toleration ; and I have seen him several times assist at some of the most sacred rites performed by the southern Indians, apparently with as much zeal, as if he had given as much credit to them as they did : and with the same liberality of sentiment he would, I am persuaded, have assisted at the altar of a Christian church, or in a Jewish synagogue ; not with a view to reap any advantage himself, but merely, as he observed, to assist others who believed in such ceremonies.

"Being thus destitute of all religious control, these people have, to use Matonabee's own words, 'nothing to do but consult their own interest, inclinations, and passions ; and to pass through this world with as much ease and contentment as possible, without any hopes of reward, or painful fear of punishment, in the next.' In this state of mind they are, when in prosperity, the happiest of mortals ; for nothing but personal or family calamities can disturb their tranquillity, while misfortunes of the lesser kind sit light on them. Like most other uncivilized people, they bear bodily pain with great fortitude, though in that respect I cannot think them equal to the southern Indians.

"Old age is the greatest calamity that can befall a northern Indian ; for when he is past labour, he is neglected, and treated with great disrespect, even by his own children. They not only serve him last at meals, but generally give him the coarsest and worst of the victuals : and such of the skins as they do not chuse to wear, are made up in the clumsiest manner into clothing for their aged parents ; who, as they had, in all probability, treated their fathers and mothers with the same neglect,

neglect, in their turns, submitted patiently to their lot, even without a murmur, knowing it to be the common misfortune attendant on old age; so that they may be said to wait patiently for the melancholy hour when, being no longer capable of walking, they are to be left alone to starve, and perish for want. This, however shocking and unnatural it may appear, is nevertheless so common, that, among those people, one half at least of the aged persons of both sexes absolutely die in this miserable condition.

“The northern Indians call the *Aurora Borealis* Ed-thin; that is, Deer: and when that meteor is very bright, they say that deer is plentiful in that part of the atmosphere; but they have never yet extended their ideas so far, as to entertain hopes of tasting those celestial animals.

“Beside this silly notion, they are very superstitious with respect to the existence of several kinds of

fairies, called by them Nant-e-na, whom they frequently say they see, and who are supposed by them to inhabit the different elements of earth, sea, and air, according to their several qualities. To one or other of those fairies they usually attribute any change in their circumstances, either for the better or worse; and as they are led into this way of thinking entirely by the art of the conjurers, there is no such thing as any general mode of belief; for those jugglers differ so much from each other in their accounts of these beings, that those who believe any thing they say, have little to do but change their opinions according to the will and caprice of the conjurer, who is almost daily relating some new whim, or extraordinary event, which, he says, has been revealed to him in a dream, or by some of his favourite fairies, when in a hunting excursion.”

GENUINE ACCOUNT of the NIMIQUAS, a Nation of SOUTHERN AFRICA, intended to correct the fabulous Relations of KOLBEN.

[From the Second Volume of LE VAILLANT'S NEW TRAVELS into the interior Parts of AFRICA, by Way of the CAPE of GOOD HOPE.]

“WHEN I entered the Nimiqua country, my design was to investigate every thing that had been said of it at the Cape. How many tales had I not heard of this nation! what wonderful things concerning its manners, its arts, its treasures, &c.! The reader knows already what to think of its pretended mines of gold and silver: and the tales of its arts and its laws are on a par with those of its mines.

“Kolben is the man who has stamped authority on all these fables.

Even I, having no idea respecting these distant and unknown people, gave some credit to the dreams of this writer. In consequence, as I penetrated into the interior of Africa, and visited the Hottentots, I every where sought the traces of that flourishing agriculture, ‘which they understand incomparably better than the Europeans of the Cape, who frequently apply to them for advice on the subject.’ I was desirous of seeing some of those solemn marriage ceremonies, which a priest performs, and which he

he legitimates by sprinkling the newly united couple with his urine. I wished to visit the public prisons of these people, and be present at the sittings of their tribunals, and the decrees of their sovereign council. Perhaps I had destroyed monsters enough in Africa to aspire to the honour of being admitted into that order of knighthood; the progress and ceremonials of which the historian has described with no less pomp than minuteness.

“Alas! all these splendid chimeras vanished before me. Religion, police, laws, military tactics, orders of battle, treaties of peace, experienced generals, prisoners of war, vanquishers and vanquished, were all romances existing only in the brain of the author, and in the taverns where they had been told him by those who made him their sport.

“Thirty or forty years after the publication of his voyage, abbé de la Caille made some stay at the Cape, and thus was enabled, on some points at least, to pass judgment on the work. He spoke of it as he ought, and as it deserves. Since la Caille, other travellers have given their opinions of Kolben; and the learned now know how far they may rely on the accounts of that traveller.

“To listen to him, in all the Hottentot tribes without exception, mothers have the inhuman prejudice of resolving not to have twins, and the abominable custom of destroying one of the two. If the twins consist of two boys, or two girls, they kill the weaker of the two; if a boy and girl, the girl, he says, is the victim: and he blushes not to avow, that he has witnessed these crimes.

“Now I aver, that this charge is the blackest calumny against na-

ture that ever defiled the pen of a writer destitute of modesty. The sight of the two twins of one of the wives of the chief was sufficient to convince me of this. However, as these children might have been an exception to the general law for some particular reason, I resolved to interrogate their father respecting this pretended massacre.

“Every morning before I went a-hunting, he came to see me with his two wives, and regale himself with a pipe of tobacco and a *sopie*, or small glass, of brandy. Though his language was different from that of the Hottentots on the western coast, yet, in the two months I had spent in the country. I had learned to understand it a little, and make myself understood.

“One day as I was sitting on the grass, near my tent, with him and his two wives, I turned the conversation to the subject of the twins, and asked his wife whether, if she should have twins again, she would not destroy one of them? This question appeared to offend her: she kept silence, and fell into a deep musing. But her husband, turning towards me, and reminding me that I had several times asked him similar questions, declared with warmth, that such a sacrifice was impossible.

“Thus we see how just are the whites, who, believing Kolben, accuse the Nimiquas of a crime so abominable as to be an outrage against the common mother of all beings.

“I will here add, that the Nimiquas not only do not make away with one of their twins when they have them, but preserve and bring up all their children. This duty is so natural, that I could not have made them comprehend an idea repugnant to it.

“Beside,

“ Beside the grand and revolting charge of which I have just spoken, I had heard, respecting the Greater Nimiquas, another absurd fable, the falsehood of which I equally verified. This was not told me at the Cape, like the preceding one; I had it from Klaas Baster, who, being born near Orange River, might have known some things respecting these people with certainty.

“ According to him, the fathers, to shew what affection they bear their children, feed their eldest in a particular manner, as being of right the first object of paternal care. For this purpose, they put him in a coop, as it were: that is, they shut him up in a trench made under their hut, where, being deprived of motion, he loses little by perspiration, while they feed and cram him in a manner with milk and grease. By degrees the child fattens, and gets as round as a barrel; and when he is come to such a state as not to be able to walk, but to bend under his own weight, the parents exhibit him to the admiration of the horde; who, from that period, conceive more or less esteem and consideration for the family, accordingly as the monster has acquired more or less rotundity.

“ Such was the account given me by Klaas Baster; and though it appeared to me altogether improbable, yet the narrator related so many particulars, of which he pretended to have been an eye-witness; he had so little interest in imposing upon me; and the human mind, in uncultivated and ignorant nations, appears sometimes capable of such senseless customs and prejudices, that, notwithstanding my reluctance, I could not avoid believing it.

“ Soon, however, I was unde-

ceived. Wherever I asked any questions on the subject, I saw that the people to whom I addressed myself were ready to laugh in my face. Still, as it appeared strange to me, that a man should talk of what he had seen, when he had in reality seen nothing; as it was possible, that the fable might have some foundation, without being true in all its particulars, I was willing to convince myself what could have given rise to it; and, every time I visited a horde, I took care, under different pretences, to examine, one after another, all the huts of the kraal, and to ask which was the eldest child of the family: but I no where saw any thing that indicated either this pretended coop, or this pretended cramming.

“ It is probable that such a tale may have originated among the planters residing on the Namero, and in the neighbourhood of the country of the Nimiquas; that it was a pleasantry of some wit of the place on the leanness of these people, which indeed is extreme; and that Klaas Baster, the son of a Hottentot and a planter, having had it instilled into him in his infancy, had finished, like other romancers, by asserting that he had seen what he had only been told. And thus it is, that, throughout the whole of the colony of the Cape, the planters and even the Hottentots will assure you, that sprinkling with urine is practised in the marriage ceremonies of the savage hordes.”

“ In size, the Greater Nimiquas are taller than the other Hottentot tribes. They appear even to exceed in height the Gonaquas, though perhaps they do not in reality. Their slender bones, delicate air, thin shape, and small legs, every thing, in short, even to their cloaks, which reach from their shoulders to the

the ground, contributed to the illusion. On seeing the bodies of these men as slender as the stem of a tree, you would almost suppose them to have passed through the instrument of a wire-drawer.

“ Less deep in colour than the Caffres, they have at the same time more pleasing features than the other Hottentots, because their nose is less flattened, and their cheeks less prominent. But their cold and unmeaning countenances, their phlegmatic and immoveable air, give them a particular character by which they are distinguished. Every time I looked at them, I fancied I beheld one of those lank, long-visaged, gothic figures placed at the church-doors in certain catholic countries as if to serve as sentinels.

“ I have already said, that the women do not share this tranquil apathy. Gay, lively, sportive, and loving much to laugh, you would suppose them to be formed of different materials. It is easy enough to conceive, that a man and wife may live peaceably together, notwithstanding such difference of disposition; but it is not easy to understand or explain how such melancholy fathers can beget daughters so gay, or such sprightly women bear sons so dull.

“ The kross differs not at all in shape from the Hottentot cloak; only, as I have before remarked, it is longer. Many of them use the skins of the hyæna, the jackal, or the isatis, when they are lucky enough to procure a sufficiency to make a kross.

“ They ornament them with glass beads, and plates of copper, which they obtain from the Hottentots of the colony. I found among them a particular sort of these beads, consisting of little long

tubes of different colours, and transparent. These being unknown at the Cape, I wished to know whence the savages procured them. They informed me, that they got them by barter with other neighbouring nations, who had them only at the second hand; and that they came originally from the blacks who dwelt on the coast of the Indian sea, to the east of Africa, by whom they were fabricated.

“ If the beads of which I am speaking were stones or gems coloured by nature, it might be believed that the blacks of the west, after having reduced them to little pieces, might know how to shape and perforate them; as the savages of Guiana do with the amazonian stone. I have found coloured substances in several rocks on the west of Africa, and there may be the same on the east. But these in question are enamels; that is to say, glass, made by fusion and formed by blowing. Now as such an operation requires, not only for the melting, but also for the composition of the colours, considerable skill, implements, chemical knowledge, &c. I think it may be affirmed, without any great rashness, that the negroes of the east were never masters of such an art; and that the enamels they sell to their neighbours probably come from the Portuguese colonies of Mosambique. I have in my cabinet one of these girdles of glass beads, and I can assert that it is neither of French nor Dutch manufacture.

“ Beside the kind of decoration which I have just described, the Greater Nimiquas use another, that of daubing their hair with a thick layer of grease, mingled with the powder of different odoriferous woods. Many of them tattoo their faces, arms, and even bodies. But the

the latter custom is not so prevalent among them, as among other people more to the north. This too may be a native custom, which the same spirit of coquetry that gave rise to it in other nations may have equally prompted the Nimiquas to invent.

“As to religion, divine worship, priests, temples, and the idea of an immortal soul, they are all non-entities to them. On these subjects, like all the rest of the savages their neighbours, they have not the slightest notion.

“Nature has told them, sufficiently plain, not to do to another what they would not another should do to them; and their little associations, which are a commencement of civilization, lead them in this respect farther than many cultivated people, by enjoining them to do to others as they would be done by.”

“After what I have said of the phlegmatic temper of the Nimiquas, it will be supposed that they are by no means warlike. Yet, like the surrounding nations, they have their assagays and poisoned arrows; and like them can handle these arms with dexterity. They possess also those war-oxen, so formidable in battle, and so favourable to the cowardice or inactivity of the combatants. They have even a peculiar implement of war, which their neighbours have not. This is a large buckler, of the height of the person who bears it, behind which the Nimiqua can completely conceal himself. But, beside that his natural apathy prevents him from giving or taking offence, he is in reality pusillanimous and cowardly from the coldness of his disposition. To utter only the name of *Houzouana* before him is sufficient to make him trem-

ble. This name is that of a neighbouring nation, born brave and warlike, and distinguished from other African nations by peculiar features. I shall soon have occasion to speak of them.

“Nowwithstanding his frigidity, the Nimiqua is not insensible to pleasure. He even seeks with avidity those which, requiring but little exertion, are capable of agitating him and procuring agreeable sensations. Every evening, as soon as the fire was kindled in my camp, thirty or forty persons, men and women, would come and sit with my people in a circle round it. For some time a profound silence was maintained: at length one of them would open his mouth to relate a story, and would then speak without ceasing for hours together.

“I was not sufficiently acquainted with the language to comprehend the whole of the narration; but I understood, that it commonly related to some event to the honour of the nation, and that the unfortunate hero of the tale was almost always a hyæna, a lion, or a Houzouana. Every now and then, the orator was interrupted by the noisy sallies of the women who shook their very sides with laughter. The men, without taking any share in this extravagant mirth, reasoned gravely, and with an appearance of profound thought, on the circumstances they had just heard. In the midst of this grotesque and incongruous picture, I amused myself with the dignity of the reasoners; while the women, who saw me smile, and knew that I understood nothing of the tale, redoubled their laughter till they were out of breath.

“Their musical instruments are the same as those of the other Hot-tentots; but their dancing is very different, and resembles the temper of

of the nation. If the countenance have received from nature, features that can express our passions, the body has also its attitudes and movements that paint our temper and feelings. The dance of the Nimiqua is frigid, like himself, and so devoid of grace and hilarity, that, were it not for the extreme gaiety of the women, it might be called the dance of the dead.

“ These tortoises, to whom dancing is a fatigue, show little eagerness for any thing but wagers, games of calculation and chance, and all the sedentary amusements which require patience and reflection, of which they are more capable than they are of motion.

“ One of their favourite games is what they call the tiger and the lambs. It is nearly as follows: I say nearly, for I never understood it sufficiently to be able clearly to explain it.

“ An oblong square is traced on the ground, in which are made a certain number of holes, two or three inches deep, forming a sort of chess-table. The holes are made in ranks, side by side, but the number is not fixed. I have seen them varying from twenty to forty.

“ To play, they take a certain number of pieces of sheep's-dung, hardened by drying, proportionate to the number of holes, and which represent lambs. Some of the holes are also called lambs, and into these are put balls. The holes that remain empty, are called tigers. Perhaps they represent only different dens of the same animal, and the retreats or ambuscades which he occupies successively one after the other. The player begins by taking some lambs out of their holes, and putting them into other holes of the tiger. Perhaps this tiger has a regular movement like some

of our pieces at chess, and the art of the player consists in avoiding this movement, to save his lambs, and prevent them from being devoured. At least, when it has been necessary to place them elsewhere, I have seen him double his attention; but he sometimes brings them together or separates them in such a confused manner, that, being unable to follow the game, I have been confounded by the movements, and could comprehend nothing farther, till the moment when the stakes were taken up.

“ There is another game, which, being much more easy, because it is simply a game of chance, is on that account so much the more dangerous; for the Nimiquas, fond of it to distraction, frequently risk, in playing at it, their herds and all they possess. It considerably resembles our hustle-cap. The seed of the mimosa of the country is a sort of bean, which constitutes the principle food of the giraffe. They take a certain number of these seeds, engrave some mark on one of their sides, which answers the same purpose to them that the head or the tail of a piece of money does to our gamblers, and, after they have hustled them some time between their two hands, they throw them on the ground, when they have nothing to do but to count whether the marked or unmarked sides uppermost are most numerous.

“ This game, contrived equally to please the indolent, because it does not fatigue them, and the stupid, because it requires no capacity of thought, wonderfully delighted my Hottentots. They soon gave into it with such ardour, that they did nothing else from morning to night; and many of them, after having lost all they possessed, staked, as

as their last resource, the allowance of tobacco and brandy that they were to receive the succeeding days.

“ Nothing now was left for them but to rob me; and I had reason to fear they would do so. To cut off the temptation, I re-established an equality of fortune among them, by restoring to each what he had lost, aware that the sole hope of regaining this makes gamblers; and I had then no need of proclamations to prevent in future such disorder in my camp.

“ Several Nimiquas had accompanied me from the former horde to this; they appeared even to take pleasure in being with me; but, the moment my people were prohibited from playing with them, they no longer found my camp so agreeable, and came to announce to me their departure.

“ Nevertheless, as they had every reason to be satisfied with my conduct towards them, they expressed, on quitting me, great friendship and attachment; and, as I had just purchased some oxen for my waggon, they even offered to take them under their care, and deliver them to Swanepoel at my camp on the Orange River. This offer I accepted. In return, I made them a few presents; I entrusted them with my cattle, after having marked them; and they went away satisfied.

“ Scarcely had they quitted me, when one of my Hottentots came to ask a favour of me. He was de-

sirous of making one of the Nimiquas of the horde a present of a fine cow. He had already something towards paying for her, which he had gained at play: but he had not enough, and requested me to advance him, in part of his wages, a little hard-ware, that he might have it in his power to conclude his bargain.

“ A gift of such consequence implied some great service received. Before I assented to his request, I would know what had given rise to it; and I found that the cow was not a present, but an article of barter. My Hottentot was in love with the daughter of the Nimiqua; and, to obtain her, he had offered him a cow, which the Nimiqua had consented to accept.

“ In this manner are marriages made in all the African nations; and such was originally the custom throughout the world, before the imagination of poets, and the policy of civilized societies, had substituted in the stead of love a representative, who, under the name of Hymen, claiming alone the right of uniting the sexes, contributes but too often to disturb and deprave their union. Among savages there is no contract, no witnesses, no ceremony. A man and woman please each other; they live together; and this constitutes them husband and wife. If the woman have parents, she is considered as their property, and of course they must either give or sell her.”

PICTURE of the HOUZOUANAS, the probable original Stem of the various Tribes of HOTTENTOTS.

[From the Third Volume of the same Work.]

“THE Houzouanas are of low stature; and a person five feet four inches in height is accounted among them very tall; but in their little bodies, perfectly well proportioned, are united, with surprising strength and agility, a certain air of assurance, boldness, and haughtiness, which awes the beholder, and with which I was greatly pleased. Of all the savage races, I have seen none that appeared to be endowed with so active a mind, and so hardy a constitution.

“Their head, though it exhibits the principal characteristics of that of the Hottentot, is, however, rounder towards the chin. They are also not so black in complexion; but have the lead colour of the Malays, distinguished at the Cape by the name of *bouguinée*. Their hair, more woolly, is so short that I imagined at first their heads to have been shaved. The nose too is still flatter than that of the Hottentots; or, rather, they seem altogether destitute of a nose; what they have consisting only of two broad nostrils, which project at most but five or six lines. Accordingly, mine being the only one in the company formed after the European manner, I appeared in their eyes as a being disfigured by nature. They could not be reconciled to this difference, which they considered as a monstrous deformity; and, during the first days of my residence among them, I saw their eyes continually fixed on my countenance, with an air of astonishment truly laughable.

“From this conformation of the nose, a Houzouana, when seen in

profile, is the reverse of handsome, and considerably resembles an ape. When beheld in front, he presents, on the first view, an extraordinary appearance, as half the face seems to be fore-head. The features, however, are so expressive, and the eyes so large and lively, that, notwithstanding this singularity of look, the countenance is tolerably agreeable.

“As the heat of the climate in which he lives renders clothing unnecessary, he continues during the whole year almost entirely naked, having no other covering than a very small jackal-skin fastened round his loins by two thongs, the extremities of which hang down to his knees. Hardened by this constant habit of nakedness, he becomes so insensible to the variations of the atmosphere, that, when he removes from the burning sands of the level country to the snow and hoar-frost of his mountains, he seems indifferent to and not even to feel the cold.

“His hut in no-wise resembles that of the Hottentot. It appears as if cut vertically through the middle; so that the hut of a Hottentot would make two of those of the Houzouanas. During their emigrations, they leave them standing, in order that, if any other horde of the same nation pass that way, they may make use of them. When on a journey, they have nothing to repose on but a mat suspended from two sticks, and placed in an inclined position. They often even sleep on the bare ground. A projecting rock is then sufficient

to shelter them; for every thing is suited to a people whose constitutions are proof against the severest fatigue. If, however, they stop any where to sojourn for a while, and find materials proper for constructing huts, they then form a kraal; but they abandon it on their departure, as is the case with all the huts which they erect.

“ This custom of labouring for others of their tribe announces a social character and a benevolent disposition. They are, indeed, not only affectionate husbands and good fathers, but excellent companions. When they inhabit a kraal, there is no such thing among them as private property; whatever they possess is in common. If two hordes of the same nation meet, the reception is on both sides friendly; they afford each other mutual protection, and confer reciprocal obligations. In short, they treat one another as brethren, though perhaps they are perfect strangers, and have never seen each other before.

“ Active and nimble by nature, the Houzouana considers it as amusement to climb mountains and the most elevated peaks; and their skill in this respect was very advantageous to me. The rivulet near which I encamped had a coppery taste and a nauseous smell, which rendered it impossible for me to drink the water. My cattle, accustomed to the bad water of the country, were satisfied with it: but I was afraid that it might injure my people; and I would, on that account, not permit them to use it. The Houzouanas had no milk to give me, as they possessed only a few wretched cows which they had plundered. Having asked them if they knew of any good spring in the neighbourhood, to which I could send my company to procure

1796.

a supply of water, they set out themselves in an instant, without making me a reply, clambered up their mountains, and in less than two hours brought back all my leather bottles and vessels full of excellent water.

“ During the whole time of my residence on the rivulet, they rendered me the same service, uniformly displaying the same zeal and the same readiness. One of these expeditions would have employed my Hottentots a whole day.

“ When on a journey, scarcity of water gives them no uneasiness, even in the middle of a desert. By a particular art they can discover water that is concealed in the bowels of the earth; and their instinct, in this point, is even superior to that of the other Africans. Animals, in like cases of distress, find water also; but it is only by the smell. There must be a current of air to convey to them the exhalation which rises from it; and consequently they must be to the windward. While I resided in the desert, during my first journey, my savages had shown more than once the same faculty; and I myself acquired it also from their instruction, as I have mentioned in my narrative.

“ The Houzouana, more expert, employs only his sight. He throws himself flat on the ground, takes a distant view, and, if the space which he traverses with his eye conceals any subterranean spring, he rises and points with his finger to the spot where it is to be found. The only thing by which he discovers it is that ethereal and subtle exhalation which evaporates from every current of water, when not sunk to too great a depth.

“ With regard to pools and other collections formed by the rain,

f

rain,

rain, as their evaporation is more sensible, they are discoverable even when hid by an eminence or a hill; and the vapour of streams, such as rivers or rivulets, being still more abundant, is so distinctly marked by it, that their course and even all their sinuosities may be traced.

“ I endeavoured to learn this art of the Houzouanas, during the time I resided amongst them. I followed their example, and practised their lessons; and was at length able to make similar discoveries, and with as much certainty. My talent, however, was far from being so extensive as theirs; for, owing either to the natural weakness of my sight or the want of experience, I could distinguish water at no greater distance than three hundred paces, while they could perceive it at a distance much more considerable.

“ The only arms of the Houzouanas are bows and arrows. The arrows, which are very short, are carried on the shoulder in a quiver, about eight inches in length, and four in diameter, made of the bark of the aloe, and covered with the skin of a large species of lizard, which these wanderers find in all their rivers, particularly on the banks of Orange and Fish River.

“ Obligated to maintain a numerous troop, and being desirous that the whole horde should participate in my game, of which I procured abundance, I went out daily to the chace, always accompanied by a great number of the Houzouanas. If I hunted in the mountains, I climbed the rocks with them. In the plain I used one of my horses; but, whether they followed me or were employed in driving towards me the zebras and antelopes, they showed themselves indefatigable;

and, however fast I rode, I always found them keep pace with me.

“ My people, prejudiced against this nation, were filled with alarm whenever they saw me thus occupied. Every report of my gun made them tremble. They continually imagined that the Houzouanas were in the act of assassinating me, and that they should afterwards experience themselves the same fate; and they never beheld me return to my camp without testifying their joy, considering me as a man escaped from death.

“ For myself, being daily employed in rendering them services, and seeing these savages, on their part, ever ready to oblige me, I laughed at such vain terrors. In my way of judging, I had nothing to apprehend from a people who gained so much by my presence, and who would, consequently, have been considerable losers by my death.

“ During the long excursions which we made together, they in no instance belied their character. In many respects they appeared to resemble the Arabs, who, being also wanderers, and like them brave and addicted to rapine, adhere with unalterable fidelity to their engagements, and defend, even to the last drop of their blood, the traveller who civilly purchases their services, and puts himself under their protection.

“ If my plan of traversing from south to north the whole of Africa was at all practicable, I repeat it, it could have been accomplished only with the Houzouanas. I am convinced that fifty men of this temperate, brave, and indefatigable nation would have been sufficient to enable me to carry it into execution; and I shall always regret

that

“ Though the Houzouanas are wanderers in their country, and spend the greater part of the year in emigrations and distant excursions, they inhabit an immense district, of which, indeed, they are almost the sole inhabitants, and from which, in my opinion, no nation would be able to expel them.

“ Nothing filled them with real astonishment but my fire-arms. During the whole time they were with me, these were the subjects of their attention and discourse. But it is to be observed, I had endeavoured to inspire them with the
F 2 greatest

greatest terror by displaying their effects. I never suffered them to touch my fuses, and I was particularly careful not to show them the mode of using them. When once they had imbibed the desire of possessing them, perhaps it would not be long before they would contrive means of procuring them; and then how dangerous would be these mountaineers to the plantations, and even to the Cape itself; since, secure from attack in their mountains, and indefatigable in their expeditions, their nocturnal and unexpected attacks render them already irresistible enemies! Often have I rejoiced that the nation was one of the poorest of Africa; and that, being destitute of every thing, it had nothing to barter by way of trade. But for this, such of the colonists who follow the occupa-

tion of traversing the deserts, would perhaps have penetrated as far as these people; perhaps would have supplied them with powder and fire-arms, and certainly would have instilled into them the desire of procuring them; and who can tell to what this desire would have led!

“ Yet these formidable people inspired me with more love and esteem than any other tribe in Africa. With them I would have undertaken without fear to traverse the whole of that quarter of the globe, had my good fortune permitted me to know them sooner: and if ever circumstances allow me to resume the project, which it has been so painful to me to relinquish, they are the only ones that shall be my companions in the enterprise, and to them alone will I direct my steps without delay.”

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE HISTORICAL CHARACTERS OF SHAKSPEARE, intended to elucidate the Causes why they are so peculiarly impressive.

[From a Volume of ESSAYS, by a SOCIETY of GENTLEMEN at EXETER.]

“OTHER dramatic poets deal in *generals*, Shakspeare in *individuals*. Other poets treat of kings, queens, and heroes, in the *abstract*, he *particularizes* them. Theirs are merely kings, queens, and heroes, all of the same nature, marked with the same family features, and ‘inveterate likenesses’ to each other. But his are Henrys and Richards, Margarets and Catharines, Warwicks and Hotspurs—all men and women, discriminated from each other, and infinitely diversified. This discrimination is commonly effected by exhibiting some marking feature, peculiar anecdote, or minute circumstance, appropriate to the character represented, in appearance casually introduced, but which, if I may be allowed the expression, identifies and realizes it. When Edward tells the famous Warwick that he would

—— ‘Wind his hand about his coal-black hair’—

Hen. 6, 3d part, A. 5. S. 1.

the fable locks of the ‘proud setter’ up and puller down of kings,’ present themselves immediately to our view. ‘Tis said of Hotspur, that

—— ‘by his light

‘Did all the chivalry of England move

‘To do brave acts: he was indeed the
‘glass,

‘Whereto the noble youth did dress themselves.

‘He had no legs that practised not his gait:

‘And, speaking thick, which nature made his
‘blemish,

‘Became the accents of the valiant.’

Hen. 4th, 2d part, A. 2, S. 6.

Who, after reading these lines, can entertain a doubt, but that the gallant Percy had a ‘twang of that ‘north-country burr,’ for which the county, from whence he was to have derived his hereditary title, is remarkable to this present day.

“Such little traits bring the personages immediately before our eyes; nor would it be an easy matter to persuade us, that the representations were untrue. By similar means Homer impresses on our minds the idea of his heroes’ reality. They are not, like a modern regiment, clothed in the same uniform; nor appear to be of one family, like Virgil’s Gyas and Cloanthus; whom he characterises, with great frugality of diction, by one and the same epithet; but they are kept distinct by their appearance, habit, and manners. One is remarkable for height of stature, another for the breadth of his shoulders; one for the elegance, another for the rusticity of his apparel; one adopts a peculiar attitude in haranguing a public audience, another strikes us with the

grace or deformity of his person. The colour of the hair, the device of a shield, or beauty of the crest, and a hundred other minutiae, mark and diversify his characters.

“He resembles our bard likewise in giving, occasionally, some little characteristic trait or anecdote, generally communicated in familiar conversation, not always indeed essential to the story, but which, from that very circumstance, is often more interesting. When Diomedes starts aside from the natural tenor of his discourse to boast of his horse’s pedigree or of his own; or when Nestor as unseasonably expatiates on his former exploits, we, at once, become acquainted with them. In such kind of manners-painting conversation (particularly striking in the latter part of the *Odyssey*) we lose sight of the poet. It seems to be the genuine effusion of nature, and its inartificial appearance strengthens the deception.

“Shakspeare never studied Homer, but was as deeply read as the Grecian bard in the page of nature. In the familiar and confidential conversation occasionally held by his characters, we catch their minds, as if by surprize, in an undress; we detect their peculiar habits, and feel, like confidants in an intrigue, a satisfaction in having those secret traits communicated to us.

“Who, for instance, can doubt that the ‘proud nothern lord Clifford of Cumberland,’ exercised his baronial privilege of swearing, uncontrouled, to an eminent degree, when we read Warwick’s and Richard’s scoffing addresses to him as he lay expiring on the field of battle?

Warwick. ‘They mock thee, Clifford,
‘Sweet as thou was wont.’

Richard. ‘What, not an oath! nay, then
‘the world goes hard
‘When Clifford cannot spare his friends an
‘oath—
‘I know *by that* he’s dead.’

Hen. 6th, 3d part, A. 2. S. 9.

“If we suppose such representations are merely drawn from images, formed in his creative mind, still they live to us; and, through his happy mode of introduction, we become as well acquainted with them as with our own cotemporaries. I am, however, inclined to suspect, that Shakspeare, where he does not follow the beaten path of history, drew his characters and incidents from traditionary stories and family anecdotes;—sometimes, probably, from preceding dramas in which they were preserved, and other short-lived publications that have long since perished in the tide of time.

“The reflexion thrown out by Surrey to cardinal Wolsey, from its being so circumstantial in point of time and description of person, appears to have been founded on some well-known story in Shakspeare’s time.

‘I’ll startle you’ [exclaims the intemperate peer,]

‘Worse than the *sacring bell*, when the *brown*
‘wench

‘Lay kissing in your arms, lord Cardinal.’

Hen. 8th, A. 3d, S. 5.

It may be noticed, however, that Wolsey was particularly odious to the nobility; and his cotemporary Skelton, the fashionable satyrist of the day, remarks of him, in a rhyme, to which Devonshire-men only can do justice in the pronunciation, that

‘He regardeth lords

‘No more than pottherdes.’

And the story possibly was invented, by means of those powerful enemies. Yet it must not be disguised.

guised that this 'lord Cardinal' was notorious for his incontinency: and the laureat, in numbers no less sublime than those already cited, and we may suspect equally true, ironically observes, that

'To kepe his fleshe chaste
'In Lent for a repaste,
'He eateth capons stewed,
'Fesant and partridge mewed,
'Hennes, chickens and pigges.'

He concludes his invectives with this affecting expostulation:

'Spareth neither maide ne wyfe—
'Is this a *posse's* lyfe?'

We cannot but smile at this wretched doggrel of Skelton; yet there is little doubt, but that it was preferred by our illustrious defender of the faith, and his obsequious courtiers, to the genuine humour and characteristic rhymes of Chaucer.

"I once thought, likewise, that the more creditable anecdote of Cranmer, given by Hen. 8th, was merely a traditionary story.

'The common voice, I see, is verified
'Of thee, which says thus, *Do my lord of*
'*Canterbury*
'But one shrewd turn, and he's your friend
'for ever.'

A similar speech, however, is attributed in Strype's Memorials, (B. 3, C. xxx.) not to the king, but to Dr. Hethe, archbishop of York.

"We have often reason to suppose, that many incidents, now unknown, are alluded to, and some real characters shadowed under fictitious names, not only in Shakspeare's comedies, but also in his historic dramas. The 'old lady,' for example, in that last quoted, and which may not be improperly stiled an anonymous designation, the friend of Anne Bullen, who tells the turbulent monarch, that

his daughter was 'as like him as 'cherry is to cherry,' (A. 3, S. 1.) appears to me no ideal personage.

"Mr. Walpole has ingeniously observed, that 'Leontes and Hermione,' in 'The Winter's Tale,' were the typical representatives of Henry 8th and Anne Bullen; and the character of Paulina seems to be that of this identical *old lady*, placed in a more conspicuous and advantageous point of view. The same officious zeal to serve her mistress, and the same kind of garrulous intrepidity towards an irascible monarch, is apparent in both characters.—'The child,' says Paulina, 'is yours,'

'And, might we lay th' old proverb to your
'charge,
'So like you 'tis the worse. Behold, my
'lords,
'Altho' the print be little, the whole matter
'And copy of the father: eye, nose, lip,
'And *trick of his frown.*'

A. 2, S. 5.

"The conjecture which I am again going to hazard, may appear, like this, too fanciful. That Shakspeare, however, often covertly alluded to different persons and transactions in the days of queen Elizabeth, and of her father, has been clearly shewn by his commentators in various instances: but the following passage in 'All's well that ends well,' has eluded their observation, or imposed on mine. The king says, that he had presented a ring to Helen,

'And bade her, if her fortune ever stood
'Necessitated to help, that by *this token*
'*I would relieve her.*'

A. 5, S. 4.

"It appears to me, that the romantic story of queen Elizabeth's having delivered a ring to Essex, with a promise to assist him in any distress on his producing it, gave birth to this incident. Its reality

has been questioned and ridiculed by Voltaire, but it has been supported with ability and success by Walpole. At any rate it appears to have been a popular story; of course sufficient for Shakspeare's purpose, and for mine.—This opinion, I confess, cannot be supported, if we allow those dates to be accurate, which are prefixed to Shakspeare's dramas by Mr. Malone in Johnson and Steevens's edition. He supposes that 'All's well that ends well,' was represented in 1598. As Essex was not dead at that time; and as it cannot be imagined, even had he been so, that any thing allusive to such an instance of the queen's partiality for him, would have been brought forward on the stage during her lifetime, we must either rank this play among Shakspeare's latter productions, or my conjecture must be given up as destitute of any foundation. Mr. Malone supposes likewise, that 'The Winter's Tale' came out in 1594; and if so, it could not have been intended, according to Mr. Walpole's opinion, as a sequel to Hen. 8, for that drama appears not to have been written till 1601. I am, however, unwilling to give up either Mr. Walpole's conjecture or my own; and it is observable that Mr. Malone, who has satisfactorily ascertained the dates of Shakspeare's other plays, expresses some diffidence in regard to 'The Winter's Tale' and 'All's well that ends well.' He observes that, 'if they did come out in 1594 and 1598, they came out under different titles from those they now bear. — Though supposed to have been early productions, they were not published, it must be acknowledged, in Shakspeare's life-time, but for the dates of them we rely

'only on conjecture.' Again, 'The Winter's Tale' was not entered at Stationers' Hall, [neither does it appear that the other comedy was] nor printed till 1623; but *probably* is the play mentioned by Meres under the title of 'Love's Labour won.' These conjectures carry no conviction with them; and the probability seems to rest on the other side of the question, namely, that we ought to number those plays among the latter productions of Shakspeare; particularly if the personal allusions are admitted.

"I mentioned that several real characters and incidents are alluded to in our poet's comedies. Some have been pointed out, but, doubtless, in respect to the greater part, no clue remains to guide our steps and direct us to the original. I am fully convinced, that master Slender sat for his picture to our unrivalled portrait-painter, as well as his cousin Shallow. 'His little wee face,' 'his little yellow *cain*-coloured beard,' his having fought with a warrener, been intoxicated and robbed by his knavish companions, and other exploits, equally memorable, seem to mark a real character, and to record real facts: circumstances, probably, that excited no little mirth at the time of representation. But we are not to wonder at those allusions being now totally lost and forgotten, if we reflect with what rapidity the personal satire of Foote, which so often in our own days 'sat the play-house in a roar,' is posting on towards the oblivious gulf.—The greater part of the first scene in 'The Merry Wives of Windsor,' may have been copied from the life, and have passed in Sir Thomas Lucy's judicial hall. Even the breaking open the lodge and kissing the keeper's daughter,

daughter, which Falstaff (a character, it is said, partly drawn for an inhabitant of Stratford) humorously disavows, may have been charges there seriously urged against Shakspeare and his riotous associates.

“As our bard is universally allowed to be a copyist of nature, it induces us to place an almost unlimited confidence in him. We cannot but suppose in his historic dramas, even where we are unable to trace him, that he dwells on real, not imaginary transactions; and has preserved many genuine anecdotes, not of weight sufficient to have gained admittance into the page of history, or taken from authors, whose writings scarcely survived their own existence.

“The following remarkable incident, attending cardinal Beaufort's death, is so forcibly characteristic, that we cannot easily suspect it to be invention, though no history mentions the circumstance.

‘Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's
‘bliss,

‘*Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.*—

‘He dies, and makes no sign!’

Hen. 6th, 2d part, A. 3. S. 3.

The description of his anguish and despair occurs in Hall's chronicle, but the additional circumstances thrown in by Shakspeare, wonderfully increase the horror of the scene. The address to the cardinal may be illustrated by a little devotional book, intitled, ‘The Key of Paradise opening the Gate to eternal Salvation,’ republished at St. Omer's in 1675, but when first printed I know not, in which is the following MEDITATION. ‘Imagine
‘thyself lying in thy death-bed,
‘with a hallowed candle in thy
‘hand, a crucifix on thy breast,
‘and thy ghostly father calling on
‘thee, that if thou canst not speak,

‘yet at least to *hold up thy hand in*
‘*taken of thy hope, and affiance in*
‘the mercies of Christ.’

“The death of Gloster, in the same drama, (A. 3. S. 3.) though, according to history, its manner was uncertain, is marked with so many minute and appropriate circumstances, that Shakspeare most probably heard it thus particularly described, or took his description from actual observation, on a similar event.

“The interview between Henry 5th and Williams the soldier (Hen. 5th, A. 4. S. 4.) the night preceding the battle of Agincourt, with their interchange of gloves, and the trick in consequence played on Fluellin, appears to have been founded on some traditionary story. Our hearts, at least, will not allow it to be a fiction, but feel delighted at such an unexpected, though by no means unnatural, recurrence of Hal's original humour.

“There are many other little incidents, like the foregoing, which we ought not to consider as invention, because we cannot trace them to their source. Had the story of Simpcox of St. Alban's, and the combat between the armourer and his apprentice Peter (Hen. 6th, 2d part,) been no where recorded but in Shakspeare, they would probably have been considered merely as ludicrous fictions, introduced to put the upper gallery in good humour. Each of those incidents, however, is noticed in different chronicles of the times. The numerous circumstances relative to the death of lord Hastings, form a kind of episode in the tragedy of Richard 3d, and they are adopted from history:—even the compliment which the subtle tyrant pays to the bishop of Ely's strawberries, and the unimportant errand on which he sends the courtly

courtly prelate. Catesby observes, 'the king is angry, see he gnaws his lip:' and Margaret, in her imprecations on him, exclaims,

'No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
'Unless it be while some tormenting dream
'Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils.'
Rich. 3d, A. 1. S. 3.

We are not to consider either of these expressions as casual, but strictly appropriate and historically true. Different authors relate, that 'his sleep was (generally) filled with perturbations,' and particularly that night previous to the engagement in which he perished.

"When Falstaff ridicules the slender form of prince Henry, and says that he would give a thousand pounds if he was able to run as fast as he could, &c. we must not suppose that those words are thrown out accidentally. Historians agree in describing him as tall, thin, and active. Like Achilles he was no less conspicuous for swiftness than for personal courage. The former is represented by Pindar as

Κτεροντ' ελαφους ανευ κυ-
-ωνυ δελιων θ' ιερων.
Ποσει γαρ κρατιστην.

Nem. Od. 3.

And we might be almost tempted to suppose that our old annalist copied from the Grecian bard, but for the words inclosed in a parenthesis. 'He was passing swift in running, inasmuch that he (with two other of his lords) without hounds, bow, or other engine, would take a wild buck or doe, in a large park.' (*Stowe.*) 'Omnes Coætaneos,' says Thomas de Elmham, '*faliendo præcessit, cursu vel loci simul currentes prævenit.*' We see from these quotations, the propriety of Hotspur's styling him 'the nimble mad cap prince of Wales;' and the peculiar justice

of the following comparison, drawn by Vernon, a friend of Hotspur's.

'I saw young Harry with his beaver on,
'His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly armed,
'Rise from the ground like feathered Mercury;
'And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
'As if an angel dropt down from the clouds
'To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
'And witch the world with noble horse-
'manship.'

Hen. 4th, 1st part. A. 4. S. 1.

A variety of beautiful and happy allusions occur likewise in the former part of the same speech. An attention to much *minutiæ*, though not historically true, must have a wonderful effect in realizing the *dramatis personæ*.—Even in respect to animals, as well as men, Shakspeare will not deal in *generals*. The tragedy hero of a modern dramatist would call for 'his barbed steed,' or 'his fiery courser:' but a Richard orders his groom to

'Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.'—

And historians say, that when he entered the town of Leicester, 'he was mounted on a great white courser.' May we not reasonably suppose, that this was the identical Surrey? The gallant earl, whose name he bore, was warmly attached to Richard, and had probably, as a proof of his regard, bestowed on him this acceptable present.

"The impetuous Hotspur impatiently enquires after his 'crop-ear Roan,' and exclaims, in equestrian transport, 'that roan shall be my throne.' His fondness for his horse (of which he appears to be no less proud than Diomedes, a congenial character, was of the steeds of Tros), is one of his marking features, and humourously ridiculed by his rival in fame, prince Henry. (Hen. 4th, 1st part, A. 2. S. 8.) When Vernon, therefore, expatiates with more candour than discretion,

in praise of his 'noble horseman-ship,' it peculiarly irritates the mind of Hotspur. His reply, particularly the conclusion, is truly characteristic.

— 'Come, let me take my horse,
' Who is to bear me, like a thunderbolt,
' Against the bosom of the prince of Wales,
' Harry to Harry shall, and horse to horse,
' Meet, and ne'er part till one drop down a
' corse!'

Hen. 4th, 1st part, A. 4. S. 2.

Hotspur feels himself touched in a tender point. His rival is celebrated for a qualification in which he thought himself pre-eminent; and his mind reverts with vexation to the unpleasing idea. The beauty of this natural fallacy of passion escaped the earlier editors of Shakspeare; and it has been printed '*not* horse 'to horse,' in every edition but the first, till sir Thomas Hanmer restored the original reading. Such a little trait distinguishes a master's hand more than pages of laboured declamation.

"The mutual antipathy between Hotspur and 'the sword and buckler prince of Wales,' is finely conceived and admirably executed. They are planets in fiery opposition, contending for superiority in the firmament of glory. We cannot find a speech but what seems dictated by nature itself. Their little ebullitions of passion, their mutual jealousy,

which one strives to conceal, by treating his rival with ridicule, and the other by holding him in affected contempt, familiarize them to us. We see, we know them, are privy to the dissipated relaxations of the one, and the turbulent thoughts that agitate the mind of the other. This observation may be extended to almost every leading character: we contemplate men like ourselves, endued with the same propensities as those that actuate them in real life, and are consequently interested in their fortunes. But our feelings are not excited by the pompous characters in declamatory tragedy: they are beings of another species, and we have no concern with them.

"If the wonder-working pen of Shakspeare induces us to pay more credit to his representation of our historic characters, than historical severity may sometimes allow, it is a delusion too pleasing to be lightly resigned. We see, or seem to see, realities; and the causes, which I have just explained, operate also in his fictitious dramas. Though he cannot there build on real facts, yet appropriate and strong-marked descriptions of persons and places, familiar conversation and characteristic anecdotes, commonly give an appearance of truth and consistency to the most wild and extravagant fictions."

PECULIAR EXCELLENCIES IN HANDEL'S MUSIC, which, notwithstanding its frequent Repetition, secure to it the Possession of the public Favour; by Mr. JACKSON, of ExETER.

[From the Fourth Volume of ANECDOTES of some DISTINGUISHED PERSONS chiefly of the present and two preceding CENTURIES.]

"HANDEL's music, particularly his oratorios, being still annually and occasionally performed in London and elsewhere,

it may not be incurious to enquire from what causes this constant repetition arises, and why the works of this master have had a fate so
very

very different from that of contemporary composers, the greatest part of which seems consigned to oblivion.

"This enquiry will naturally lead to the speaking of general principles, so far as they are applicable to the present subject; to the state of instrumental and vocal music; and to a comparison between Handel and other composers of note which flourished at this period. Nothing more being intended than a few miscellaneous observations set down just as they occur, method will not be attempted, and of course must be excused.

"As the compositions which are the subject of the following remarks were produced in England, and set to English words, the mention of foreign musicians and their works is excluded, as not appertaining to the subject, unless so connected with it as to render the mention indispensable.

"Music, in its common application, is considered merely as an entertainment: when bad, it disgusts; when good, it creates sensations unknown from other sources; and if it reach the sublime, our feelings are more powerfully excited than from the utmost perfection that poetry alone, or painting, has yet attained.

"With the latter, music cannot be connected; but when joined, or, as Milton phrases it, *wedded* with poetry, it reaches the highest pitch of excellence, and soars a height which, disjoined from its powerful ally, was impossible to be obtained.

"Before Handel, I cannot recollect any instance of this perfection. Our best vocal music was in the church, and our best composers were Purcel, Wise, Weldon, and a little later, Croft, whose me-

rit, as far as it reached, will be ever felt and acknowledged.

"Instrumental music was perhaps universally barbarous until the time of Corelli, whose compositions seemed to open a new world. Even in these our times, when instrumental music is so much improved, Corelli is still a favourite, and not only with old-fashioned people. The reason why he is so would carry me too far from my subject. What Corelli did for bow-instruments, Handel did for the harpsichord. We acknowledge the improvements of the modern symphonists, but we still relish a concerto of Corelli; and no great performer on the harpsichord but sits down with pleasure to the Suites des Pieces pour le Clavecin.

"The music for the stage was thoroughly wretched, and continued so until the little musical entertainments of Carey and the Beggar's Opera, which made their appearance long after the time of Handel's first residence in England. Such was the state of our music at the beginning of this century, and long after.

"What are called Handel's Hautbois Concertos, have so much subject, real air, and solid composition, that they always are heard with the greatest pleasure, and are undoubtedly the best things of their class. I believe they were the first attempt to unite wind-instruments with violins, which union was long reprobated in Italy.

"The operas of Handel are confessedly superior to all preceding and contemporary ones. His oratorios, though called by a well-known name, may be justly esteemed original, both in design and execution. These last being the pieces which are so frequently performed, I will with the utmost impartiality consider

consider their merits and defects, and how far they deserve their continued approbation.

“ Any works of a fashionable composer, especially if exhibited by performers we are in the habit of applauding, will take a present hold on our attention, to the exclusion of works of superior merit not possessing the same advantages; but when they have had their day, they set to rise no more. On the contrary, those compositions which depend on their own intrinsic merit, may make their way slowly, or perhaps, by being cut off from a possibility of taking the first step, may never get forward at all; yet, if once they are presented to the public, and their effect felt and understood, they are always heard with new pleasure, and claim an equal immortality with poetry and painting. Let us consider what are the essentials of good music, and how far Handel's compositions possess them.

“ The first essential (and without which all others are of no consequence) is what in popular music is called tune; in more refined, is denominated air; and in the superior class of composition, subject. Music having this property alone, is entitled to a long existence, and possesses it. The next essential is harmony, the strongest ally by which air can be assisted, but which receives from air more consequence than it communicates. To these must be added expression, giving a grace to the former; and facility, which has the effect of immediate emanation, and, as the term imports, seems to accomplish with ease what from its apparent difficulty should be rather sought for than found.

“ If words are to be connected with music, they ought like that to

be light and airy for tune, passionate for air, and both passionate and sublime for subject; but in every case (except particular applications) must appeal to the heart. The accent and emphasis must be expressed, and whatever effect the reading of the words is to produce, must be increased by the music.

“ There are but few examples of Handel's possessing tune in the popular sense. He seldom is without air in its most refined application, and most commonly has an exuberance of subject for greater purposes. His harmony is in general well-chosen and full; his expression sometimes faulty, but frequently just; and his facility great from so much practice, sinking now and then to carelessness.

“ In consequence of this general character, we find no songs of his in the style of Carey's tunes and the real English ballad. Most of his oratorio and opera songs have air in them, some very fine. His chorusses are as yet unrivalled, and those form the broad base on which his fame is built.

“ They possess subject and contrivance, frequently expression, and most commonly facility, altogether producing a superior effect to any other chorusses yet known to the public. Their great number and variety shew his invention, that strong criterion of genius. It will be found to hold true as a general remark, that where the words are most sublime, the composition has most subject and expression; and this ought to be considered by those who hold words of no consequence: if they have no other than exalting the fancy of the composer (which effect they certainly produce), we should for the sake of music, independently considered, make choice of works of imagination.

“ Besides

“ Besides the advantages of superior genius and knowledge, Handel possessed another, without which his genius and knowledge might have remained for ever unknown. He had an opportunity of presenting his works to the public performed by the best band of the times, and of repeating his pieces until they were understood, and their superior merit felt. By these means they were impressed upon the mind, and at last became so congenial to our feelings, as almost to exclude the possibility of other music being performed—but I have touched on this subject elsewhere.

“ Handel’s music, then, having the great essentials of genius, skill, and facility, and being at first performed often enough to have its intention comprehended, and its merit felt and acknowledged, it necessarily keeps possession of the public favour, and its annual performance is expected with plea-

sure, and always considered as an entertainment of a superior kind.

“ After this unequivocal and heart-felt praise, I may venture to point out what appear to be defects in this great musician.

“ The first thing that an enlightened modern composer would notice, is an inattention to the sort of the different instruments, more particularly apparent in the parts for trumpets and other wind-instruments, which in general lie awkward and unkindly. At the time we acknowledge this, we should remark, that in those days such niceties did not exist, for they are some of the real improvements of modern music. Handel’s concertos and chorusses, without the least alteration of harmony or melody in the subject (as every real musician well knows) might be improved in this point, and produce a very superior and increased effect.”

QUALITIES necessary for STUDENTS in PAINTING, with Rules and Reasons of the Art which demand their first Attention.

[From the Third Volume of the Works of ANTHONY RAPHAEL MENGES.]

“ **S**INCE painting is a liberal art, it must necessarily have a method; and if it has a method, it must consequently have sure and certain rules. I therefore think it will be useful for me to set forth here, what reflections every young man ought to make before he begins this profession, and the path he ought to follow after he has undertaken it, that he may always advance the more in his career; and at the same time, I shall say how the master ought to conduct himself in order to teach his art. Therefore, according to my custom, I

give up all pretensions to eloquence, and shall endeavour to explain myself as simply as possible, in order to be understood by all classes of people.

“ The first quality a boy ought to have who is destined by his superiors to follow painting (I say superiors, because this profession must be commenced before we have a will of our own), is penetration, attention, and patience; and we must not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by that vivacity, nor by that fire which is commonly taken for genius, but is not it in reality:

ON

on the contrary, that vivacity often prevents children from reflecting upon things, and consequently from making improvements in painting. We must therefore mind not to be deceived in taking for a genius for painting that inclination to be painters, which is seen in many children. The fortunes made by some painters induce many parents to bring their children up to this profession, who, after having studied it for a long time, quit it with the same levity with which they undertook it.

“ In order to shun these inconveniencies, a master who is both skilful and honest, should, before he takes a boy, examine well him and his parents. In the boy he ought to expect only penetration, patience, a love for work, and particularly an exact sight. The father ought to be perfectly disinterested, and have a strong inclination to afford his son every necessary help; and he must not do as many who call themselves friends, in having paid for a youth a master for a short time.

“ If the boy is found to be possessed of all the requisite qualifications, the master must on his side begin by divesting himself as much as he can of his self-love, and teach him all he knows, all he has learnt, and what has not been taught him by any one; and, above all, he must never be apprehensive of teaching him too much; and if unfortunately he should be infected with this foible, I would advise him never to be a master, for it would not be acting as an honest man, wilfully to bring up people to be wretched; nor do I see a greater misfortune for a man than to have wasted his youth to become a bad painter: and as that depends on the master he can easily avoid this

evil, since no one has a precise obligation to instruct pupils.

“ It is true, that the world is full of ingratitude, and that a skilful painter, in giving his pupil a good education, runs the risk of bringing up a viper in his own bosom; but other men's vices are not an excuse for ours; nor can that painter ever exculpate himself, who in bringing up a youth is the cause of his repenting all his life having undertaken this profession. Those professors, who by powerful recommendation, and without interest, see themselves compelled to receive pupils, if they do not teach them with requisite care and application, are nevertheless excusable; for it is certain that it costs more time and more trouble to finish a good pupil, than the largest picture in the world. Therefore, it seems to me very unjust for patrons to pretend, that an artist should lose his time in teaching the art to those who bring him no profit or interest in doing it. This unreasonable practice generally prevails in Italy, which by degrees ruins painting, and the youths who are brought up to it, in spite of the fine geniuses which are to be found. But I shall quit this subject, which draws me from my object, and proceed to the rules and reasons of the art, which I proposed to myself to explain, and therefore shall employ a kind of dialogue, by questions and answers.

“ Q. How can one know if a child has the necessary dispositions for painting?

“ A. If he has more sense than vivacity, one may conceive good hopes.

“ Q. What age should the beginner be of?

“ A. The more tender, the more proper to begin, for from four years

years he may learn something; and then it will be easier for him to acquire a precision of sight, as his organs will not have contracted any particular habit.

“ Q. And if he began later, could he ever be a good painter?

“ A. Undoubtedly; but it would cost him much more trouble: for he must necessarily have employed the preceding time in something, which must take up some part of his memory, and prevent him from learning painting with the same facility.

“ Q. Nevertheless, have there not been eminent painters, who have begun their studies at an advanced age?

“ A. Yes. But the greatest men have all learned painting from their most tender infancy. Raphael was son to a painter, who perhaps made him begin painting as soon as reason appeared in him. Titian began when a child. Michael Angelo handled the marble at twelve. Correggio having lived only forty years, left so great a number of excellent works that they could not have been done in haste, and he must necessarily have begun to work very early. It is however true, that some good painters have begun later; but if they succeeded on account of their extraordinary abilities, how much more would they not have excelled if they had begun at an earlier age!

“ Q. What is the first thing a master ought to teach his pupil?

“ A. As it is not easy to discover soon the genius and character of children, it is necessary to make them begin by drawing geometrical figures, but without rule or compasses, that they may accustom their sight to exactness, which is the fundamental basis of design; since

there is no object, whose outlines, and form, are not composed of figures, and simple or compound geometrical lines. Therefore, if the child knows how to make these figures by the eye, he will know how to draw accurately any thing, and will easily conceive all the proportions.

“ Q. Will it not be better to make him draw the human figure, which, if composed of geometrical figures, will teach at once what by the other means is learnt at twice?

“ A. This advice is very pernicious; because the beauty of the outlines of the human figure depends on expressing rightly all the imperceptible lines and broken forms, which form a whole of geometrical figures intermixed and confused with each other; so that it is impossible for a child to conceive them with clearness and precision, and still more difficult for the master to judge by them of the exactness of sight of his pupil; whereas in a simple triangle, for instance, it is easy to know the defects and faults committed by the eye or the hand.

“ Q. What is the fault of the eye?

“ A. There are people who see things longer than broad, and others the contrary. Some at a certain distance judge all objects to be greater than they are, and others less; and therefore I think it proper that children should draw geometrical figures, because in the plainest objects errors are most easily detected: therefore the master may, for instance, in a triangle, know in a moment, by means of the rule and compasses, the want of exactness in the eye of his pupil.

“ Q. The reason would be good if it were not contradicted by practice; since neither Raphael, the Caraccis,

Caracci, Domenichino, nor, finally, any great painter has ever been known to take this method, in order to perform the excellent works which they have made.

“ A. This is partly true, but stands in need of some explanation. Leonardo da Vinci, who has left us several rules of proportion of the human body, decides, that geometry is necessary to painters. Raphael’s masters taught him to draw with an extraordinary precision; therefore he could not help having at first a very servile and dry taste, which he could only quit when he saw the ancient paintings, and the works of Michael Angelo, which he imitated because he had formed to himself the most exact eye that is possible to be had. A genius so pure and correct has not appeared in the world for more than two centuries and an half; therefore it would be presumption to suppose that any child whatever, who is brought up to painting, should be endowed with so rare a talent: so that it is necessary to examine the gifts which nature has imparted to him. The Caracci followed the rules of proportion, which they found settled; and I finally admire in them several things more than extreme correctness.

“ Q. How? Was not Hannibal extremely correct?

“ A. Correctness is taken in different senses; and in one of these he was correct, and owed it not so much to the exactness of his eye, as to the practice acquired by drawing much. Domenichino drew so often the group of Laocoon, that he knew it by heart. Nevertheless none of the painters, that are mentioned, have equalled the purity and precision of the antique: and as without being accused of a

1796.

low fear we ought to undertake what others have done, I therefore propose to aspire to the most perfect; and if when Raphael learnt correctness from his masters, they had at the same time taught him to avoid their dry taste, and to draw nature by geometrical figures, he would not have been obliged afterwards to change his manner. If Caracci and Domenichino had learnt painting, according to the method which I propose, we should not have seen in their outlines so many false lines corrected, and in those of the latter particularly, that cold and timid taste which we see in them.

“ Q. But this geometrical study might sometimes be prejudicial to elegance and ease.

“ A. Quite the contrary. Elegance consists in the great variety of curved lines and angles, and it is geometry alone that can give the facility of performing these things with a sure hand, and with the qualities required. But I do not pretend that this study alone of geometrical figures can form great painters. I say that correctness being the most difficult part to be found in them, and that depending on exactness of sight, it can be acquired in no manner so easy as by the study of geometry. To this is added, that a child by drawing for a month geometrical figures with accuracy, will learn more exactness than another who has been drawing in an academy for a year; and the first in six months time will know how to lay a figure well, and will have a good foundation for proceeding in the other parts of the art.

“ Q. What must be done after having drawn the said geometrical figures?

“ A. Outlines from good drawings
G and

and pictures must be drawn, and the proportions of the human body must be studied, in order to learn a good taste of drawing, which the master must teach from the proportions of antique statues; and then the attention must be redoubled, and the least want of correctness must not be excused: when this is done, and a certain practice of drawing outlines with freedom has been acquired, then they must begin clare obscure.

“ Q. Must the beginner be kept long in drawing outlines?

“ A. Till he has acquired a competent facility:

“ Q. When this is done, what must he study?

“ A. He must begin to shade, minding to make his drawings with the utmost purity; for if he acquires then this important qualification; it lasts also afterwards all his lifetime in painting. I shall likewise observe, that when he draws in clare obscure he must study anatomy and perspective, in order to prepare to draw afterwards from life.

“ Q. If on drawing geometrical figures it has been said that six months after one can draw well an academical figure, why must one spend one's time in drawing designs and pictures, since it seems that it would be more expeditious to begin immediately to draw statues?

“ A. It is not so; for in order to draw statues well, one must know perspective; and though I have said the beginner will in that state know how to lay a figure, he must not, however, do it; for he would accustom himself to a cold imitation, without understanding foreshortenings; or he would lose that exactness of sight he might have acquired.

“ Q. How must perspective be studied?

“ A. One must begin by studying a little elementary geometry, and one shall then immediately learn to put all one's figures in perspective.

“ Q. A little geometry seems to me insufficient; since we see that those who wish to teach perspective fundamentally, cause not only the whole geometry, but also architecture, at least the rules of the five orders, to be learnt, as they assert that one cannot lay a thing in due perspective if one is not perfectly acquainted with geometry.

“ A. Those who are of that opinion are not deceived. But I think that to form a painter, the prudent master must endeavour to make him know all the requisites of his art in equal proportions, and not let him lose his early time, which is the most precious, in things that are not of the first utility.

“ Q. Will the painter lose his time then, if he studies perspective fundamentally?

“ A. No: but as this is a much easier thing than others which constitute the art of painting, it is not proper that the student should employ too much time in it, before learning those which are most necessary:—the more so, since the articles of perspective which are most necessary for a painter, are only the plan, the square in all its aspects, the triangle, the round, the oval, and, above all, to conceive rightly the difference of the point of view, and the variety which the point of distance produces when taken far or near.

“ Q. How is anatomy to be studied? Many say that it is not necessary, and that those painters who have applied themselves to it, have all fallen into a dry and graceless taste.

“ A. Those

" A. Those who say that anatomy is not necessary, are grossly mistaken; for, without it, it is not possible to reason upon the parts of a naked figure. But in all, moderation and judgment must prevail, there being great difference between giving all to a part, and knowing how to employ it well; and rules must serve a painter only to uniform himself to nature, and make him understand it well.

" Q. But anatomy is so long a study?

" A. It is certainly not so long when rightly taught, that is to say, when the painter is taught no more than what is necessary to him; for a physician and the surgeon must study it very differently, as they are to know all the interior play of the parts of man, and the painter wants only to know the effects they have on the surface.

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

INTERESTING REMARKS, by Dr. HERSCHEL, on the PERMANENCY of the EQUAL EMISSIONS of LIGHT of our SUN; occasioned by the CHANGES that have been observed to take place in the LUSTRE of the FIXED STARS.

[Extracted from the first Part of the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of LONDON, for the Year 1796.]

BY observations such as this paper has been calculated to promote and facilitate, we are enabled to resolve a problem not only of great consequence, but in which we are all immediately concerned. Who, for instance, would not wish to know what degree of permanency we ought to ascribe to the lustre of our sun? Not only the stability of our climates, but the very existence of the whole animal and vegetable creation itself is involved in the question. Where can we hope to receive information upon this subject, but from astronomical observations? If it be allowed to admit the similarity of stars with our sun as a point established, how necessary will it be to take notice of the fate of our neighbouring suns, in order to guess at that of our own! That star which among the multitude we have dignified by the name of sun, to-morrow may slowly begin to undergo a gradual decay of brightness, like β leonis, α ceti, α draconis, δ ursæ majoris, and many other diminishing stars that will be mentioned in

my catalogues. It may suddenly increase, like the wonderful star in the back of Cassiopea's chair, and the no less remarkable one in the foot of Serpentarius; or gradually come on like β geminorum, β ceti, ζ sagittarii, and many other increasing stars, for which I also refer to my catalogues. And lastly, it may turn into a periodical one of 25 days duration, as algal is one of three days, δ cephei of 5, β lyræ of 6, γ antinoi of 7 days, and as many others, are of various periods.

“ Now, if by a proper attention to this subject, and by frequently comparing the real state of the heavens with such catalogues of brightness as mine, it should be found that all, or many of the stars which we now have reason to suspect to be changeable, are indeed subject to an alteration in their lustre, it will much lessen the confidence we have hitherto placed upon the permanency of the equal emission of light of our sun. Many phænomena in natural history seem to point out some past changes in our climates. Perhaps the easiest way

way of accounting for them may be to surmise that our sun has been formerly sometimes more and sometimes less bright than it is at present. At all events, it will be highly presumptuous to lay any great stress upon the stability of the present order of things; and many hitherto unaccountable varieties that happen in our seasons, such as a general severity or mildness of uncommon winters or burning summers, may possibly meet with an easy solution in the real inequality of the sun's rays.

“ A method of ascertaining the quantity or intenseness of solar light might be contrived by some photometer or instrument properly constructed, which ought probably to be placed upon some high and insulated mountain, where the influence of various causes that affect heat and cold, though not entirely

removed, would be considerably lessened. Perhaps the thermometer alone might be sufficient. For though the lustre of the sun should be the chief object of this research, yet, as the effect of light in producing expansion in mercury seems to be intimately connected with the quantity of the incident solar rays, it may be admitted that all conclusions drawn from their action upon the thermometer will apply to the investigation of the brilliancy of the sun. And here the forms laid down by Mr. Mayer, in his little treatise *De Variationibus Thermometri accuratius definiendis*, may be of considerable service to distinguish the regular causes of the change of the thermometer from the adventitious ones, among which I place the probable instability of the sun's lustre.”

MINERALOGICAL ACCOUNT of the NATIVE GOLD lately discovered in IRELAND, in a LETTER from ABRAHAM MILLS, Esq. to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. K. B. P. R. S.

[From the same Work.]

“ **T**HE extraordinary circumstance of native gold being found in this vicinity, early excited my attention, and led me to seize the first opportunity that presented itself, after my late arrival here, to inspect the place where the discovery was made.

“ I went thither on Tuesday, the 3d of this month, with Mr. Lloyd, of Havodynos, and Mr. Weaver. The former having given you some account of the circumstances which attended the original discovery, and, since he left me, a favourable day having enabled me to take a second view of the adjacent coun-

try, I shall now attempt to describe the general appearance, and add such further information as has come to my knowledge.

“ The workings which the peasantry recently undertook are on the north-east side of the mountain Croughan Kinshelly, within the barony of Arklow, and county of Wicklow, on the lands of the earl of Carysfort, wherein the earl of Ormond claims a right to the minerals, in consequence (as I have been informed) of a grant in the reign of king Henry the Second, by prince John, during his command of his father's forces in Ireland;

land; which grant was renewed and confirmed by queen Elizabeth, and again by king Charles the Second.

“The summit of the mountain is the boundary between the counties of Wicklow and Wexford; seven English miles west from Arklow, ten to the south-westward of Rathdrum, and six south-westerly from Cronebane mines; by estimation about six hundred yards above the level of the sea. It extends W. by N. and E. by S. and stretches away to the north-eastward, to Ballycoage, where shafts have formerly been sunk, and some copper and magnetic iron ore has been found; and thence to the N. E. there extends a tract of mineral country, eight miles in length, running through the lands of Ballymurtagh, Ballygahan, Tigrony, Cronebane, Connery, and Kilmacoe, in all which veins of copper ore are found; and terminating at the slate quarry at Balnabarny.

“On the highest part of the mountain are bare rocks, being a variety of argillite, whose joints range N.N.E. and S.S.W. hade to the S.S.W. and in one part include a rib of quartz, three inches wide, which follows the direction of the strata. Around the rocks, for some distance, is found ground, covered with heath; descending to the eastward, there is springy ground, abounding with coarse grals; and below that, a very extensive bog, in which the turf is from four to nine feet thick, and beneath it, in the substratum of clay, are many angular fragments of quartz, containing chlorite, and ferruginous earth. Below the turbary the ground falls with a quick descent, and three ravines are observed. The central one, which is the most considerable, has been worn by torrents, which derive their source from the

bog; the others are formed lower down the mountain by springs, which uniting with the former, below their junction the gold has been found. The smaller have not water sufficient to wash away the incumbent clay, so as to lay bare the substratum; and their beds only contain gravel, consisting of quartz with chlorite, and other substances of which the mountain consists. The great ravine presents a more interesting aspect; the water in its descent has, in a very short distance from the bog, entirely carried off the clay, and considerably worn down the substrata of rock, which it has laid open to inspection.

“Descending along the bed of the great ravine, whose general course is to the eastward, a yellow argillaceous shistus is first seen; the laminae are much shattered, are very thin, have a light hade to the S.S.W. and range E.S.E. and W.N.W. Included within the shist, is a vein of compact barren quartz, about three feet wide, ranging N.E. and S.W.; below this is another vein, about nine inches wide, having the same range as the former, and hading to the northward, consisting of quartz, including ferruginous earth. Lower down, is a vein of a compact aggregate substance, apparently compounded of quartz, ochraceous earth, chert, minute particles of mica, and some little argillite, of unknown breadth, ranging E. and W. hading fast to the southward, and including strings of quartz, from one to two inches thick, the quartz containing ferruginous earth. The yellow argillaceous shistus is again seen with its former hade and range; and then, adjacent to a quartz vein, is laminated blue argillaceous shistus, ranging N.E. and S.W. and hading S. E.; which is after-

wards;

wards seen varying its range and hade, running E.N.E. and W.S.W. and hading N.N.W.; lower down, the blue shist is observed more compact, though still laminated. The ground, less steep, becomes springy, is inclosed, and the ravine, shallower, has deposited a considerable quantity of clay, sand, and gravel. Following the course of the ravine, or, as it may now more properly be called, the brook, arrive at the road which leads to Arklow; here is a ford, and the brook has the Irish name of *Aughatinavought* (the river that drowned the old man); hence it descends to the Aughrim river, just above its confluence with that from Rathdrum, which, after their junction, take the general name of the O. o, that, discharging itself into the sea near the town of Arklow, forms an harbour for vessels of small burthen.

“ The lands of Ballinvally are to the southward, and the lands of Ballinagore to the northward, of the ford, where the blue shistus rock, whose joints are nearly vertical, is seen ranging E.N.E. and W.S.W. including small strings of quartz, which contain ferruginous earth. The same kind of earth is also seen in the quartz, contained in a vein from ten to twelve inches wide, ranging E.N.E. and W.S.W. and hading to the southward, which has been laid open in forming the Arklow road.

“ Here the valley is from twenty to thirty yards in width, and is covered with substances washed down from the mountain, which on the sides have accumulated to the depth of about twelve feet. A thin stratum of vegetable soil lies uppermost; then clay, mingled with fine sand, composed of small particles of quartz, mica, and shist; beneath which the same substances

are larger, and constitute a bed of gravel, that also contains nodules of fine grained iron stone, which produces 50 per cent. of crude iron: incumbent on the rock, are large tumblers of quartz, a variety of argillite and shistus; many pieces of the quartz are perfectly pure, others are attached to the shistus, others contain chlorite, pyrites, mica, and ferruginous earth; and the arsenical cubical pyrites frequently occurs, imbedded in the blue shistus. In this mass of matter, before the workings began, the brook had formed its channel down to the surface of the rock, and between six and seven feet wide, but in times of floods extended itself entirely over the valley.

“ Researches have been made for the gold, amidst the sand and gravel along the run of the brook, for near half a mile in length; but it is only about one hundred and fifty yards above, and about two hundred yards below the ford, that the trials have been attended with much success: within that space, the valley is tolerably level, and the banks of the brook have not more than five feet of sand and gravel above the rock; added to this, it takes a small turn to the southward, and, consequently, the rude surfaces of the shistus rock in some degree cross its course, and form natural impediments to the particles of gold being carried further down the stream, which still lower has a more rapid descent; besides, the rude manner in which the country people worked, seldom enabled them to penetrate to the rock, in those places where the sand and gravel were of any material depth. Their method was, to turn the course of the water wherever they deemed necessary, and then, with any instruments they could procure, to dig

dig holes down to the rock, and by washing, in bowls and sieves, the sand and gravel they threw out, to separate the particles of gold which it contained; and from the slovenly and hasty way in which their operations were performed, much gold most probably escaped their search; and that indeed actually appears to have been the case; for since the late rains washed the clay and gravel which had been thrown up, gold has been found lying on the surface. The situation of the place, and the constant command of water, do, however, very clearly point out the great facility with which the gold might be separated from the trash, by adopting the mode of working practised at the best managed tin stream works in the county of Cornwall; that is, entirely to remove (by machinery) the whole cover off the rock, and then wash it in proper buddles and sieves. And by thus continuing the operations, constantly advancing in the ravine towards the mountain, as long as gold should be found, the vein that forms its matrix might probably be laid bare.

“The discovery was made public, and the workings began, early in the month of September last, and continued till the 15th of October, when a party of the Kildare militia arrived, and took possession by order of government; and the great concourse of people, who were busily engaged in endeavouring to procure a share of the treasure, immediately desisted from their labour, and peaceably retired.

“Calculations have been made, that during the foregoing period, gold to the amount of three thousand pounds Irish sterling was sold to various persons; the average price was three pounds fifteen shillings per ounce; hence eight hun-

dred ounces appear to have been collected within the short space of six weeks.

“The gold is of a bright yellow colour, perfectly malleable; the specific gravity of an apparently clean piece 19,000. A specimen, assayed here by Mr. Weaver, in the moist way, produced from 24 grains, $22\frac{1}{8}$ grains of pure gold, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ of silver. Some of the gold is intimately blended with, and adherent to quartz; some (it is said) was found united to the fine grained iron stone, but the major part was entirely free from the matrix; every piece more or less rounded on the edges, of various weights, forms, and sizes, from the most minute particle up to 2 oz. 17 dwts.; only two pieces are known to have been found of superior weight, and one of those is 5, and the other 22 ounces.

“I much regret not having been present when the work was going on, that I might have seen the gold as found, before prepared for sale by breaking off any extraneous matter that adhered; for in that state, a proper attention to the substances with which it was united, and a subsequent diligent inspection of the several veins that range through the mountain, might assist towards the discovery of that from whence it was detached.

“I shall shortly return to England; and on my arrival, will send specimens of the gold, and of the different substances of the mountain, to be deposited (if you think proper) in the collection of the Royal Society,

“And am, with great respect, &c.

“ABRAHAM MILLS.

“The bearings are all taken by the compass, without allowing for the variation.

“Besides

“Beside these accounts of the gold found in Ireland, the following information has been received on that subject.

“William Molesworth, esq. of Dublin, in a letter to Richard Molesworth, esq. F.R.S. writes, that he weighed the largest piece of gold in his balance, both in air and water; that its weight was 20 oz. 2 dwts. 21 gr. and its specific gravity, to that of sterling gold, as 12 to 18. Also that Richard Kirwan, esq. F.R.S. found the specific gravity of another specimen to be as 13 to 18. Hence, as the gold was worth £4 an ounce, Mr. William Molesworth concludes, that the specimens are full of pores and cavities, which in-

crease their bulk, and that there are some extraneous substances, such as dirt or clay, contained in those cavities.

“This opinion was discovered to be well founded, by cutting through some of the small lumps.

“Staneshy Alchorne, esq. his majesty's assay-master at the Tower of London, assayed two specimens of this native gold. The first appeared to contain, in 24 carats,

21 $\frac{6}{8}$ of fine gold;

1 $\frac{7}{8}$ of fine silver;

$\frac{1}{8}$ of alloy, which seemed to be copper tinged with a little iron.

“The second specimen differed only in holding 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 21 $\frac{6}{8}$ of fine gold.”

ON PLICA POLONICA; by Mr. FREDERIC HOFFMAN, SURGEON to the PRUSSIAN ARMY.

[From the MEMOIRS of the LITERARY and PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY of MANCHESTER, Vol. IV. Part II.]

“DISEASES, the tendency of which is fatal, and the occurrence frequent, peculiarly claim the attention of the practical physician; while morbid affections, which appear more rarely, and present unusual phænomena, more especially attract the enquiries of those whose object is the extension of general science. The disease termed Plica Polonica is of the latter class. It is endemic in Poland, and seldom, if ever, observed in any other part of Europe. During a long stay at Breslau in Silesia, I had frequent opportunities of observing this disease: and, as it is at present little known in Britain, I trust a brief narration of the principal circumstances connected with it will not prove uninteresting.

“Both sexes are equally liable to the attacks of plica. It usually appears during infancy; and but seldom after the age of twenty. When once produced, it continues during the remainder of life. The accession of the complaint is in general preceded by irregular spasmodic affections, pains in different parts of the body, a slow fever, and various diseases of the eyes; all which cease immediately on the appearance of the Plica.

“The disorder consists in a preternaturally rapid growth of the hair, with a copious secretion of a viscid matter from its bulbs. For the most part, the hairs of the head are alone affected; and that only in peculiar parts. In these, the hairs grow considerably longer than in

in the rest; and are knotted and entangled with each other; being also covered with the viscid matter which issues from their roots, and which assists in gluing them together.

“In proportion as the quantity of this gluten, and the implication of the hair increases, it is still more and more difficult to clean and comb it; hence a degree of phthiriasis is produced, and the head contracts an extremely foetid smell, to which, however, the Polish peasants are so much accustomed, that they endure it without complaint, or any manifest inconvenience.

“It is also an opinion universally prevalent with them, that the disease is a salutary effort of nature to expel a morbid matter from the body; and that to interrupt the course of it would be productive of imminent danger; hence, they make no attempt to cure, or even palliate the complaint. And, if we may repose confidence in authors of established reputation, morbid affections of a similar nature to those which precede its occurrence, paralysis, and even death itself, have succeeded imprudent attempts to check the progress of the disease. In this respect, plica bears some analogy to the *exanthemata*, and various chronic cutaneous eruptions.

“I am as yet unable to decide whether this complaint is hereditary or not. From some observations indeed it appears, that a predisposition to it may be transmitted from parents to their offspring; but my information on this head is too limited to ascertain the point. In one case which fell under my own observation, two brothers had plica, both on the left side of the head, and in about

one-third of their hairs: I learned from them, that their father and grandfather had also been affected with the disease in a form exactly similar.

“Besides the human species, other animals are subject to this complaint. It appears in some of the finest horses in Poland. In them it is situated in the mane, and sometimes in the long hairs around the hoof and fetlock joint. It attacks also the different species of the canine genus; dogs, wolves, and foxes. Previous to its occurrence in the first, the symptoms of *rabies* usually appear: the tail is dropped between the hind legs, there is a flow of frothy saliva from the mouth, the sight and appetite are impaired, or entirely lost; they are snappish, and disposed to bite, but their bite does not produce hydrophobia. The wolf is affected in the same manner: he leaves his wonted concealments in the woods, and runs wildly among the flocks, biting, and destroying them, but without producing hydrophobia.

“The impossibility of ascertaining the true causes of this singular disease has given rise to several vague conjectures on the subject; as that of Le Fontaine, who attributes it to a corruption of the fat.

“It is somewhat remarkable, that plica takes place only among the lower class of people; whence some have conceived, that it is to be considered merely as a consequence of uncleanness.

“But, in objection to this opinion, it may be urged, that it is unknown in the adjoining countries subject to the Prussian government, where the peasants are habituated to the same customs and mode of life, or nearly the same as in Poland—that its appearance affords evi-

dent

dent relief to the system, and its retrocession is productive of dangerous consequences. The idea, that it is a real and idiopathic disease, is confirmed also by its occurrence in a variety of animals, and by the circumstance of its being confined to particular parts of the head; for which no reason can be assigned on the former supposition,

“A peculiarity of climate cannot be adduced as a cause of this disease. Poland differs little in this respect from the adjoining countries. The summer heat is considerable, the thermometer rising frequently to 98°, 100°, 104°, and the cold in winter so great, that it falls sometimes 10, 15 degrees below 0. But though the changes in the atmosphere are so remarkable, at different periods of the year, they take place with the utmost regularity, the temperature passing, by insensible degrees, from one extreme to the other.

“The Poles themselves are a vigorous hardy race; inured from infancy to labour, and to exposure

to the vicissitudes of the atmosphere; almost regardless of cold, they frequently sleep in the open air. Their diet consists chiefly of animal food, and they are much addicted to the use of spirits. They have an equal fondness for other strong stimulating liquids. I have seen them drink, with the greatest pleasure, the salt brine in which herrings have been preserved, and even nitrous acid, diluted with water.

“Since no other cause can be assigned for this disease, it is probable that it arises, according to the general opinion, from contagion; a contagion which, like that of plica, can be communicated by contact only; but this I have not been able to ascertain by any observations of my own.

“It is said, however, by authors of reputation, that plica is frequent in Tartary; and that it was brought into Poland in the thirteenth century by the Tartars, who at that period made frequent irruptions into the eastern parts of Europe.”

ACCOUNT of the LYNX of ABRUZZO.

[From the TRAVELS through VARIOUS PROVINCES of the KINGDOM of NAPLES, in 1789, by CHARLES ULYSSES, of SALIS MARSCHLIN, translated from the German, by ANTHONY AUFRERE, Esq.]

“ALTHOUGH Buffon and Schreber have given us very good accounts of the lynx, the naturalist will probably not be displeased at receiving some information about the species of lynx peculiar to the provinces of Abruzzo. It is frequently met with in the woods of Abruzzo Ultra, where it is called *Il Gatto Pardo*, and is smaller than a sort that is not infrequent amongst the Grison

mountains, and which precisely resembles the species given in Buffon's Natural History, part xix, plate 21, French, octavo—and in Schreber's Sucking Animals, part iii, pl. 100, page 408. But the lynx of Abruzzo is of a darker colour, is from eighteen to twenty inches high, and from twenty-four to twenty-seven inches in length, to the root of the tail, which is four inches long. The male is larger than

than the female. The colour is whitish, with spots like stars, of a reddish yellow, inclining to a yellow gold colour. The hair is short and soft, the head large, and like a tyger's, with longish upright ears, terminated by a tuft of coarse, hard, and upright bristles. The eyes are large, and the teeth, claws, and whiskers, are long and sharp. Had I been fortunate enough to procure a dead one, I could give a much more complete description; but I could not succeed in my endeavours. The actions of this animal exactly resemble those of a cat, like which it sits, runs, springs, eats, purrs, and sleeps; although all these actions are in proportion to its superior size. It is easily tamed; and the baron Tomasetti assured me that it ran about the house like a cat, was much attached to them, and was in no wise inconvenient, except from its extraordinary curiosity. Not a corner in the house, nor a moveable therein, remained unvisited; and a female lost its life by jumping down the hole in the privy. I was surprised to find that the domestic cat had an insuperable aversion to this animal; and I was assured, that the moment a lynx was brought into the house, all the cats disappeared, and were seen no more during that animal's abode there. The lynx bears the privation of its freedom only so long as it is allowed to wander about the house; all those which the baron sent to the royal menagerie having soon died of excess of fat, which was the case with that I saw there, and which also appeared extremely melancholy. The lynx of Abruzzo is unquestionably the most swift, subtle, and audacious beast of prey in Italy. It only wanders about in the night, and never is seen in the day, unless when in heat, or in

search of provision for its young. It feeds upon all kinds of mice, moles, martins, ferrets, hares, badgers, otters, and even sheep and goats; neither are tame and wild fowl safe from its attacks. It watches for its prey, either upon the ground, or between the branches of a tree, and usually seizes it at the very first spring, even though it be on full speed; and from its ambuscade amongst the branches, it successfully darts upon birds that are upon the wing. When it has killed such a large animal as a wild boar, or a roe-buck, it first sucks the blood out of the arteries, which seems to be its favourite food; after which it devours the soft parts of the head, neck, shoulders, and legs, together with the entrails, and leaves the remainder. When it fails in procuring a live animal, it contents itself with vegetables, or gratifies itself with all kinds of fruit. Its favourite place of abode is amongst thick and extensive forests, and in solitary districts, where it makes its retreat in hollow trees, or in holes and clefts in the rocks. It pairs only once a year, at the beginning of spring; and contrary to the custom of cats, which celebrate their nuptials with hideous cries, it remains perfectly silent. The female goes two months, and then brings forth two young ones, which are generally of different sexes. She suckles them during two months; and the young ones require two years to grow, and be fit for pairing. It has been observed here, that the lynx generally attains the age of twenty years. Sociability appertains not to its qualities, and more than one couple are rarely found in a district. Like all creatures upon earth, this also has its enemies, and is pursued by men, dogs, wolves, and large snakes.

snakes. Flight is its first object; but when it is deprived of the means of escape, and is attacked and wounded, it defends itself against every description of enemy, with such fury and dexterity, that it is seldom overcome but by numbers of beasts, or the superiority of human sagacity. The lynx not only feeds occasionally upon the bodies of dead men, but even attacks children, and devours them. This animal is seldom to be taken alive, except whilst very young, when it is frequently found playing upon the grass near the trees, or straying about the country in quest of its mother. It is sometimes taken in traps, but is generally shot. The attachment subsisting between a couple is remarkable: for when one lies dead upon the ground, and the hunters have retired to a certain distance, the other approaches its comrade, looks at it, goes round it,

lies down by it, goes away, and returns several times, until it appears to have lost all hope of its being only asleep. The lynx furnishes man with a very warm and useful skin; and some profit arises from its fat and gall.

“From what has been said, I think that the lynx of Abruzzo may be classed under the species which Schreber calls the lynx-cat. It is indeed smaller, and has very distinct spots; but that which I saw at Naples did not surpass our's in brilliant colours, and differs from it in nothing but in its production of only two young ones. Ælian's account of the lynx corresponds so exactly with the one above described, that I am inclined to suppose him not unacquainted with that species. As Pliny speaks of no lynxes in Italy, it may be presumed that in his time none existed there.”

Of the CULTIVATION of the OLIVE TREE, and the PROCESS of making OIL in the NEIGHBOURHOOD of GALLIPOLI.

[From the same Work.]

“THE olive-tree is here propagated, either by grafting, by slips, or by runners from the master roots, which in some places are called Barbatelle.

“They graft upon the wild olive-tree, which abounds upon the pastures, where old and half decayed trunks give reason to suppose that olive plantations formerly existed. This operation is performed between the end of March and the beginning of May; in three years fruit is produced; and this is the quickest method of producing it.

“The second mode is here called Culmonare. Between November

and March, the branch of a bearing tree, from four to seven palms long, and from two to three inches thick, is slipped off, and put into a hole which had been dug some time before. The earth is then heaped up around the branch, within a foot of the top, in order that it may remain perfectly fresh; and in ten years it becomes a profitable tree.

“The third method, here called Mazarehare, consists in planting very small shoots, at a proper distance, in ground previously prepared. They are carefully watered during summer, and transplanted the third year; but it is only at the end

end of 13 or 14 years, that any real profit can be derived from such trees.

“ I am much surprised that there should be no nursery for olive-trees in a district where that tree is honoured with more attention than in any other part of the kingdom. The prince of Francavilla had indeed established a nursery, but after his death it was suffered to go to decay, notwithstanding he, as well as the whole country, derived the greatest benefit therefrom.

“ In the propagation of the olive-tree, less attention is paid to the quality of the olive than ought to be shewn to that article; for here, as amongst other kinds of fruit-trees, we shall find several varieties, especially if we are governed by their different appellations. But besides that, almost every town has its own peculiar term for one and the same sort; botanizers declare that the varieties are very trifling, although the nature of the climate, and the mode of cultivation, assuredly occasion some sort of distinction. It is certain, however, that the woods and uncultivated places produce a tree called by the peasantry *Termete* and *Olivastro*, which entirely corresponds with the *Olea Europæa*, and brings forth a great quantity of fruit, which is only half the size of that produced by an engrafted olive-tree. From these wild trees, when improved by cultivation, probably spring the numberless varieties, which are to be found in this kingdom, and of which Dr. Presta mentions several in the quarto edition of his *Memoria intorno ai Sessanta due saggi d'Oglio presentati alla Maestà del Re di Napoli*, published at Naples, in 1778. Amongst them he principally distinguishes only two kinds, called at Gallipoli, Og-

liarola, and Cellina; from whose fruit he extracted a dissimilar oil, although he at the same time allows the difference to be inconsiderable. The former corresponds with that which the ancients termed *Salentina*; and its fruit is by far the best in quality; as well as the most common in the province; but the tree that bears it is subject to the blight, or *Brusca*. This olive is commonly nine lines long, six lines thick, somewhat curved, of a brownish hue, and black when it is perfectly ripe: it weighs between 30 and 40 grains, including the stone, which is almost smooth, and weighs about six or eight grains.

“ The other sort, called *Cellina*, is, after the above, the most common; but it has many different appellations, as *Uliva di Nardo*, *Casciolo*, *Misciana*, and others; and *Columella* is said to mention it by the name of *Oleastellum*. This olive is commonly eight lines long, six broad, and has a very light stone. At first it appears as if covered with a silvery sort of crape, but becomes quite black when it is ripe; it yields less than the foregoing, and the oil sooner turns rancid. The tree which bears this olive, is now very generally cultivated, it being less subject to diseases, and particularly to the *Brusca*.

“ The process of cultivating the olive-tree consists, first, in stirring the ground around the tree. This is done at the beginning of the year, when the earth is dug five or six feet around the trunk of the tree, to a certain depth, and some fine manure is put to the roots; but very judicious cultivators will not allow of the manure, and say that it is prejudicial to the quality of the oil. Only the trees upon the hills and fallow grounds are treated as above; the earth around those upon

upon the plains being sufficiently stirred in the tillage of the land.

“Far more difficult is the next operation of pruning, which is best understood by the inhabitants of the environs of Taranto, and especially by those of *Mazafra*, who are universally employed. Trees that do not shoot very fast are pruned in December; and such as are planted in a very rich soil, undergo that operation in the spring. The principal rule seems to be, to suffer but few central branches, to let in as much air as possible to the interior of the crown, and to form it more in breadth and rotundity than in height. But I doubt whether the true principles of pruning be understood here; and indeed, in some parts of this province, especially near *Lecce*, the trees, being never pruned at all, attain a very unusual height, and yield but very little fruit.

“Dr. Presta tried the experiment of pruning and treating his trees like espaliers, with considerable success.

“The olive-trees usually blossom in June. In October the fruit begins to ripen; but does not reach its full perfection until December, when the skin, the pulp, and the surface of the stone, becomes black. At that period they yield the best oil; and although in many places the olives are seen hanging upon the trees until the beginning of April, it is extremely detrimental to the quality of the oil, if the olives are allowed to remain upon the trees later than the close of December. Before the stone is hard, which takes place in August, no pressure whatever can force any oil out of the fruit. Although green in October, they are quite ripe enough for the table; and in November they assume a reddish hue,

but are still too acrid to produce oil of the best quality. At that time, indeed, a certain sort of oil, called *Oglio Onfacino*, is extracted from them, but is only used for particular purposes. According to *Dioscorides*, *Mat. Med. lib. i. cap. 27.* this oil was likewise prepared by the ancients, who knew how to give it a white colour, its natural one being a greenish yellow. It was by them considered as the best oil; but they must have possessed a method of preparing and colouring it, which is now lost; for notwithstanding Dr. Presta has with infinite attention tried every method of making it, the oil has always turned sharp, and been of a greenish yellow colour. The *Oleum strictivum* of the ancients was prepared from olives, which having attained a middle state of maturity, were neither green nor black, but spotted in a very particular manner. In some of the environs of Taranto, they wait until the olives fall to the ground, before they gather them; so that the harvest lasts from the end of October until the end of March. But at Taranto itself, where the management of this useful and profitable fruit is better understood, the olives are gathered in December with the greatest care, and heaped up in cellars, until it be convenient to press them. As very few individuals have an oil-press, and as in the baronial towns the lord has generally the exclusive right of possessing one, of which his subjects are constrained to make use, they are frequently obliged to wait so long before they can extract their oil, that the olives necessarily fall into a state of too great fermentation, which is succeeded by putrefaction; and this is one of the principal causes of the general badness of the oil. The duke of Mar-

tina

tina has indeed constructed magazines for olives, arched over, and contiguous to his presses, upon one of his estates, called Casalerotto, where he has 900 moggie of olive plantations; and the olives are well preserved therein; but such expensive works can only be undertaken by very opulent proprietors.

“The oil-mills, called trappeti, are of two kinds; one which has been in common use for a long period of time; and another that was found in the overwhelmed town of Stabia, and has been improved by Lavegha. The first consists of a solid piece of limestone, or marble, fashioned like a mill-stone, seven palms in diameter, and two in thickness: this vertical sort of wheel is placed upright upon a round flat stone, from six to seven palms in diameter, which has a raised border, and is fixed upon a pedestal four palms high. From the bottom of this stone rises a moveable cylinder, from which an axle extends into the centre of the upright stone, in such a manner, that it can turn round, as in the nave of a wheel. An ass being harnessed to a bar, that stretches also from the cylinder across the wheel, gives motion both to the cylinder and the wheel, whose weight crushes the olives upon the stone beneath. Of the other machine, which was found under the ruins of Stabia, and has been improved and rendered fit for present use by Lavegha, I have given as correct a representation as a hurried drawing would permit. It consists of a round pedestal, four or five palms high, in which is fixed a concave hemisphere, of lava, or other very hard stone, two palms deep in the middle, and seven and a half in diameter, including the brim, which is one palm and a half broad.

From the centre of this hemisphere rises a moveable cylinder, whose upper end is let into a cross beam, in which also it moves around. At a certain distance from the lower end, a very strong iron axle passes through the cylinder; upon each side of which a piece of lava, of an hemispherical form, is placed, so that the axle passes them far enough for nuts to be fixed at the ends of it, in such a manner, that the two segments may be moved at pleasure, to or from the cylinder. The convexity of these segments, which, when united, are four palms in diameter, exactly coincides with the concavity of the mortar, from which the segments can however be withdrawn by means of the nuts. In the space between the segments are two iron instruments, of which one is inserted in either stone; the one is in the form of a sickle, and keep the olives under the segments; and the other scratches off the thick pulp that adheres to them. A hole is cut through one side of the concave stone, and furnished with a cork, which, when the olives are sufficiently crushed, is drawn out, and the motion of the machine forces out the pulp; when fresh olives are thrown into the mill. The advantage of this oil-mill over the other consists in its requiring fewer hands, and in shortening the time of grinding. For with the common machine, one man is constantly employed in replacing under the mill-stone such olives as fall out, and in taking out the pulp, before he can put in fresh fruit. Somewhat less oil is perhaps produced by Lavegha's mill; but this defect is amply remedied by the superior quality of the oil; for as his mill possesses the peculiar advantage of crushing the olive without grinding the stone, the oil is
free

free from that raw and acrid sort of taste, to which the oil produced from the other mill is but too subject. In short, its numerous opponents can reproach it with nothing but being of more expensive construction; for their other objections, that it yields much less oil, and that their forefathers always made use of, and were satisfied with the common one, can have but little weight with reasonable people. And with respect to the expence, it is indeed certain that the duke of Martina expended a large sum in the construction of his mills at Casalerotto, for which he caused the lava to be transported by sea from the foot of mount Vesuvius to Tarranto; but it is not necessary for

every one to follow the example of that opulent nobleman, especially when it is known that the neighbouring mountains of Calabria abound in stone as proper for the purpose as lava, &c. As soon as the olives are sufficiently crushed, the pulp is put into a cylindrical sort of straw baskets, called *fischili*, placed one upon another, under a press, that is worked by four or five men. When the oil is done running, warm water is thrown upon the baskets, which undergo a second pressure. The oil is received either in wooden or earthen vessels, out of which it is poured into a deep brick cistern, where it is usually well preserved."

ANTIQUITIES.

CONJECTURE on the Use of the ANCIENT TERRASSED WORKS in the NORTH of ENGLAND, by JOHN FERRIAR, M. D.

[From the MEMOIRS of the LITERARY and PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY of MANCHESTER, Vol. IV. Part II.]

“ **I**N the northern counties of this kingdom, the sides of hills are in many places divided by regular terraces, evidently artificial. Such works are first observable in Westmoreland and Cumberland; in Northumberland they are very numerous. It is uncertain whether they exist in Scotland, for the silence of antiquarians, who are generally bad judges of earthen works, affords no proof to the contrary. Probably, the famous parallel roads of Glenco, described in the appendix to Mr. Pennant’s Tour, are terraces of this kind, as they abound in the avenues of hilly and difficult countries. The extent of these works is very different; in some places, there are not more than three or four rows of terraces, capable altogether of containing an hundred men; but in others, the terraces mount almost to the summits of lofty hills, and would lodge a considerable body of troops. At the battle of Humbledon, the Scottish army is said to have been posted on one of these works, which is the most extensive I remember to have observed.

“ That such terraces were intended for military purposes, can

hardly be doubted; but in what age, or with what particular view they were formed, has never yet been determined.

“ Mr. Wallis, in his Antiquities of Northumberland, supposes them to have been stations for parading the militia; but it is improbable, that in rude times, so much exertion should have been employed, in places not easily accessible, for a purpose, to which a level surface was much better adapted. On the contrary, their position, on commanding situations, secured by precipices, or difficult eminences on both flanks, or covered by advanced works of the same kind, but of smaller size, points them out as lines of defence. I believe they are chiefly to be traced on the most accessible parts of a high country, or rising from the brink of a river, to defend the passage. By what people they were raised, it is very difficult to conjecture. They differ in every particular from the British works, described by Cæsar, and are probably of more recent date, for they indicate the access of the invaders to the interior, and stronger part of the country. And no traces of the British dry walls appear.

appear in them, although stone is plentiful on the very ground where they are formed. They resemble, in some places, the Danish field-works, but their great extent, and position with respect to the sea and low country, for they chiefly point to the east and south, render it improbable that they are of Danish origin. I was once inclined to think, that they were constructed to oppose the progress of that people, because considerable terraces are visible, on the sloping eminences of some fields, near Bambrough castle, in Northumberland, which, among a great variety of intrenchments, contain some beautiful semicircular redoubts, with triple ramparts. But, in a short ramble to the lakes, in spring 1791, the view of Orton Scarr, between Kendal and Appleby, and of the neighbouring country, induced me to believe, that if this kind of defence were employed against the Danes, it had been, however, of earlier origin.

“Orton Scarr (or rock), of which I have given a very imperfect sketch from memory, lies on the north-east, directly opposite the lower opening of the pass of Brederdale, at the extremity of a narrow valley, watered by a small river. The front of the precipice is occupied by three rows of terraces, resembling two round bastions, connected by a curtain. On the more level part of the hill, under the beacon, some lines appear to have been drawn, but I had not leisure to trace them. Near the road, somewhat in the rear of the terraces, two small cairns are visible. The pass of Brederdale, which the traveller descends, in going northwards, is a steep and winding defile, commanded by precipitous hills. Where it begins to

spread out towards the valley, we meet with a considerable Roman station, occupying nearly the whole breadth of the pass, from the steep bank of the rivulet, to the foot of the declivity. It appears to have been fortified with care, for it is surrounded by a lofty double rampart, and two ditches. In the bottom, where the banks of the rivulet are level, appear the traces of Castle How, which I suspect to be founded on the site of a Roman castellum, designed to protect the watering parties. It is in full view of the station. Thus we are presented with the appearance of two hostile garrisons, evidently invading and invaded. At present, all is solitariness and silence:

*Stat circum alta quies, curvoque innixus
aratro*

*Desertas fossas, et castra minantia castris
Rusticus invertit, tacita formidine lustrans
Horrorémque loci, et funestis stragibus agros.
Addison. Pax Gulielm.*

On the opposite bank of the rivulet, lower than castle How, appears to have been another castellum. At the entrance of the defile, from the south, a few slight traces of terraces are seen, and the remains of a square entrenchment, with a shallow ditch, are discovered, adjoining, in the flat country. In temporary encampments, the Romans commonly used a ditch, from three to five feet deep. These silent monuments impress a connected story on the mind of the observer, and perhaps afford some materials for recovering a lost chapter in history. Happily, the antiquarian vision I am about to recite, obliges us to erase nothing already recorded.

“It seems, from the imperfect account of Tacitus, that Agricola was the first Roman commander
H 2 who

who penetrated into that part of the country, in which these antiquities are situated. Cerealis had reduced the Brigantes of Yorkshire, but the inhabitants of Cheshire and Lancashire were unsubdued, and the people of Westmoreland had probably secured themselves in their rocks and defiles. The incidents of Agricola's first campaign are only hinted at by Tacitus, and most of our antiquarians have contented themselves with supposing, that he entered Yorkshire by the way of Isurium, or Aldborough. But the first operation of that general was to recover the isle of Mona, or Anglesey, immediately before his troops went into winter quarters, and it is probable, from the expressions of Tacitus, that in the following spring he proceeded northwards, along the coasts of Cheshire and Lancashire: "*loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac sylvas ipse prætentare*—*nulla ante Britannia nova pars illacessita transierit.*" The word *æstuaria* can only refer to the inlets of the western coast: the æstuaries of the Mersey and Ribble, and the bay of Morecamb, the *morecambe æstuarium* of the Romans. Mr. Whitaker, in his learned history of Manchester, has therefore conjectured, with great probability, that in 79, after overcoming the Cornavii, Agricola invaded Lancashire. The appearances I have described, induce me to add to his conjecture, that the campaign was probably closed by an invasion of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and that in its course, Orton Scarr was attacked and taken. The strong country, with which the pass of Brederdale communicates, might have been the refuge of part of the Brigantes, who had escaped from the attack made by Cerealis on the low country. From the number of British and Roman

remains in this neighbourhood, it plainly appears that the hilly country was formerly well peopled, and considered as an important district. No part of it was neglected. Even the dreary pass of Borrodale received a Roman garrison. And while the religious horror of the adjoining mountains favoured the mysterious impostures of the Druids, the beauty and convenience of the vales and lakes must have early attracted numerous inhabitants. The changes in the seat of population, in this island, have been so great, that in judging of the importance or remoteness of any northern part of the country, in former times, we may almost venture to reverse its present condition. To this retreat, some of the Britons might bring an imperfect knowledge of the Roman art of war, and the invention of terrassed ramparts might then be substituted for the walls of loose stones, which the first defenders of this country opposed to the efforts of the legions. Whether Agricola, after subduing the Sistuntii of Lancashire, sailed up the bay of Morecamb, or whether he proceeded along the coast, fixing a station at Lancaster, I shall not undertake to enquire. It is certain, that in the route from the bay of Morecamb to Kendal, various traces of ancient entrenchments are visible; but Dr. Stukeley, by a stroke of his lively pen, has turned those scarce discernible mounds into splendid cities. Apart from this fancy of multiplying Palmyras in the desert, Dr. Stukeley was a most acute antiquarian, and an excellent judge of field-works in particular. It is therefore dangerous to question his authority on this point.

"Supposing, then, Agricola to have advanced, in his first campaign, by the pass of Brederdale, let

let us try how far the series of field-works described, will assist us in recovering a fragment of his history. The slight terrace-work, at the entrance of the defile from Kendal, shews that some attempt was made to resist the invading army there. The Romans had therefore encamped, as the square entrenchment indicates, hard by the pass, till the enemy retreated, or were dislodged. When the invaders reached the bottom of the defile, their camp would probably be strongly entrenched, as the post of Orton Scarr, commanding all the interjacent country, would then appear very formidable. Whether the castella were then thrown up, to protect the watering and reconnoitering parties, or whether these were subsequent works, for the security of the station, it is impossible to determine. The former conjecture is not improbable. To pass the valley, then perhaps marshy, or covered with thickets, under the eye of a vigilant enemy, expecting an attack, was an operation that might require a delay of some days, and after all, it was impossible to attack the post in front. The lines, therefore, must have been turned, at the accessible part of the hill, near the situation of the present high road, and perhaps the cairns point out the very place of

the assault. The success of this action would open the way to Carlisle, and to the sea. Other terraces appear on a rising ground near Penrith, facing towards Kewick, the road from which passes through them. And on the side of a hill, fronting the river Eimont, near Brougham castle, a considerable terraced work is very distinguishable. But no probable conjecture can be formed, respecting the other incidents of this campaign. Perhaps I have ventured sufficiently far already,

“No remains of parapets are seen on any of these works, which have come under my observation, although the ramparts seem to retain their original height. If parapets were ever added to them, they would be liable to sudden decay, by the action of winds and rains, in situations so greatly exposed. At Orton Scarr, from the breadth of the platform of each rampart, it might be supposed that room was given for tents, or huts. But at Humbledon, and in other places, the breadth is only sufficient for a single file of soldiers. If this construction was an attempt to imitate the Roman method of fortification, the ramparts might, like those of the Romans, have been defended by projecting wooden towers, or palisades.”

PARTICULARS of the EXPENCE of the ROYAL HOUSEHOLD in the Reigns of HENRY VII. HENRY VIII. QUEEN ELIZABETH, &c.

[From the Twelfth Volume of ARCHÆOLOGIA, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.]

“IF we compare the expences of the royal household in former times with those of later-dates, and observe the alteration of the value of money, and the progressive rise

in the cost of provisions, the result will probably be, that the expence of his present majesty's household is not more than it was in the time of queen Elizabeth, and is much

less than it was in the time of her successor.

“ The articles contained in the very curious wardrobe account of Edward the Second, published by the society, seem rather to relate to his extraordinary expences and preparations for war in Scotland, than to what we should properly call the expences of the household. The amount of the latter is, however, to be collected from the conclusion of the account, which, after stating the whole expences of the articles in that book to be £.53,178 15 1 adds, ‘ Summa tota-

lis exituum et expensarum garde-robe per istum librum de anno 28, una cum expensis hospiticii regis ejusdem anni

64,105 0 5

Deduct then the above sum

53,178 15 1

and the household

expences will be 10,926 5 4

“ What might be the expence of Richard the Second, I do not know; but, according to Holinshed, it must have been enormous, as he says there were 300 servitors in the kitchen, and every other office furnished at the like rate, and that ten thousand persons had meat and drink allowed them.

“ From the pipe rolls it appears, that the greatest expence of Henry VII. was about 15,000l. per ann. but this was afterwards lessened, and towards the end of his reign was reduced to about 13,000l.

“ Henry the Eighth, a prince fond of expence, began with about 16,000l. per ann. and went on increasing till in his 30th year the expence was 22,000l.; in the 33d year it got up to 34,000l. and the 37th to 40,000l.

“ In the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign, she reduced her expence a little below what her father ended with, but, at the conclusion of her long reign, it was increased to 55,000l.

“ A little before her death she was very uneasy at finding her household expences run so high, and the following account of a conversation which she had on the subject with Mr. Brown, one of the officers of her green-cloth, is truly characteristic of her. She died shortly after, and before any thing had been done to correct the abuses complained of.

“ The original of this paper is amongst some that were collected by sir Julius Cæsar. It is indorsed,

‘ The late Q. Ma^{ties} spetches often tymes to R. Bro: for household causes.’

‘ Richard Brown’s s’vice to the late queene, and her m^{ty} speeches and com^{ts} at fundrie times to him for household causes knowen to some of the lo: in coun- cil and white-staves.

‘ The household charges abridged from 50,000l. to 44,000l. per ann. for in two offices onlie 2,000l. per ann. abated.—Larder —poultrie—herma^{tie} has notwithstanding told Browne, that in the beginning of her raigne lesse than 40,000l. defrayed the charge. Browne answered, that all provisions then weare cheaper. The queene said, that may bee soe, and I save by the late compoc’ou (as I am informed) 10,000l. per ann. and therefore I charge yo^r exa- myne the difference of some yeare in the beginnunge of my raigne with one yeares expences now, and lett me understand ytt.

‘ An examinac’on and conference

‘rence was made betweene the
‘third yeare and the 43th yeare, yt
‘was found that in bread, beare,
‘wyne, wood, coles, wax-lights,
‘torches, tallow-lights, and some
‘meete, and other allowances of
‘incidents, necessaries, carriages,
‘wages, &c. to the some of 12,000l.
‘per ann. at the least, more was
‘spent in a^o. 43th. then in a^o 3th.
‘Reg^r. and no sufficient warrant
‘for the increase, whereby ytt did
‘playnlie appeare, that the booke
‘signed by her mat^e for the honour-
‘able allowance to all p^rsons was
‘not exceeded.

‘The queenes mat^e being in-
‘formed of this difference, and be-
‘ing therewith moved greatlie, said,
‘And shall I suffer this, did not I
‘tell yo^u, Browne, what yo^u should
‘fynd, I was nev^r in all my govern-
‘ment, foe royallie, with numbers
‘of noblemen and la: attended up-
‘on, as in the beginninge of my
‘raigne, all offices in my co^u be-
‘ing supplied, w^{ch} now are not,
‘and all those then satisfied with
‘my allowance, agreed uppon by
‘my councell and signed by me,
‘wth that care as by all former
‘princes hath bene used. And
‘shall these now that attend, and
‘have the like allowances, not rest
‘contented. I will not suffer this
‘disho^uable spoile, and increase that
‘noe prince ever before me did, to
‘the offence of God, and great
‘greavance of my lovinge subjects,
‘who, I understand, daylie com-
‘playne, and not without cause,
‘that there is increase daylie of
‘carryadges and of p^rvic^on taken
‘from them, at low prices, and
‘wastfullie spent within my co^u to
‘some of their undoings, and now
‘myself understanding of yt, they
‘may justlie accuse me, to suffer yt,
‘with many other discontented
‘speeches, delivered with great ve-

‘hemencie, complayninge of the
‘weaknesse of the whitestaves to
‘suffer yt, and accusinge herself
‘for making foe slender choice,
‘with many more speeches, &c.
‘But my speedy order for refor-
‘mac^on, shall satisfy my lovinge
‘subjects greeved, for I will end as
‘I beganne with my subjects love.’

“ In another hand is written,
‘yt ys no marvell thoughe
‘those grevan^{ts} were compl^{ed}
‘in parliam^t.’

‘Those that are nearest to me,
‘and have dailie great benefit by
‘suits, have these wastfull increases
‘daylie, but my whitestaves and
‘those of my greencloth, by whom
‘all good orders and hono^uble allow-
‘ances should be maynteyned, are
‘principal falters herein, for noe in-
‘crease can be without their privi-
‘tie and unlawful warraunt, where-
‘by I fynd the difference of officers
‘now, and in the beginninge of ow^r
‘raigne.

‘Whereupon her mat^e. gave
‘straight charge and commandm^t
‘to Browne forthwith to repayre to
‘the lo: treasurer, lo: admiral, and
‘the whitestaves of the how should
‘(w^{ch} Browne did), that order might
‘be taken to abridge all messes of
‘meate, and other expences, more
‘than the booke signed doth allowe,
‘and further said, myself will speke
‘unto them, and geve them charge,
‘and then let me see or learn, what
‘he in my house that dareth breake
‘and disobey my orders and com-
‘mandement^t signed, with verie bit-
‘ter speeches, that shee would
‘cleanse her co^u, and not suffer such
‘a number of p^rsons and famylies
‘more than are to bee allowed to
‘bee kept within the co^u, where-
‘uppon her mat^e sent certain noates
‘to the white staves, to be put in
‘p^resent execuc^on, in the meane
‘tyme, before the effectinge where-

‘ of yt pleased God to take her ma^{ty}
‘ to his mercie.’

“ Economy was not one of the virtues possessed by James the First (if indeed he possessed any), and when he came to the land of plenty, he had no idea of limiting his expences. The estimate for the first year was 76,954l. 2s. 5½d. besides 16,000l. for the prince, making together 92,954l. 2s. 5½d. In his fourth year his household expence was 97,421l. 2s. 3d. From Michaelmas in his seventh year to Michaelmas in the eighth year, it was 129,863l. 9s. 0½d. and yet the king had corn and cattle served by the several counties at under prices, that the farmers might get rid of purveyors, the benefit of which was estimated to the king at 38,000l.

“ Prince Henry’s expences kept pace with his father’s. At the first establishment of his household, 20th July, 1 James I. anno 1603, he had servants 79

“ A few weeks after a second book was signed, when they were increased to 104

“ In the next year they amounted to 141

besides servants of these servants who had intruded themselves into the court 130

“ The 141 soon multiplied into 215

besides workmen of various sorts, and 13 extraordinary.

“ In 1608 they were 233 and with the masters, the number of servants also increased.

“ The book signed by his royal highness in 1610 gives the names of 297 with wages, 129 without, 426

besides various workmen, among whom is Inigo Jones, as surveyor of the works.

“ The following letter, the original of which is amongst sir Julius

Cæsar’s papers, mentioned above, will shew the consequence of this want of management.

“ It is indorsed

‘ To the right honourabl my
‘ very good lord the erl of
‘ Dorset, l^d high treasurer of
‘ Englande.’

‘ Right honorabell my very good
‘ lord :

‘ According to my duty I have
‘ beene always carefull to save al
‘ needless expense in the prince’s
‘ house. But the continual increase
‘ of new servants dayly sent hether
‘ by warrante procured without my
‘ knowlege, has brought the charge
‘ so farr out of frame, that it hard
‘ to conceive a course how to lessen
‘ it, seeing the necessary increase of
‘ many moor will follow the prince’s
‘ advancement in years and digni-
‘ tie. Notwithstanding least I should
‘ seeme to bee careless, or over cu-
‘ rious to search into other mens ac-
‘ tions, if it shall please your l^p to
‘ commande mee by a letter, to call
‘ the officers of this household to
‘ advise of some redress, unto fur-
‘ ther inconveniencies, I hoope
‘ both to give your l^p good accounte
‘ of the present estate of our ex-
‘ pense, and to make some overture
‘ how to reforme, or at least to pre-
‘ vent futur accidents. The note
‘ that I sent your l^p containing a
‘ breefe of such orders as I desir to
‘ be ratified for avoyding confusion
‘ and disorder in the table, I be-
‘ seech your l^p to consider of, and
‘ to propounde them not simply as
‘ a suite of myne, but as a matter
‘ generally requisite for the better
‘ government of his highnes house.
‘ And as my duty always binds mee
‘ I rest,

‘ Your l^ps assuredly to commande,

‘ THO. CHALONER.’

St. James,
Jan. 27.

“ Sir Thomas Chaloner, in a letter to sir Julius Cæsar, dated 7 Nov. 1607, mentions some of the above circumstances, says he would (at the first) have undertaken to maintain the (prince's) house to the king's honour for 8000l. yearly, provided they might have good payment of the money; that in the first year he dismissed of unnecessary dependants on the house at least 3 score, whereof many had passports to return to their own country, and he utterly refused all suitors who addressed themselves to him to obtain some place about the prince, and then he complains of the great increase, without warrant, as well as with, and of the number of suitors waiting for places. He says, that for the want of ready money, the purveyors are forced to take up meate on trust, and then serve it out so small and ill, at a price so high, that the king had better borrow money at 20 per cent.

“ It seems that king James's ser-

vants took much pains in endeavouring to lessen his enormous expence, and formed various projects for that purpose. They obtained an account of the French king's household expence, which was not so great as king James's. The heads of it were as follows:

	Sterling.		
The table and kitchen	35,718	3	6
The stables	7,620	0	0
Domestic officers	9,000	0	0
The office of plate	8,180	0	0
The treasurer of the chamber	12,893	5	0
The gardes du corps	5,400	2	0
The provost of the household	3,000	0	0
The hounds and falcons	3,642	14	0
<hr/>			
Total	85,454	4	6

“ In 1622 king James's expence was reduced to 78,995 7 8 but he soon after made additions to it.

		£.	s.	d.
The household expence of king Charles II. from 1 October, 1663, to the last of September, 1664, was		57,275	1	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
to which is to be added for the duke of York	—	10,000	0	0
The household of king James II. in 1687.				
Household coffers	—	76,118	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stables	—	14,336	19	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
King William and queen Mary, 1 Oct. 1692, to the last of Sept. 1693	—	90,455	5	8
King William alone from 1698 to 1699	—	114,685	7	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Queen Anne, 2 years, Oct. 1703—1705	—	90,735	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
the average	—	167,421	4	2
1 year Oct. 1712—1713	—	83,710	12	0
King George I. Oct. 1715—1716	—	89,044	6	10
1723—1724	—	75,629	7	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
King George II. 1730—1731	—	86,097	19	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1731—1732	—	118,487	2	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
1 Jan. to the last of Dec. 1759	—	124,806	17	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
		108,290	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

“ At the accession of his present majesty a considerable reduction was made in the household expences. An increase attended the increase of his family, but they were again reduced in 1782.

A SHORT ACCOUNT of several GARDENS near LONDON, with Remarks on some Particulars wherein they excel, or are deficient, upon a View of them in December 1691; communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. Dr. HAMILTON, Vice President, from an original Manuscript in his Possession.

[From the same Work.]

“ 1. **H**AMPTON Court garden is a large plat, environed with an iron palisade round about next the park, laid all in walks, grass plats and borders. Next to the house, some flat and broad beds are set with narrow rows of dwarf box, in figures like lace-patterns. In one of the lesser gardens is a large green house divided into several rooms, and all of them with stoves under them, and fire to keep a continual heat. In these there are no orange or lemon trees, or myrtles, or any greens, but such tender foreign ones that need continual warmth.

“ 2. Kensington Gardens are not great nor abounding with fine plants. The orange, lemon, myrtles, and what other trees they had there in summer, were all removed to Mr. London's and Mr. Wise's greenhouse at Brompton Park, a little mile from them. But the walks and grass laid very fine, and they were digging up a flat of four or five acres to enlarge their garden.

“ 3. The queen dowager's garden, at Hammersmith, has a good greenhouse, with a high erected front to the south, whence the roof falls backward. The house is well stored with greens of common kinds; but the queen not being for curious plants or flowers, they want of the most curious sorts of greens, and in the garden there is little of value but wall trees; though the gardener there, monsieur Hermon

Van Guine, is a man of great skill and industry, having raised great numbers of orange and lemon trees by inoculation, with myrtles, Roman bayes, and other greens of pretty shapes, which he has to dispose of.

“ 4. Bedington garden, at present in the hands of the duke of Norfolk, but belonging to the family of Carew, has in it the best orangery in England. The orange and lemon trees there grow in the ground, and have done so near one hundred years, as the gardener, an aged man, said he believed. There are a great number of them, the house wherein they are being above two hundred feet long; they are most of them thirteen feet high, and very full of fruit, the gardener not having taken off so many flowers this last summer as usually others do. He said, he gathered off them at least ten thousand oranges this last year. The heir of the family being but about five years of age, the trustees take care of the orangery, and this year they built a new house over them. There are some myrtles growing among them, but they look not well for want of trimming. The rest of the garden is all out of order, the orangery being the gardener's chief care; but it is capable of being made one of the best gardens in England, the soil being very agreeable, and a clear silver stream running through it.

“ 5. Chelsea physic garden has
great

great variety of plants, both in and out of greenhouses. Their perennial green hedges and rows of different coloured herbs are very pretty, and so are their banks set with shades of herbs in the Irish stich-way, but many plants of the garden were not in so good order as might be expected, and as would have been answerable to other things in it. After I had been there, I heard that Mr. Watts, the keeper of it, was blamed for his neglect, and that he would be removed.

“ 6. My lord Ranelagh's garden being but lately made, the plants are but small, but the plats, borders, and walks, are curiously kept, and elegantly designed, having the advantage of opening into Chelsea college walks. The kitchen garden there lies very fine, with walks and seats, one of which, being large and covered, was then under the hands of a curious painter. The house there is very fine within, all the rooms being wainscoted with Norway oak, and all the chimneys adorned with carving, as in the council chamber in Chelsea college.

“ 7. Arlington garden, being now in the hands of my lord of Devonshire, is a fair plat, with good walks, both airy and shady. There are six of the greatest earthen pots that are any where else, being at least two feet over within the edge; but they stand abroad, and have nothing in them but the tree hollyoke, an indifferent plant, which grows well enough in the ground. Their greenhouse is very well, and their greenyard excels; but their greens were not so bright and clean as farther off in the country, as if they suffered something from the smutty air of the town.

“ 8. My lord Fauconbergh's garden, at Sutton court, has several

pleasant walks and apartments in it; but the upper garden next the house is too irregular, and the bowling green too little to be commended. The greenhouse is very well made, but ill set. It is divided into three rooms, and very well furnished with good greens; but it is so placed, that the sun shines not on the plants in winter, where they most need its beams, the dwelling-house standing betwixt the sun and it. The maze or wilderness there is very pretty, being set all with greens, with a cypress arbour in the middle, supported with a well-wrought timber frame; of late it grows thin at the bottom, by their letting the fir trees grow without their reach unclipped. The enclosure wired-in for white pheasants and partridges is a fine apartment, especially in summer, when the bones of Italian bayes are set out, and the timber walk with vines on the side is very fine when the blew pots are on the pedestals on the top of it, and so is the fish-pond with the greens at the head of it.

“ 9. Sir William Temple, being lately gone to live at his house in Farnham, his garden and greenhouse at West Sheene, where he has lived of late years, are not so well kept as they have been, many of his orange trees, and other greens, being given to sir John Temple, his brother, at East Sheene, and other gentlemen; but his greens that are remaining (being as good a stock as most greenhouses have) are very fresh and thriving, the room they stand in suiting well with them and being well contrived, if it be no defect in it that the floor is a foot at least within the ground, as is also the floor of the dwelling house. He had attempted to have orange trees to grow in the ground (as at Beddington), and for that purpose had

had enclosed a square of ten feet wide, with a low brick wall, and sheltered them with wood, but they would not do. His orange trees in summer stand not in any particular square or enclosure, under some shelter, as most others do, but are disposed on pedestals of Portland stone, at equal distance, on a board over against a south wall, where is his best fruit, and fairest walk.

“ 10. Sir Henry Capell’s garden at Kew has as curious greens, and is as well kept as any about London. His two lentiscus trees (for which he paid forty pounds to Verspritt) are said to be the best in England, not only of their kind, but of greens. He has four white striped hollies, about four feet above their cases, kept round and regular, which cost him five pounds a tree this last year, and six laurustinuses he has, with large round equal heads, which are very flowery and make a fine shew. His orange trees and other choicer greens stand out in summer in two walks about fourteen feet wide, enclosed with a timber frame about seven feet high, and set with silver firs hedge-wise, which are as high as the frame, and this to secure them from wind and tempest, and sometimes from the scorching sun. His terrace walk, bare in the middle, and grass on either side, with a hedge of rue on one side next a low wall, and a row of dwarf trees on the other, shews very fine, and so do from thence his yew hedges with trees of the same at equal distance, kept in pretty shapes with tonsure. His flowers and fruits are of the best, for the advantage of which two parallel walls, about fourteen feet high, were now raised and almost finished. If the ground were not a little irregular, it would ex-

cel in other points, as well as in furniture.

“ 11. Sir Stephen Fox’s garden at Chiswick being but of five years standing, is brought to great perfection for the time. It excels for a fair gravel walk betwixt two yew hedges, with rounds and spires of the same, all under smooth tonsure. At the far end of this garden are two myrtle hedges that cross the garden; they are about three feet high, and covered in winter with painted board cases. The other gardens are full of flowers and falleting, and the walls well clad. The greenhouse is well built, well set, and well furnished.

“ 12. Sir Thomas Cooke’s garden at Hackney is very large, and not so fine at present, because of his intending to be at three thousand pounds charge with it this next summer, as his gardener said. There are two greenhouses in it, but the greens are not extraordinary, for one of the roofs being made a receptacle for water, overcharged with weight, fell down last year upon the greens, and made a great destruction among the trees and pots. In one part of it is a warren, containing about two acres, very full of coneys, though there was but a couple put in a few years since. There is a pond or a mote round about them, and on the outside of that a brick wall four feet high, both which I think will not keep them within their compass. There is a large fish-pond lying on the south to a brick wall, which is finely clad with philaria. Water brought from far in pipes furnishes his several ponds as they want it.

“ 13. Sir Josiah Child’s plantations of walnut and other trees at Wansted are much more worth seeing than his gardens, which are but indifferent. Besides, the great
number

number of fruit trees he has planted in his enclosures with great regularity, he has vast number of elms, ashes, limes, &c. planted in rows on Epping forest. Before his outgate, which is above twelve score distance from his house, are two large fish-ponds on the forest, in the way from his house, with trees on either side lying betwixt them; in the middle of either pond is an island betwixt twenty and thirty yards over, and in the middle of each a house, the one like the other. They are said to be well stocked with fish, and so they had need to be if they cost him five thousand pounds, as it is said they did; as also that his plantations cost twice as much.

“ 14. Sir Robert Clayton has great plantations at Marden in Surrey, in a soil not very benign to plants, but with great charge he forces nature to obey him. His gardens are big enough, but strangely irregular, his chief walk not being level, but rising in the middle and falling much more at one end than the other; neither is the wall carried by a line either on the top or sides, but runs like an ordinary park wall, built as the ground goes. He built a good greenhouse, but set it so that the hills in winter keep the sun from it, so that they place their greens in a house on higher ground not built for that purpose. His dwelling house stands very low, surrounded with great hills; and yet they have no water but what is forced from a deep well into a waterhouse, whence they are furnished by pipes at pleasure.

“ 15. The archbishop of Canterbury's garden at Lambeth has little in it but walks, the late archbishop not delighting in one, but they are now making them better;

and they have already made a greenhouse, one of the finest and costliest about the town. It is of three rooms, the middle having a stove under it; the foresides of the rooms are almost all glass, the roof covered with lead, the whole part (to adorn the building) rising gavelwise higher than the rest; but it is placed so near Lambeth church, that the sun shines most on it in winter after eleven o'clock; a fault owned by the gardener, but not thought on by the contrivers. Most of the greens are oranges and lemons, which have very large ripe fruit on them.

“ 16. Dr. Uvedale of Enfield is a great lover of plants, and having an extraordinary art in managing them, is become master of the greatest and choicest collection of exotic greens that is perhaps any where in this land. His greens take up six or seven houses or roomsteads. His orange trees and largest myrtles fill up his biggest house, and another house is filled with myrtles of a less size, and those more nice and curious plants, that need closer keeping are in warmer rooms, and some of them stoved when he thinks fit. His flowers are choice, his stock numerous, and his culture of them very methodical and curious; but, to speak of the garden in the whole, it does not lie fine to please the eye, his delight and care lying more in the ordering particular plants, than in the pleasing view and form of his garden.

“ 17. Dr. Tillotson's garden near Enfield is a pleasureable place for walks, and some good walls there are too; but the tall aspin trees, and the many ponds in the heart of it, are not so agreeable. He has two houses for greens, but had few

in them, all the best being removed to Lambeth. The house is moated about.

" 18. Mr. Evelyn has a pleasant villa at Deptford, a fine garden for walks and hedges (especially his holly one, which he writes of in his Sylva), and a pretty little greenhouse, with an indifferent stock in it. In his garden he has four large round philareas, smooth clipped, raised on a single stalk from the ground, a fashion now much used. Part of his garden is very woody and shady for walking; but his garden, not being walled, has little of the best fruits.

" 19. Mr. Watts's house and garden made near Endfield are new; but the garden for the time is very fine, and large and regularly laid out, with a fair fish-pond in the middle. He built a greenhouse this summer with three rooms (somewhat like the archbishop of Canterbury's) the middle with a stove under it, and a sky-light above, and both of them of glass on the fore-side, with shutters within, and the roof finely covered with Irish slate. But this fine house is under the same great fault with three before (Numbers 8, 14, 15.); they built it in summer, and thought not of winter; the dwelling house on the south side interposing betwixt the sun and it now when its beams should refresh plants.

" 20. Brompton park garden, belonging to Mr. London and Mr. Wise, has a large long greenhouse, the front all glass and board, the north side brick. Here the king's greens, which were in summer at Kensington, are placed, but they take but little room in comparison of their own. Their garden is chiefly a nursery for all sorts of plants, of which they are very full.

" 21. Mr. Raynton's garden at

Endfield is observable for nothing but his greenhouse, which he has had for many years. His orange, lemon, and myrtle trees, are as full and furnished as any in cases. He has a myrtle cut in shape of a chaire, that is a least six feet high from the case, but the lower part is thin of leaves. The rest of the garden is very ordinary, and on the outside of his garden he has a warren, which makes the ground about his seat lye rudely, and sometimes the coney's work under the wall into the garden.

" 22. Mr. Richardson at East Barnet has a pretty garden, with fine walks and good flowers; but the garden not being walled about they have less summer fruit, yet are, therefore, the more industrious in managing the peach and apricot dwarf standards, which, they say, supply them plentifully with very good fruit. There is a good fish-pond in the middle of it, from which a broad gravel walk leads to the highway, where a fair pair of broad gates, with a narrower on either side, open at the top to look through small bars, well wrought and well painted, are a great ornament to the garden. They have orange and lemon trees; but the wife and son being the managers of the garden (the husband being gouty and not minding it), they cannot prevail for a house for them other than a barn end.

" 23. Captain Foster's garden at Lambeth has many curiosities in it. His greenhouse is full of fresh and flourishing plants, and before it is the finest striped holly hedge that perhaps is in England. He has many myrtles, not the greatest, but of the most fanciful shapes that are any where else. He has a framed walk of timber covered with vines, which, with others, running on most

of his walls without prejudice to his lower trees, yield him a deal of wine. Of flowers he has a good choice, and his Virginia and other birds in a great variety, with his glass hive, add much to the pleasure of his garden.

“ 24. Monsieur Anthony Vespert has a little garden of very choice things. His greenhouse has no very great number of plants, but what he has are of the best sort, and very well ordered. His oranges and lemons (fruit and tree) are extraordinary fair, and for lentiscus's and Roman bayes he has choice above others.

“ 25. Ricketts, at Hoxton, has a large ground, and abundantly stocked with all manner of flowers, fruit-trees, and other garden plants, with lime trees, which are now much planted; and, for a sale garden, he has a very good greenhouse, and well filled with fresh greens, besides which he has another room very full of greens in pots. He has a greater stock of Assyrian thyme than any body else; for, besides many pots of it, he has beds abroad, with plenty of roots, which they cover with mats and straw in winter. He sells his things with the dearest, and, not taking due care to have his plants prove well, he is supposed to have lost much of his custom.

“ 26. Pearson has not near so large a ground as Ricketts (on whom he almost joins), and therefore he has not so many trees, but of flowers he has great choice, and of anemones he avers he has the best about London, and sells them only to gentlemen. He has no greenhouse, yet has abundance of myrtles and striped philareas, with o-

ranges and other greens, which he keeps safe enough under sheds, sunk a foot within ground, and covered with straw. He has abundance of cypresses, which, at three feet high, he sells for four pence apiece to those that take any number. He is moderate in his prices, and accounted very honest in his dealing, which gets him much chapmanry.

“ 27. Darby, at Hoxton, has but a little garden, but is master of several curious greens that other sale gardeners want, and which he saves from cold and winter weather in greenhouses of his own making. His fritalaria crassa (a green) had a flower on it of the breadth of a half crown, like an embroidered star, of several colours; I saw not the like any where, no, not at Dr. Uvedale's, though he has the same plant. He raises many striped hollies by inoculation, though captain Foster grafts them as we do apple trees. He is very curious in propagating greens, but is dear with them. He has a folio paper book in which he has pasted the leaves and flowers of almost all manner of plants, which make a pretty shew, and are more instructive than any cuts in herbals.

“ 28. Clements, at Mile-end, has no bigger a garden than Darby, but has more greens, yet not of such curious sorts. He keeps them in a greenhouse made with a light charge. He has vines in many places about old trees, which they wind about. He made wine this year of his white muscadine, and white frontinac, better I thought than any French white wine. He keeps a shop of seeds in plants in pots next the street.”

SKETCH of the HISTORY of SUGAR in the EARLY TIMES, and through the MIDDLE AGES; by WILLIAM FALCONER, M. D. F. R. S. &c.

[From the MEMOIRS of the LITERARY and PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY of MANCHESTER, Vol. IV. Part II.]

THE use of sugar is probably of high, though not remote antiquity, as no mention of it is made, as far as I can find, in the sacred writings of the old testament. The conquests of Alexander seem to have opened the discovery of it to the western parts of the world.

“Nearchus, his admiral, found the sugar cane in the East Indies, as appears from his account of it, quoted by Strabo. It is not, however, clear, from what he says, that any art was used in bringing the juice of the cane to the consistence of sugar.

“Theophrastus, who lived not long after, seems to have had some knowledge of sugar, at least of the cane from which it is prepared. In enumerating the different kinds of honey, he mentions one that is found in reeds, which must have been meant of some of those kinds which produce sugar.

“Eratosthenes, also, is quoted by Strabo, as speaking of the roots of large reeds found in India, which were sweet to the taste both when raw and when boiled.

“The next author, in point of time, that makes mention of sugar, is Varro, who, in a fragment quoted by Isidorus, evidently alludes to this substance. He describes it as a fluid, pressed out from reeds of a large size, which was sweeter than honey.

“Dioscorides, speaking of the different kinds of honey, says, that ‘there is a kind of it, in a concrete state, called *saccharon*, which is found in reeds in India and Arabia Felix. This, he adds, has the

‘appearance of salt; and, like that, is brittle when chewed. It is beneficial to the bowels and stomach, if taken dissolved in water; and is also useful in diseases of the bladder and kidneys. Being sprinkled on the eye, it removes those substances that obscure the sight.’ The above is the first account I have seen of the medicinal virtues of sugar.

“Galen appears to have been well acquainted with sugar, which he describes, nearly as Dioscorides had done, as a kind of honey, called *sacchar*, that came from India and Arabia Felix, and concreted in reeds. He describes it as less sweet than honey, but of similar qualities, as detergent, desiccative, and digredient. He remarks a difference, however, in that sugar is not, like honey, injurious to the stomach, or productive of thirst.

“If the third book of Galen, ‘Upon medicines that may be easily procured,’ be genuine, we have reason to think sugar could not be a scarce article, as it is there repeatedly prescribed.

“Lucan alludes to sugar, in his third book, where he speaks of the sweet juices expressed from reeds, which were drank by the people of India.

“Seneca, the philosopher, likewise speaks of an oily sweet juice in reeds, which probably was sugar.

“Pliny was better acquainted with this substance, which he calls by the name of *saccaron*; and says, that it was brought from Arabia and India, but the best from the latter

latter country. He describes it as a kind of honey, obtained from reeds, of a white colour, resembling gum, and brittle when pressed by the teeth, and found in pieces of the size of a hazel nut. It was used in medicine only.

“Salmasius, in his *Pliniana Exercitationes*, says, that Pliny relates, upon the authority of Juba the historian, that some reeds grew in the fortunate islands which increased to the size of trees, and yielded a liquor that was sweet and agreeable to the palate. This plant he concludes to be the sugar cane; but I think the passage in Pliny scarcely implies so much. Hitherto we have had no account of any artificial preparation of sugar, by boiling or otherwise; but there is a passage in Statius, that seems, if the reading be genuine, to allude to the boiling of sugar, and is thought to refer immediately thereto by Stephens in his *Thesaurus*.

“Arrian, in his *Periplus* of the Red Sea, speaks of the honey from reeds, called *sacchar* (Σακχαρ), as one of the articles of trade between Ariace and Barygaza, two places of the hither India, and some of the ports on the red sea.

“Aelian, in his natural history, speaks of a kind of honey, which was pressed from reeds, that grew among the *Prasii*, a people that lived near the Ganges.

“Tertullian also speaks of sugar, in his book *De judicio Dei*, as a kind of honey procured from canes.

“Alexander Aphrodisæus appears to have been acquainted with sugar, which was, in his time, regarded as an Indian production. He says, ‘that what the Indians called sugar, was a concretion of honey, in reeds, resembling grains of salt, of a white colour, and

1796.

‘brittle, and possessing a detergent and purgative power like to honey; and which, being boiled in the same manner as honey, is rendered less purgative, without impairing its nutritive quality.’

“Paulus Ægineta speaks of sugar as growing, in his time, in Europe, and also as brought from Arabia Felix; the latter of which he seems to think less sweet than the sugar produced in Europe, and neither injurious to the stomach nor causing thirst, as the European sugar was apt to do.

“Achmet, a writer, who, according to some, lived about the year 830, speaks familiarly of sugar as common in his time.

“Avicenna, the Arab physician, speaks of sugar as being a produce of reeds; but it appears he meant the sugar called tabaxir or tabarzet, as he calls it by that name.

“It does not appear, that any of the above mentioned writers knew of the method of preparing sugar, by boiling down the juice of the reeds to a consistence. It is also thought, the sugar they had was not procured from the sugar cane in use at present, but from another of a larger size, called tabarzet by Avicenna, which is the *arundo arbor* of Caspar Bauhin, the *sacchar mambu* of later writers, and the *arundo bambos* of Linnæus. This yields a sweet milky juice, and oftentimes a hard crystallized matter, exactly resembling sugar, both in taste and appearance.

“The historians of the Crusades make the next mention of sugar of any that have fallen under my observation.

“The author of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* says, that the Crusaders found in Syria certain reeds called *cannameles*, of which it was reported

reported a kind of wild honey was made; but does not say that he saw any so manufactured.

“Albertus Agnenfis relates, that about the same period, ‘the Crusaders found sweet honeyed reeds, in great quantity, in the meadows about Tripoli, in Syria, which reeds were called *zucra*. These the people (the Crusaders’ army) sucked, and were much pleased with the sweet taste of them, with which they could scarcely be satisfied. This plant (the author tells us) is cultivated with great labour of the husbandmen every year. At the time of harvest, they bruise it when ripe in mortars; and set by the strained juice in vessels, till it is concremented in form of snow, or of white salt. This, when scraped, they mix with bread, or rub it with water, and take it as pottage; and it is to them more wholesome and pleasing than the honey of bees. The people who were engaged in the sieges of Albaria Marra and Archas, and suffered dreadful hunger, were much refreshed hereby.’

“The same author, in the account of the reign of Baldwin, mentions eleven camels, laden with sugar, being taken by the Crusaders, so that it must have been made in considerable quantity.

“Jacobus de Vitriaco mentions, that ‘in Syria reeds grow that are

‘full of honey, by which he understands a sweet juice, which, by the pressure of a screw engine, and concremented by fire, becomes sugar.’ This is the first account I have met with of the employment of heat or fire in the making of sugar.

“About the same period, Willermus Tyrensis speaks of sugar as made in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and sent from thence to the farthest parts of the world.

“Marinus Sanutus mentions, that in the countries subject to the sultan, sugar was produced in large quantity, and that it likewise was made in Cyprus, Rhodes, Amorea, Marta, Sicily, and other places belonging to the Christians.

“Hugo Falcandus, an author who wrote about the time of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, speaks of sugar being in his time produced in great quantity in Sicily. It appears to have been used in two states; one, wherein the juice was boiled down to the consistence of honey, and another where it was boiled farther, so as to form a solid body of sugar.

“The foregoing are all the passages that have occurred to my reading on this subject. They are but few and inconsiderable, but may save trouble to others, who are willing to make a deeper enquiry into the history of this substance.”

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

CONCLUDING ESSAY ON THE SCIENCE OF ORCHARDING. By THOMAS SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL, Esq.

[From the Fourteenth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY instituted at LONDON, for the Encouragement of ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.]

“ **I**N this year’s paper I desire to introduce to the society some valuable additions to the science of orcharding :

“ First — the removing trees of the age of twenty years or upwards, to supply any deficiencies ; by which means the rows in the plantations will be fully kept up, and the orchard remain perfect, with trees of the same age and sort as those which have decayed or died.

“ Secondly — the engrafting of new bark upon trees that have been injured by cattle, carts, &c. and thus trees kept in a perfect state, which otherwise would have died, or soon gone to decay. But I wish previously to impress on the minds of the society, that, in the whole extensive orchards throughout the kingdom, most of the standard fruit-trees may be prevented becoming rotten, hollow, or much decayed, until, by great length of time, a dryness, want of energy, or by their own weight, they fall into actual dissolution ; and as it is allowed, that large trees yield the most productive crops, either individually, or per acre, attention should be given to run the trees to size ; for at present there is no competent idea to what extent trees may

be induced to grow, by a suitable manure and proper management.

“ The baneful effects of canker may be nearly banished from the more delicate fruit trees, and the oozing of gum in great measure prevented in the different species of the cherry, and other stonefruits.

“ In the first paper I did myself the honour of presenting to the society, I represented that ‘ pruning is an important article, with regard to the health of trees, and their bearing ; and, if judiciously done, they will come into bearing sooner, and continue in vigour for nearly double their common age.’ — (See N.A. Register for 1793, p. [170].) That attentive care which chooses the proper soil ; places the trees at due distances, according to their natural growth ; keeps the branches free and open, that the sun may pass over the ground ; all being perfectly pruned and regularly cleaned, so that the tree may become healthy, round and large, and carefully apply the manure and culture most proper for fertilizing the lands appropriated to orcharding : when these advantages shall be really united, it may reasonably be expected that the fruits must be larger, finer coloured, freer
I 2 from

from specks, and of a richer quality; whence such fruits must have a pre-eminence in the markets; or, if originally intended to be thrown into the mill, the cider will be more in quantity, stronger, and higher flavoured; proofs of which may easily be brought. As I apprehend the orchards and standard fruit-gardens of this country may soon be estimated at some hundred thousand acres, and should expect from the improvements attempted to be introduced, that in ten years time each acre, on an average, will increase by the improved culture, to more than one pound per acre in value per annum, I hope it will not be thought arrogant in me to say, that I look upon myself as being the actual means of benefiting my country to the amount of more than three hundred thousand pounds a-year.

“And if orchardists will consider this position to be founded in truth, it will be an incitement to their exertions. The premiums offered by the society to promote the proper planting and culture of orchards, it is expected will spread emulation among the planters, and (aided by the extensive improvements of inland navigation, by which fruit and cider may be conveyed from one extremity of the kingdom to the other), the culture of orchards may be regarded as a national concern.

“When pruning shall be fully understood, and generally practised, the benefits resulting therefrom will appear to be much more the effect of judgment than the result of actual labour; for I have often mentioned, among my friends, my expectation, when the trees are properly brought into order, the whole system will be little other than penknife-pruning, except what may arise from accident or neglect. So far from

wishing to have large limbs wantonly taken from trees, the rule is, ‘keep the branches out of the reach of cattle, then let them follow their natural growth.’ (N. A. Register for 1794, p. [144]). This would soon be verified, if a few proprietors and cottagers considered the nature of this business, and began pruning their own trees from the first planting, by way of example. When the cottager comes to prune his master’s trees, then will each concur in opinion, for it depends more upon the mind than upon the hand; and yet there is no mystery—the master speaking, the cottager comprehends his directions, and thus the work would go on properly. In Mr. Boulding’s certificate (N. A. R. for 1793, p. [173]), ‘we were sometimes in doubt whether a particular branch should be taken off or not; the rule established was, consider, will that branch be in the way three years hence? if it will, the sooner it is off the better.’

“I have taken much pains to correct prejudice and establish a rational culture, and have no doubt but it will become general; yet, I must confess, I should like to see it fully established in my own time. The whole system is grounded on the regular operations of nature in the productions of vegetation: the advantages are fully explained in the respective papers; and, for the mere labourer, there is a short abstract and instructions in Vol. XIII. (N. A. R. for 1795, p. [177].) I have reconsidered every thought, and find them all concenter in the single word HEALTH.

“My chief inducement in writing on the art of pruning, was to rescue so valuable a branch of agriculture from neglect, or from the more destructive manner in which

which the work has hitherto been performed. Observe in my new system, 'the trees continue of the same size both before and after pruning, and all the extreme shoots keep at the same distance, which is an improvement not before brought into practice.' (N. A. R. for 1794, p. [144].)

"I have undertaken to produce four apple-trees within the same inclosure, each of which shall cover ten poles of ground long before they fall into actual decay; and for that purpose have measured four trees on the north side of Sittingbourne, in an orchard belonging to a gentleman at Maidstone; and, with proper management, there is no doubt but they may be brought to that size. As they stand close to the road, where they will be under general observation, I should think, if a visible improvement becomes apparent in trees thus marked for public trial, it would counteract the negligent habit of still suffering large trees to continue so incumbered; these trees are of great magnitude, and cannot be less than an hundred years old; are in high health; yet much over-run with stumps, dead wood, moss, &c. I remember the ground more than forty years, and think if my system had been introduced when that orchard was first planted, there would have been, instead of four trees, at least ten times that number, and of equal value. I must say they are noble trees, and might become beautiful, if that epithet may with propriety be applied to an apple-tree. I have had a long correspondence with the gentleman, either to purchase the orchard, or to have the liberty of pruning those trees *gratis*; and, under such permission, I have determined not a branch shall be touched, but with

consent of the tenant: I must not say more upon this subject until I know the result; if I am disappointed, there are other trees in the neighbourhood of the same age, but they are neither so healthy, nor so well suited for my purpose.

"Several times I have been asked how much an old tree ought to be pruned? — The proper answer would be, if it be very old, and much incumbered, do not let in the cold winds; but, with care, take off the stumps, with all the decayed, rotten, and blighted branches, leaving the rest to the discretion of each person, who will soon see how much is necessary; self-conviction being the best school for improvement. The truth is, whoever would form orchards to produce credit to himself and profit to his successor, must not suffer the trees to become old before the operations commence, but determine that pruning, cleaning, and rubbing off the rotten bark, should be begun in the nursery, and regularly continued to the extremity of old-age; from which method very little wood need be taken off at a time; and, by using medication, the wounds will heal, without causing any more blemishes than the tree was subject to at the time the limb was taken off; for it is not the first cutting which blemishes the tree, but the corrosion, arising from neglect.

"Let each person therefore determine, that no standard fruit-tree should be suffered to remain incumbered with rotten and decaying branches; for these, admitting the water into the tree, and contaminating the balsamic virtues of the sap, lay the foundation of sure destruction to the tree, and furnish to insects a *nidus* under the rotten bark, in which they deposit their eggs.

“ I mentioned to Mr. Fauſſet, in the year 1789, as appears in Vol. XI. (N. A. R. for 1793, p. [171],) that the greater part of the miſchief affecting my trees, aroſe from inſects, vermin, and microſcopic animalculæ, getting under the bark, which has the laſt year been more fully elucidated by William Hampſon, of Dewnep, eſq. in the thirteenth volume of Tranſactions, (N. A. R. for 1795, p. [177],) under the article Inſects; and the prevention is there ſo properly pointed out by him, that, in the character of orchardiſt general, I wiſh ſtrongly to enforce the practice. I have often ſeen whole crops of the more delicate apples deſtroyed by the foliage being eaten off in the ſpring: the hardy fruits are not ſo liable to theſe diſaſters, for the ſtrong health of thoſe trees in a great measure ſecures them from ſuch depredations.

“ Laſt ſummer, in Kent, I had much converſation with ſome very intelligent men, on the ſubject of orcharding and general agriculture. A gentleman on the hills ſhewed me ſome large trees, and aſked my opinion. I replied, ‘ Do nothing; for you can gain no credit by them, from the energy or active powers of vegetation having been long exhausted in thoſe trees:’ But I pointed out ſome young ones where pruning might be happily applied, and he might make a trial on one of the large ones.

“ At Brambling, I viſited an orchard at the requeſt of the owner: the trees required more cleaning than pruning, and I requeſted he would be careful to attend the operation himſelf, and his orchard would become more valuable, by the quantity and quality of the fruit. I recommended him to encloſe the ground, which contained

about ſix trees, with hurdles, and he might eaſily unite that ſpot with his pig-ſtyes, and ſuffer the hogs to be conſtantly running over that ground; and, from the manure thus obtained, the trees would receive a viſible energy, which would ſoon appear in the growth of thoſe trees, when compared with the others, and that the improvement of the trees was to be the criterion for him to act by; for the freer the trees grow, the more effectually they recover the pruning, by throwing out young wood; and I remarked, that if the orchard was my own, I would open the gate, without reward, for the drovers to bring in the yearling cattle, which paſs the road from October to Midſummer, for three years; and ſuch practice would double the value of the fruit: I mean, to what it will be ten years hence, for the trees are viſibly going off, though now they are juſt in a ſtate to be recovered.

“ Laſt year I recommended cleaning by ſoap-ſuds (N. A. R. for 1796, p. [176].) A gentleman at Wandſworth uſes oil, which has a wonderfully good effect. I ſhould think the oil might be applied about a month after the ſuds. As I am, in large concerns, a friend to cheapneſs for the bulk of mankind, I imagine any damaged oil would do: oil certainly is beneficial to trees.

“ Theſe obſervations are ſufficient to ſhew that I am attentive, and vary the advice, according to the ſtate and value of the trees. Some gentlemen in my neighbourhood have made very handſome exertions; but I wiſh to bring the improving trees into univerſal practice, and keeping them in bearing to a great age; and would recommend that perſons, for their own ſatisfaction, ſhould ſelect a certain number.

number of trees, according to their fancy, and mark them in pairs, as to their age, freeness of growth, and other circumstances, suitable to trial, prune and manure one, and leave the other in the state of nature; but, for experiment, do not prune two trees, standing next to each other, in the same year, when the pre-eminence of the practice will soon appear:—such a mode is bringing orcharding to a fair trial; and, if I had been so prudent as to have managed my trees alternately, two-thirds of the growers in East Kent would have acquired the science before this time. It may appear that I argue this subject too strongly; but, when we recollect that the society has been thirty years engaged, and shewn most arduous and laudable exertions, aided by many high premiums, to ascertain the comparative advantages of the drill and broad-cast husbandry, we must cease to wonder that the science of orcharding has not made greater progress.

“It is recommended, that the rows of trees should not stand north and south, but a point of the compass towards the east, as the sun will then shine up the rows soon after ten o'clock, which, in the spring of the year, will serve to dissipate the vapours collected in the night: these vapours stunt the fruit in the early stages of its growth; and, where the shaws are properly attended to, this position will best enable them to divide and blunt the power of the winds, and prevent blights, and the shaw might be a little brought over the south: but, as each situation has a predominant wind, this is only hinted to put the planter upon his guard: the shaw also will greatly protect the fruit from the severity of the autumnal winds, at which season half the

crop of fruit is thrown from the tree before it is ripe; and the heads at that time of the year being loaded with fruit and leaves, many trees are actually torn out of the ground, or so lacerated as to be spoiled, which a proper shaw might prevent. Judicious shelter should be the first object thought of in forming an orchard on a large scale.

“Had I been possessed of ground near my own dwelling, I should ten years ago have planted an extensive experimental orchard—it would have given me much pleasure; but there is no land attainable; and experiments cannot well be conducted at a distance, to any great credit, where the only object is to raise emulation by way of example.

“When I pruned the trees in my orchards, at Sittingbourne, in the year 1790, they being young, I cut freely, for they were greatly incumbered and decaying, and half the wounds were made by taking off the stumps, and cutting down the cankers and gum, as certificates fully prove (N. A. R. for 1793, p. [173]); and I was certain the trees would be greatly improved by the pruning: but I must mention they have not been touched since, lest any person who may examine the orchard by way of observation, might confound the former and new wounds together.

“Let no one be afraid of the expence, for that is trivial; fourpence-halfpenny per tree once in three years would overpay it, after the trees have been brought into order, if the master would only take care they are kept clean, and the casual accidents duly attended to. According to my ideas, the age of a tree is not to be considered; for the judgment must be taken from the energy and freeness of growth, as many trees are in a
I 4 more.

more declining state at sixteen years than others at an hundred. Since I have mentioned comparative age, observe, from sixteen to twenty, is a critical time for the delicate fruits: if they continue in health beyond that period, they generally go on well afterwards; and, upon some future occasion, I shall introduce root-pruning.

“ Were it necessary more fully to enforce the practice of pruning, suppose an order was given, that all peach-trees should remain unpruned for five years: from thence be assured, there would scarcely be a high-flavoured peach in the kingdom, all either sour or insipid. The apple or cherry do not require the same care the peach does; yet each are well worthy of attention. I observed, in Vol. XII. (N. A. R. for 1794, p. [145]) ‘ that sunshine and shade are unalterably the cause of sweet and sour fruits.’

“ Those acquainted with the wine countries know, that the natives bestow much labour in manure, culture, pruning, and more particularly in bringing the grapes to perfect ripeness; and I do not see why, in Britain, some part of that attention should not be given to the apple.

“ It is proper here to recommend to nurserymen, to be attentive to their GRAFTS, for more depends upon it that is imagined; as, from the grafts being full, well wooded, clear, and properly chosen, the fruit will be both larger and higher flavoured. Though the soil and culture may be the same, the health of the wood of the tree is also most materially affected during the whole time of the tree's existence, by the proper maturity the scion was in at the time it was first put into the stock.

“ As this is to be my last essay,

I wish to send it out as perfect as I can, and beg excuse for the great length. Let any person, whose mind has, by precept, been turned to philosophical enquiries, consider the following statement: when an orchard has become old and much encumbered, so that the trees, from being too thick, totally overshade the ground, if one of those trees dies, the four next surrounding it will each of them throw out their branches to fill up that void space; the sap of those four trees tending that way by the active influence of the sun and air, and the other parts of those trees still remaining incumbered, will of consequence decline in vegetation; for the energy is drawn the contrary way. These things happen every day, but on the unobserving eye make little impression. This intuitive energy of nature is not confined to vegetation, for it pervades all nature: then why not suppose, if a part of a tree is decayed, and you take it out, that nature is capable of filling up the void space: that she is capable, is most undoubted, and she will do it too, if there is any energy left, by supplying younger and better-bearing wood than that which is taken away.

“ Where the trees are so close and incumbered, that the agricultural vegetation cannot thrive under them, the fruit from such an orchard will hardly be large and high-flavoured; neither will it keep so well.

“ Last autumn, the delicate fruit-trees were much incommoded with a whitish mould or mildew, which I have regularly observed to take place in what is called muggy weather; this is what lays the first foundation of canker; it was very prevalent about seven years back. I have long known it to arise from animal-

animalculæ settling on the wounded parts of the tree, and the shoots of the present year. In Vol. XIII. (N. A. R. for 1796, p. [177.]) I pointed out the cure, which is rubbing off with the lard medication; and I recommend to have the shoots cut at a large bud; for, when they have been thus affected, there are but few of them will stand the cold of the winter: they generally die off about half way up. I have formerly quite removed the canker from some nonpareils, which, after three years medication, threw out shoots a yard long: this induced me to say, that the mercury gave an energy to the plant; I mean, by the mercury curing the disease, the plant recovered its energy: any one may satisfy himself that it is animalculæ, by rubbing a little of the mildew between his thumb and fore finger, when the insects actually break, and produce a matter like the cochineal fly (*coccus mali*).

Another circumstance worthy observation is, the custom of attempting to check the too great flow of the sap, particularly in pear-trees, by cutting a circle through the bark, with the intention to make the tree fruitful; much better would it be, by natural means, to lead the sap regularly through all the branches; the action of the sun would then properly impel it to the extreme parts of the tree, for swelling the buds, and supporting the fruit; and this even flow of sap is what produces fruitfulness, and is implied, [N. A. R. for 1793, p. [171.]]—‘the more the range of branches shoot circularly, the more equally will the sap be distributed, and the better will the tree bear.’

“Let me entreat those interested in fruit plantations, to unite in establishing and exalting the science

of orcharding, to make it one of the handmaids of commerce: it is certainly the poor man’s friend, the rich man’s pleasure, the pride and ornament of the respective spots attached to each habitation. View the trees in spring unfolding and raising their beautiful blossoms and leaves up to the eye of heaven, and in autumn gently bending their pliant branches for the industrious hand to gather the fruits. Do not wonder that I should shew a little enthusiasm for the welfare of a science which I have actually created, and from which I have received much satisfaction.

“The ancients had their goddess Pomona, to whom they paid divine honours, which goddess was no other than an ideal superintendency supposed to preside over orchards; which is a most convincing proof that they held the culture of fruits in high estimation.

“Through the whole process I have confined my instructions to standard trees; but now say, they are equally applicable to fruits in general, even to the hawthorn, whose blossoms in spring, and fruit for the birds in autumn, make it worth some attention in parks, and such plantations.

“For the full establishment of the art, nothing more is necessary, than to gain two or three capital land-owners in each district, who occupy their own estates, and influence them to examine the system, and follow it, from which much improvement must result. In every science the principles must be understood before the practice can become general. I am, sir,

“Your most humble servant,

“T. SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL.”

“Hampton Court,

“Jan. 6, 1796.”

An

11

AN ACCOUNT of the DRAINAGE of a MARSH near MARAZION, in CORNWALL, formerly overflown by the Sea, and looked upon as irreclaimable, but now in a State of Cultivation.

[From the same Work.]

“ **O**N purchasing the leasehold of an estate near Marazion, in Cornwall, consisting of about two hundred acres, I found seventy in a state of good cultivation, and one hundred and thirty acres of waste land, consisting of marsh, croft, and sandy soils. I flattered myself, that a great part of this unprofitable spot might be converted into useful and valuable land, which, in this neighbourhood, in the common state of cultivation, is worth from three to six pounds the Cornish acre (about one-fifth part larger than statute measure). From a prospect of recovering that part called the Marsh, which had hitherto been accounted irreclaimable, I laid down a plan of draining the same; which, if I succeeded in, might probably induce the proprietors of other tracts of marsh land in this vicinity, to make similar attempts.

“ The novelty of my draining scheme, with its attendant difficulties, joined to the great dislike which most farmers in the west of England have to the improvement of low lands, drew on me the censure of the public, who treated the scheme as chimerical, and impossible to be effected for the following reasons:

“ First—Because the sea had access to this land, and overflowed it at spring tides with two feet water;

“ Secondly—If the sea were excluded, the fresh water would be accumulated, and still keep it in the state of a bog, as the

water had no other vent than by its direct communication with the sea; and,

“ Thirdly—That if the success in the drainage should be equal to my most sanguine expectations, yet the nature of marsh land, in general, would not admit of any valuable improvement.

“ However cogent these reasons might appear to the public, I was convinced that they arose more from the want of a spirit of enterprise, and little knowledge of the nature of such soils, than from a decided conviction of the failure of the plan; and, on considering the advantages likely to result from the improvement, in case of success, and the example given to my countrymen, who possess similar tracts of marshland, I was emboldened to undertake the drainage of this bog, which for time immemorial had been looked on as utterly irreclaimable.

“ The spot fixed on for the intended improvement, consisted of sixty-three acres, statute measure; of which thirty-six acres were marsh; seventeen acres of a light blackish sand, and ten acres of croft, consisting of a light black mould, with a substratum near the surface, of a fine tenacious clay. The croft and sandy land lay on a rising ground, serving as a surrounding skirting to the marsh, and which, from their gentle elevations, might be useful in rainy seasons for cattle to resort to.

“ On considering that the

fertile soils consist of a combination of clay, sand, and vegetable matter, in different proportions, and that these three substances were almost distinct, and to be procured in any quantity from this improvable spot, it appeared probable that, after a complete drainage was performed, little more remained to be effected, than a happy combination of these three soils, so contiguous to each other, to render the whole good and productive land.

“ The marsh, containing thirty-six acres, is situated between the croft and the sandy soil, which has been thrown up by the sea, and serves as a natural embankment against the water, which at every spring-tide overflowed this lowland to the height of two or three feet, by a direct communication of a river which carries off a part of the redundant water collected on its surface, from its own springs and others in its vicinity, and the rain from the higher grounds.

“ This marsh, from time immemorial, has produced nothing but rushes, flags, goss (*arundo phragmitis*), *iris palustris*, water-lily, and several other aquatic plants, which, from their verdure, served only as a decoy for cattle, that were frequently smothered in attempting to reach them, to the great loss and injury of the tenants. Several persons also have lost their lives by getting at night into this morass, over which boats have frequently passed to enable sportsmen to secure the game, which flocked to this place in great quantities during winter. From the production of marsh miasmata, fevers of the low nervous kind, but particularly agues, have greatly prevailed, to the annoyance and distress of the neighbourhood.

“ The great and unsuperable dif-

ficulty, which hitherto prevented even an attempt towards the draining this bog, arose from its being under the level of the sea at spring-tides; so that no deeper outlet could be procured than the river, which supplied it with salt-water. But, on considering the nature of water, which presses equally on every side, I suspected that a pipe, with a valve at its extremity, introduced at half-ebb, through the sandy embankment, to the body of the marsh, would tend to carry off the surface-water; and, from the shutting of the valve, on the approach of the tide, no sea-water could gain admittance through the tube. On taking an accurate survey of the levels from the sea, at the point of half-ebb, to the surface of the ground in the marsh, measuring in length one hundred and seventy-four yards, it was found that six feet of level could be gained, after allowing two feet for the flowing of the water through the pipe; accordingly, an embankment of one thousand one hundred and seventy-five yards in length, formed of strong clay turf, about five feet high and six feet thick, was made round the two sides of the marsh, which were liable to be overflowed by the sea; the ditch serving as a channel to carry off the water, which used to flow over its surface. In order to carry off the water still remaining on the marsh, I procured one hundred and seventy-four yards of square pipe, nine inches diameter and two inches thick, made of sound fir-wood called balk, which, in the mines of this county, is the wood most commonly made use of, and found to be very durable, especially if kept constantly in water.

“ In May, 1793, the first pipe was laid down on the shore, at the point of half ebb, and secured by means

means of a large rock, to prevent it from swimming; the other pipes were successively joined, and laid nearly on a plane with the first, by throwing open the sand. As we advanced to the highest part of the sandy embankment, which was twenty-four feet above the pipes, the difficulties were considerably increased, by the great quantity of sand necessary to be removed, and its tendency to fall on the workmen; so that the approach towards the marsh became tedious, and very expensive. However, by pursuing every cautious plan which could be devised, to prevent accidents, and to make the work secure, we arrived, in five weeks time, at the borders of the marsh, passing under the river and new-made embankment at the depth of six feet under the surface, where the pipe opened into a reservoir of eighteen feet square and eight feet deep, prepared to collect the surface-water, which immediately flowed through the pipe with great rapidity, and discharged itself into the sea, till the whole of the stagnant water was taken off. The aperture of the sea-pipe had iron-bars placed before it, to prevent the insinuation of extraneous bodies, and also a valve made of strong wood, lined and hung with leather, and loaded with iron, to prevent it from swimming at the approach of the tide, which always shut it so close as to effectually exclude the sea-water: the pipe within the reservoir had also a similar valve, for the same purpose, near its extremity, which was covered with an iron grating, to prevent the intrusion of roots, weeds, &c. that might probably obstruct the passage of the water.

“As soon as the tide returns to the pipe, which is uncovered six hours in twelve, the marsh water

ceases to flow; and, during that time, collects within the reservoir and trenches till the sea begins again to retire; and when the collected water becomes of equal weight with the sea water over the shore pipe, it sinks gradually till the pipe is left by the sea, when it regularly discharges the water strained from the marsh land; and which amounts in winter to about 120,600 gallons, or 2160 hogsheads in twenty-four hours; but, in summer, the quantity is trifling, and does not exceed 43,200 gallons or 720 hogsheads. Some little difficulty at first arose from the valve not shutting itself properly, by the intrusion of pebbles; but this was easily removed, by adding about two feet of pipe beyond the valve.

Trenches or open drains of three feet deep, five feet wide at the top, and three at the bottom, were immediately carried from the reservoir, which was the lowest place, to the extreme parts of the marsh, on the sandy side, about six feet within the new embankment, and intersected by others at right angles towards the coast, from fifty to seventy-two yards distance, according to the nature of the ground, dividing the whole into regular oblong fields, as in the plan; the wetness of the soil, and the great difficulty of procuring a firm footing for the workmen, obliged them to stand on pieces of timber, to complete those numerous drains, which every day grew firmer; and in a few weeks the soil became so consolidated, as to admit of persons walking over it with tolerable safety. In making these drains a pot of copper coins, containing about one thousand, was discovered at the depth of three feet from the surface, which, on examination, appeared to belong to the emperor
Victorinus,

Victorinus, who reigned in the third century; these coins were much injured by the corrosion of the marine acid, but several were still perfect enough to trace the outlines of the emperor.

“ As soon as the evaporation assisted the consolidation of the surface, the air, within a mile of the marsh, became so strongly impregnated with a sulphureous smell, as to render the place quite obnoxious to passengers, till the ground was perfectly dry: this might probably happen from the evaporation of the fluid parts, producing a decomposition in the mud, forming therein a *hepar sulphuris*; or hepatic air may be easily produced, by adding sea water to dung, or vegetable substances, from the vitriolic salts contained in the water, and which probably was the case in this soil. In the course of a few months the surface of the marsh was depressed from twelve to eighteen inches; so that the bed of the river became higher than the surface of the land.

“ In making the drains, it was discovered, that the upper stratum, of two feet and a half, consisted of a dark-coloured mud, formed from the sediment of stagnant water and a peaty substance, bound firmly together by an infinite number of the goss and rush roots; the substratum, an entire body of peat three feet and an half deep, of which twenty-one inches are of a very black colour, and the lowest part of a light brownish or deep yellow; under the peat lies a stratum of sand about five feet deep, which carries evident marks of its being the bed of the sea, of a very ancient date, and which has been gradually excluded by means of the accumulation of muddy sediments, and the dropping of the leaves, &c. of aquatic plants; and which together

form peat moss. The horizontal position of the leaves and stems, which are easily discovered in the peat, is a strong presumption of those bodies having fallen down, and being buried by the constant accumulation of mud, which with the leaves are the component parts of peat, though by some it has been said to be a vegetable production, *sui generis*. The total exclusion of air is absolutely necessary before these bodies will assume the real appearance or properties of peat moss; and it is probable, that the upper stratum, which at this time partakes of very little of real peat, would at a future period, by the gradual addition of similar bodies and the exclusion of air, possess the same qualities and properties as the under stratum, and by this gradual accumulation totally exclude the sea. But the coins found in the marsh indicate that the production of peat moss has been very slow in this particular spot.

“ The stratum of sand under the peat does not appear to be the original bed of the sea; for on streaming or searching for tin, from six to ten feet deeper, another stratum was discovered, consisting of round smooth pebbles and gravelly substances containing tin; among which are bodies of trees, and a large number of hazel-nuts in the most perfect state, and which must have been collected in this place by means of some extraordinary inundation, that swept those beds away from the higher lands.

“ In consequence of the discovery of peat in this marsh, a large quantity has been cut up, dried, and made use of as an article of fuel for a variety of purposes, to which it is admirably adapted, and sold at a much cheaper rate than coals, and boils water in much less time;

time; it is applied in public breweries, and for every culinary purpose as an article of fuel; it is made use of to great advantage in grates, hearths, or ovens, and, when coaked, will serve for the nicest operation in chemistry, and in that state is sufficiently strong to smelt metals of the most difficult fusion: experiments are now making on it to calcine lime, which is intended as manure for this land. This peat produces a small quantity of red ashes, which, on lixiviation, are found to contain a large proportion of sea salt, which, for land not already impregnated with the marine acid, will prove a valuable manure.

“ After the drains were finished, all further operations on this land were discontinued till the spring of 1794, when the surface of a great many acres, consisting of light sedgey substances, was pared and burned during the summer, and the ashes spread over the land; afterwards the plough was introduced, to destroy the amazing growth of the *arundo phragmitis*, which, from the infinite number of its strong spreading roots, bound the surface so firmly together, as to require a numerous team of cattle to plough it a proper depth, and which, from their frequent treading over the same ground, rendered the soft parts impassable; but this difficulty was overcome by ploughing the first time without a mould board, so that fewer oxen were able to perform the same work. The soil, on being turned up, yielded a most offensive smell, though not of the sulphur kind. The land was frequently ploughed and harrowed, even to six or seven times, the inflammable substances set on fire, and the ashes spread on the surface. After all these operations,

which were also repeated in 1795, the ground became considerably depressed and so consolidated as to admit of carts with narrow wheels, loaded with a ton of clay to pass over it with great ease. On the sides of the drains, large quantities of yellow sea salt may be collected, and which were produced by the evaporation of its fluid parts.

“ In the spring of 1794, four acres of osiers were planted, after the ground had been thrown up into ridges; but the large quantity of sea-salt destroyed the whole, except a few which grew on the higher ground in great luxuriance. The osiers at first put forth fine shoots; but as soon as their tender roots absorbed the saline particles in the soil, they died immediately. Potatoes were also planted in large quantities the same season; but most of them, particularly in the low places, where they never vegetated, shared the same fate.

“ On enquiry I find that those farmers who lay large quantities on their piles (heaps) of manure, experience the same loss on these spots for two or three years afterwards; and then the ground assumes the richest state of vegetation. In the spring of 1795, after the surface was covered with large quantities of clay, several acres were sown with oats, some of which produced very good crops, particularly in those places where the marine acid was diminished. Turneps and potatoes also grew well.

“ At present, the *poa trivialis* grows naturally in the greatest luxuriance on every part where the saline particles are not in too large a quantity: the appearance of this grass is a sure indication of the soil having parted with a large proportion of the salt. Several sorts of cultivated grasses have been tried in small

small quantities, as rye-grass, trefoil, clover, and meadow fox-tail (*alopecurus pratensis*) which thrive with great luxuriance; chicory (*cycorium intybus*) has been sown, and grows, but does not thrive well, most probably from the salt.

“ It is surprising to see the effects of frequent ploughing, &c. on this kind of soil, which, though at first only a congeries of roots and light substances, has, in a year or two, by such practice, assumed an earthlike appearance; and, with the addition of clay, lime, small quantities of manure, particularly of animal oil, and frequent heavy rolling, is likely to become, from the most useless spot, the most productive land for pasture, to which only it should be applied. In order to consolidate the soil more perfectly, so that the earthy particles may embrace the roots of the grasses, and retain their proper moisture, on which the luxuriance of such soils in a great measure depends, the surface is to be frequently compressed, by means of a rolling-cart, which may be burdened according to the state of the land, and is a most useful machine to carry manure on low-lands during wet seasons.

“ This machine consists of three circular pieces of strong elm, two feet diameter, and each eighteen inches long, through which a strong iron axis is passed, so as to protrude a few inches on each end beyond the rollers; after all, allowing an inch between each piece, for the convenience of turning round. On the projecting part of the axis, a fixed frame-work is placed to support the cart, which may be loaded to any degree, and employed simply as a roller, or to carry manure,

&c. on land where common wheels cannot be admitted.

“ Every meadow in this improved spot can be watered with much ease, by means of the river close to the embankment, and which will be employed for that purpose, when pasture is introduced throughout the whole.

Marsh lands in general will admit of the greatest improvement, by the following mode of treatment:

First—By a mechanical arrangement and change of its different parts, as by frequent ploughing, harrowing, and burning.

Secondly—By the addition of heavy substances, as marle, clay, gravel, &c.

Thirdly—By such substances as act chemically, and bring the inert vegetable matter into action, as lime, chalk, alkaline salts, &c.

Fourthly—By manures, particularly those which contain a large quantity of animal oil or mucilage, as putrid fish, seawrack, stable dung, &c.; for marsh land in general seldom contains any animal substance, which, in great measure, is the grand constituent part of a rich soil.

Fifthly—By compression, with rolling-carts, cattle, &c.

Sixthly—By watering.

The sandy and croft soils adjoining to the marsh have been cultivated, and produced this summer very excellent crops of potatoes, turneps, barley, oats, buck-wheat, and tares.”

“ Thirty-six acres, at 22l. 6s. 2½d. per acre, is 795l. 13s. 6d.—the amount of all the expences to make the marsh pasture land.”

LETTERS from Mr. JOHN BALL, of WILLITON, giving an Account of his METHOD of preparing OPIUM from POPPIES grown in ENGLAND.

[From the same Work.]

“ My lords and gentlemen,

BY your secretary, Mr. More, I received your resolutions respecting your purchasing from me the mode of my preparing the sample of opium which I took the liberty of sending to you for your particular inspection, and at the same time to beg the favour of your having a sufficient trial of its properties, which I find you have been so obliging as to have done; and likewise have granted to me the fifty guineas as a purchase of my method of preparing opium; for which you have my sincere thanks; and I am exceedingly pleased to find, that it was thought worthy the notice of so honourable and respectable a society; and am satisfied there can be no other mode of preparing or collecting the true and genuine opium, than what follows.

“ Nothing can be more simple, or attended with less expence, than the making or extracting the pure and genuine opium from the large poppies, commonly called or known by the name of garden poppies; the seeds of which I would advise to be sown the latter end of February, and again about the second week in March, in beds three feet and an half wide, well prepared with good rotten dung, and often turned or ploughed, in order to mix it well and have it fine, either in small drills, three in each bed, in the manner fallads are sown, and, when about two inches high, to thin them one foot apart; or otherwise, to sow them in beds in the broad-cast way, and thin them to the same distance (if the weather should prove wet at that time, those

that are taken up may be transplanted; but I do not suppose the transplanted ones will answer, having but one spill-root, and will require frequent waterings): keep them free from weeds, they will grow well, and produce from four to ten heads, shewing large and different-coloured flowers, which, when the leaves die away and drop off, the pods then being in a green state, is the proper time for extracting the opium, by making four or five small longitudinal incisions with a sharp-pointed knife, about one inch long, on one side only of the head or pod, just through the scarf-skin, taking care not to cut to the seeds: immediately on the incision being made, a milky fluid will issue out, which is the opium; and, being of a glutinous nature or substance, will adhere to the bottom of the incision; but some are so luxuriant, that it will drop from the pod on the leaves underneath. The next day, if the weather should be fine, and a good deal of sunshine, the opium will be found a greyish substance, and some almost turning black: it is then to be scraped off the pods, and, if any, from the leaves, with the edge of a knife, or an instrument for that purpose, into pans or pots; and in a day or two it will be of a proper consistence to make into a mass, and to be potted.

“ As soon as you have taken away all the opium from one side of the pod, then make incisions on the opposite side, and proceed in the same manner. The reason of my not making the incisions all around at the first, is, that you cannot

METHOD of preparing OPIUM from POPPIES grown in ENGLAND. [145]

not so conveniently take away the opium; but every person, upon trial, will be the best judge. Children may with ease be soon taught to make the incisions, and take off the opium; so that the expence will be found exceedingly trifling.

"The small white seeds in that state will be found very sweet and pleasant, and may be eat without the least danger; and it is the custom in the east to carry a plate of them to the table, after dinner, with other fruits.

"I intend this year to keep apart a small quantity of opium from each coloured poppy, to find out if any one more than another produces the greatest quantity, or of the greatest strength; and shall save seeds of each, to sow separately the next spring.

"I am of opinion, that numbers of inclosures taken from hills in a south aspect, with a very little expence, may be brought into a proper state for the growth of poppies.

"I should think that an instrument may be made of a concave form, with four or five pointed lances, about the twelfth or fourteenth part of an inch, to make the incisions at once; and likewise something of the rake-kind, so that the three drills which I have directed to be made in each bed, may be performed at the same time.

"By a calculation which I have made, supposing one poppy, growing in one square foot of earth, and producing only one grain of opium, more than fifty pounds will be collected from off one statute acre of land; but, upon recollecting that one poppy produces from three, four, to ten heads, and in each from six to ten incisions are made; and I am positive, from many of them (I mean one incision) the last year, I took away two or three
1796.

grains. What must then be the produce? Opium is now twenty-two shillings the pound.

"I am,

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Your most obliged and most

"devoted humble servant,

"JOHN BALL."

Williton,

June 24 1795.

"Sir,

"I HAVE this day sent you, by the coach from Bridgewater, the opium which I promised you; and take this opportunity of informing you respecting the poppies. If you recollect, I was fearful that the transplanted ones would not answer, and am now convinced, having a large quantity of poppies which had sown themselves: when of a proper size, I transplanted about four thousand in beds, but not one single plant came to perfection; therefore, shall never transplant any more; and, not having saved any seeds the last year, owing to my not being at home at the proper time, I could not sow any. The bed where the poppies had sown themselves was five hundred and seventy-six feet square, from which I collected about four ounces of opium, notwithstanding the plants were very thick; and, to shew you the advantage of giving them sufficient room, from some few plants which were detached, I took from fifteen to thirty-four grains: these had sown themselves on ground that had been well manured with rotten dung, which points out the utility of good cultivation: the semi-double, and those of a dark colour, produced the most opium. The pods should be about the size of a walnut, before you make the incision: the dried poppy-heads which I had
X from

from the druggist in London, are full three times as big as what mine are, consequently must produce a much greater quantity of opium.

"I am, sir,

"Your most humble servant,
"JOHN BALL."

Williton,
August 22, 1795.
Mr. MORE.

"SIR,

"I RECEIVED the favour of your letter dated the 10th instant, by which I find you have extracted some opium from single poppies; if you will please to advert to my letter of instructions for such purpose, I said I had collected my opium from double or semi-double poppies, which accidentally grew in my garden; by which I find the produce to be more than double what you collected from the single: as a proof, I will do myself the pleasure of sending you some

opium, which I have absolutely collected myself this year from one poppy; I should suppose it more than thirty grains: twenty-eight heads grew on that poppy: it was of the semi-double kind. I shall likewise send you some of the heads from which I extracted the opium, being far preferable to the single, as appears from the produce of each.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your very humble servant,
"JOHN BALL."

Williton,
Sept. 12, 1795.
Mr. MORE.

N.B. These letters are followed by certificates, from eminent medical gentlemen, establishing the claims of the English opium to equal strength with the foreign, and to superior flavour and purity.

On the MEANS of making BREAD from RICE alone.

[Inserted in the fifth Volume of the REPERTORY of ARTS and MANUFACTURES, and taken from the JOURNAL des SCIENCES, des LETTRES, et des ARTS.]

"THE art of making bread from rice, though much spoken of, seems to be very little known. In Chomel's dictionary it is said that bread may be made of rice, but there is no account of the means by which it is to be done. The book called *La Maison Rustique* goes rather farther; for, it informs us that this kind of bread is made by mixing together the flour of rye and that of rice. The first of these books therefore may be considered as saying nothing, since it is absolutely impossible to make bread of the flour of rice (which is harsh and

dry, like sand or ashes), by treating it in the manner in which wheat-flour is treated. The manner of using rice-flour described in the second book, is but an uncertain remedy in case of want; for, if we have no rye, we cannot, according to that book, make use of rice-flour for making bread, because an equal quantity of rye-flour is said to be necessary for that purpose; and consequently, in countries where no rye is grown, it would be impossible to make bread of rice, however great the want of bread might be.

"I therefore think it my duty to supply

supply that information which is wanting in the two books above mentioned, by describing a method by which excellent bread may be made from rice alone, which method I learned from the natives of America.

“The first thing to be done to the rice is, to reduce it into flour; this may be done by grinding it in a mill, or, if we have not a mill, it may be done in the following manner. Let a certain quantity of water be heated in a saucepan or caldron; when the water is near boiling, let the rice we mean to reduce into flour be thrown into it: the vessel is then to be taken off the fire, and the rice left to soak till the next morning. It will then be found at the bottom of the water, which is to be poured off, and the rice put to drain upon a table placed in an inclined position. When it is dry, it must be beat to powder, and passed through the finest sieve that can be procured.

“When we have brought the rice into flour, we must take as much of it as may be thought necessary, and put it into the kneading-trough in which bread is generally made. At the same time we must heat some water in a saucepan or other vessel, and, having thrown into it some handfuls of rice, we must let them boil together for some time: the quantity of rice must be such as to render the water very thick and glutinous. When this glutinous matter is a little cooled, it must be poured upon the rice-flour, and the whole must be well kneaded together, adding thereto a little salt, and a proper quantity of leaven. We are then to cover the dough with warm cloths, and to let it stand that it may rise. During the fermentation, this paste (which,

when kneaded, must have such a proportion of flour as to render it pretty firm), becomes so soft and liquid, that it seems impossible it should be formed into bread: it is now to be treated as follows.

When the dough is rising, the oven must be heated; and, when it is of a proper degree of heat, we must take a stew-pan of tin, or copper tinned, to which is fixed a handle of sufficient length to reach to the end of the oven. A little water must be put into this stew-pan, which must then be filled with the fermented paste, and covered with cabbage or any other large leaves, or with a sheet of paper. When this is done, the stew-pan is to be put into the oven, and pushed forward to the part where it is intended the bread shall be baked; it must then be quickly turned upside down. The heat of the oven acts upon the paste in such a way as to prevent its spreading, and keeps it in the form the stew-pan has given it.

“In this manner pure rice-bread may be made; it comes out of the oven of a fine yellow colour, like pastry which has yolk of eggs over it. It is as agreeable to the taste as to the sight; and may be made use of, like wheat-bread, to put into broth, &c. I must however observe, that it loses its goodness very much as it becomes stale.

“It may be here remarked, that the manner in which Indian corn is used in France, for making bread, can only produce (and does in fact produce) very bad dough, and of course very bad bread. To employ it advantageously, it should be treated like rice, and it may then be used, not only for making bread, but also for pastry.”

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET LAUREAT.

I.

WHERE is immortal Virtue's meed,
Th' unfading wreath of true renown,
Best recompence by Heav'n decreed
For all the cares that wait a crown;
If Industry, with anxious zeal,
Still watchful o'er the public weal;
If equal Justice' awful arm,
Temper'd by Mercy's seraph charm,
Are ineffectual to assuage
Remorseless Faction's harpy rage?
But the fell Demons, urg'd by Hell's behest,
Threaten, with frantic arm, the royal Patriot's breast!

II.

Yet not, imperial George! at thee
Was the rude bolt of Malice sped,
E'en fiends that Crown with reverence see
Where Virtue consecrates th' anointed head—
No—at thy bosom's fondest claim,
Thy Britain's peace their shafts they aim.
Pale Envy, while o'er half the world
War's bloody banners are unfurl'd,
Beheld our coasts from ravage free,
Protected by the guardian sea,
Where Commerce spreads her golden stores,
Where fleets waft triumph to our shores;
She saw; and, sick'ning at the sight,
Wish'd the fair prospect of our hopes to blight;
Sought out the object of our dearest care,
Found where we most could feel, and try'd to wound us there.

III.

The broken shaft that coward Malice rear'd
Shall to thy fame eternal lustre give,
Inscribe on Hist'ry's page thy name rever'd,
And bid it there with endless blazon live.

For there our son's remotest race,
In deathless characters, shall trace
How Britain's baffled foes proclaim'd their hate;
And deem'd her monarch's life the bulwark of the state.

IV.

Now strike a livelier chord—This happy day,
Selected from the circling year
To celebrate a name to Britain dear,
From Britain's sons demands a festive lay.
Mild sov'reign of our monarch's soul,
Whose eye's meek radiance can controul
The pow'rs of care, and grace a throne
With each calm joy to life domestic known;
Propitious Heav'n has o'er thy head
Blossoms of richer fragrance shed
Than all th' assiduous Muse can bring,
Cull'd from the honey'd stores of Spring:
For see, amid wild Winter's hours
A bud its silken folds display,
Sweeter than all the chalic'd flow'rs
That crown thine own ambrosial May.
O may thy smiles, blest infant, prove
Omens of concord, and of love!
Bid the loud strains of martial triumph cease,
And tune to softer mood the warbling reed of Peace!

**THE INFLUENCE OF POETICAL PERSONIFICATIONS AND ALLEGORIES
ON IMITATIVE ART AND MORAL HAPPINESS, and the Effect of that
frigid SOPHISTRY which abounds in modern PHILOSOPHICAL and
DIDACTIC POEMS.**

[From the PROGRESS of CIVIL SOCIETY, a DIDACTIC POEM, by RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT.]

HENCE Greece her Muses into being brought,
The daughters feign'd of Memory and Thought;
Inspiring goddesses of genial song,
To whom all arts that polish life belong;
Who, led by heaven's eternal orb of light,
Each dormant spark of mental fire excite;
And as their leader's beams, where'er they glow,
Bid the numb'd seeds of life and motion grow;
So wheresoe'er extends their soft control,
Bright Fancy's visions rouse the torpid soul;
Heaven breathes the fervid breath of life through all,
And unform'd matter quickens at its call.

Did raging storms o'er Ocean's bosom sweep ?
 'Twas angry Neptune smote the troubled deep ;
 Did clouds condens'd emit electric fire ?
 'Twas Jove's wide-wasting instrument of ire :
 Did crops luxuriant fertile fields adorn ?
 'Twas Ceres deck'd the vales with wavy corn ;
 Or Bacchus bade the high embowering vine,
 Loaded with clusters, round the elm entwine :
 But, if they perish'd by untimely blight,
 The Furies tainted the cold dews of night ;
 Or, if they fell beneath the waste of wars,
 'Twas the dire ravage of insatiate Mars.

Thus, as the muse-inspired poet sang,
 Each abstract cause to form substantial sprang ;
 Assumed a local dwelling, and a name,
 And rose to Fancy in a human frame.

Hence mimic art presum'd, with bold design,
 Nature's best works to embellish and refine ;
 In earthly moulds the soul's conceptions drew ;
 And raised immortal shapes to mortal view ;
 The attributes of Heaven in man combined,
 And stamp'd his image with his Maker's mind.

The front majestic of imperial Jove,
 Proclaim'd the ruler of the realms above :
 Wisdom's mild light, in modest force array'd,
 Beam'd in the image of his martial maid ;
 While keen sagacity and quickness shone
 In every feature of fair Maia's son ;
 Stout Hercules' vast limbs and spacious chest,
 Pure abstract strength personified express'd :
 Light Pleasure's smiling grace and wanton mien,
 Play'd in the form of Love's voluptuous queen ;
 While from her half-closed eyes beam'd rays of fire,
 And on her lips sprang sighs of young desire.

Alike each attribute divine was shown,
 In stated forms and features of its own ;
 Presiding Genii watch'd o'er every hill,
 And Naiads rose in every limpid rill :
 Where'er the lonely wanderer chanc'd to rove,
 He found the immortal progeny of Jove :
 Diffused alike through ocean, earth, and air,
 Unnumber'd spirits heard his evening prayer ;
 And still, as slumber closed his weary eyes,
 Bade dreams of comfort in his fancy rise ;
 Whilst hovering round celestial forms appear'd
 Raised drooping Hope, and sinking sorrow cheer'd.

Hail, happy errors of delusive Thought !
 Unreal visions, with true blessings fraught ;
 Once more from heaven descend, to mortals kind,
 And cast your magic spells around the mind ;

Film o'er the sight of speculative eyes,
Nor let us feel the curse, to be too wise !

Again, ye Muses, let your songs rebound,
And the vain sophist's frigid cant confound ;
Again to rapture wake the lofty strains,
That once re-echoed o'er swift Meles' plains ;
Or, with less bright and animating glow,
Cheer'd wintry Ascrea 'midst her wilds of snow ;
Or rose sedate, with calm and steady pride,
Where Mincius' streams in wandering eddies glide ;
And taught the ruthless sons of war and spoil,
To honour agriculture's useful toil.

Truth now is all the Muses have to boast,
Since Fancy mourns her airy visions lost ;
And Fiction, stripp'd of every playful grace,
To frigid sophistry resigns its place ; --
To frigid sophistry, which breaks the spells,
Beneath whose shade the magic power dwells ;
And all its elevated flights confines,
Low in the trammels of its critic lines ;
Or cramps its vigour, and its fervour cools,
In the dull torpor of unmeaning rules ;
Till quite benumb'd, it now can only move,
In scenes of private life, and hapless love ;
Where tales on tales, through endless volumes flow,
Stuff'd with the unmeaning cant of love and woe :
O'er which fond sentimental damsels weep,
Till, drown'd in sorrows, — they fall fast asleep.

But the bright visions, which in days of yore,
Plumed Fancy's wings, and taught the mind to soar,
Are sunk for ever from the prying sight,
Since touch'd by sophistry's cold blasting light.

No Genii now through seas of ether glide,
To wing the breezes, or the tempests guide ;
No thundering god the mountain's summit shrouds,
In rolling eddies of sulphureous clouds :
No playful Dryads cheer the lonely woods,
Or sportive Naiads float in crystal floods :
The world proceeds by cold mechanic laws,
And fools and sophists know alike their cause.

E'en the rude fables of our rugged climes,
The dark materials of old Runic rhymes,
Though nicely spun by cabalistic wit,
Each winding maze of modern creeds to fit,
Have now their fierce terrific charms resign'd,
Nor dare assail the unletter'd peasant's mind.
No more he sees the pale and wanering sprite
Glide through the silent horrors of the night ;
Nor hears the hoarse ill-boding goblin roar
Along the wintry torrents troubled shore,

No demon now the enchanter's voice obeys,
To guard the forest, or the storm to raise;
To bid false hopes foul deeds of blood excite,
Or panic fears turn conquering chiefs to flight.

No guardian angels now from heaven descend,
The Almighty's shield o'er virtue to extend;
To heal the wounded, and protect the brave;
And valour, press'd by mightier foes, to save.

No fairies now, or dapper elves are seen,
By Fancy's eye, light-tripping o'er the green:
No more on vehicles of thought they ride,
The waking phantoms of the brain to guide;
Or, wafted on the moon's mysterious beams,
Lead the light progeny of fleeting dreams.

Thus, of ideal images bereft,
The Muse's humbler task is only left,
Dry fact and solid argument to strew
With flowers refresh'd in Heliconian dew;
And the light flow of narrative to trace
With just expression, and with easy grace.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PALACE OF AMBITION, and of the Fiends who frequent it.

[From JOAN OF ARC, an EPIC POEM, by ROBERT SOUTHWELL.]

AND first a landscape rose
More wild and waste and desolate, than where
The white bear drifting on a field of ice
Howls to her sunder'd cubs with piteous rage
And savage agony. Mid the drear scene
A craggy mass uprear'd its misty brow,
Untouch'd by breath of spring, unwont to know
Red summer's influence, or the chearful face
Of autumn; yet its fragments many and huge
Aston'd ocean with the dreadful dance
Of whirlpools numberless, absorbing oft
The blameless fisher at his perilous toil.
Upon the topmost height the maiden saw
A meteor-lighted dome: to every blast
Shook the wide fabric, tottering as to fall,
For ever tottering. round the tempests yell'd
Tremendous, music hoarse! yet to the ear
Of him who there had rule, the Dynast stern,
Not undelightful. His perturbed flight
Anxious and gloomy, speeding hitherwards,
She saw the dark-wing'd shape: with all its towers.
The palace nods: such was Ambition's voice!
Obedient first, fierce servant of fierce lord,

Cowl'd Superstition comes, her loosen'd robes
 Float on the breeze and half exposed to view
 The rusted dagger. By her side crept on
 Mitred Hypocrisy, with meekest mien
 And step demure, and cross, which to his heart
 He prest, and seem'd with heaven-ward eye to pour
 The pious prayer; yet never prayer he pour'd
 Save when with secret glance he view'd the crowd
 Admiring near. Revenge unwilling quits
 The mangled corse; and prodigal of death
 Next Slaughter strode; his falchion yet unsheath'd
 Reeks from the wound, loose flow his long black locks,
 The wide roll of his eye is terrible,
 And each limb quivers. Cruelty comes next,
 With savage smile grasping a widowed dove.
 And Fury next beating her own swollen breast
 Rush'd at the call: and Envy hideous form
 Gnawing her flesh, and tearing from her head
 The viper turn'd to bite: and Horror wild
 With creeping flesh. Despair his sullen arms
 Folded; aye muttering dark and half-form'd words
 Of dreadful import. Aged Avarice next
 Hugg'd to his heart his bags, and cast around
 (Unwilling tho' to lose the golden sight,)
 The fearful look. And fitful Jealousy
 Anxious for misery came: and feverish Lust
 Hot from the convent. Palsied Fear fled on,
 And ever as he fled his ghastly eye
 Reverts. Then stalk'd along the giant form
 Of proud Oppression, on his crowned brow
 Sate Desolation, and his pitiless frown
 Dispeopled countries: him behind a train
 Loathly and horrible, of nameless fiends
 Outnumbering locusts. Last, as fill'd with fear
 Suspicion ever-watchful clos'd the train:
 Pale meagre spectre, ribb'd with iron plates,
 Sleepless, and fearful of the friendly meal,
 Worn out with anxious vigilance of life.

These at the palace meet, there, porter fit,
 Remorse for ever his sad vigils kept,
 His heart the viper's feast: worn down his face,
 If face it were when scarce the shrivell'd skin
 Wrap'd o'er the bone, proclaim'd the gnawing pang:
 Inly he groan'd, or starting wildly, shriek'd,
 Aye as the fabric tottering from its base
 Threaten'd destruction, tho' oft announc'd with-held,
 Tho' still with-held; expected.

These the maid
 Mark'd as they steer'd their dusky flight along;
 And lo! she was amidst them.

Of equalling high heaven : nor larger he
 Illusive, 'gainst whose head the thunderer Thor
 Sped frustrate his full force. A sable helm
 Shades his brown face, where glow'd thro' each dark
 The fire of anger ; in his hand he grasp'd
 The desolating spear ; his broad black brow
 In thought contracted spake his brooding soul,
 Sullenly silent.

STORY OF THELAMONT AND ALMERIA.

[From the SEA, a POEM, by JOHN BIDLAKE, B. A.]

NOW thrice three bright revolving suns had view'
 Fond Thelamont to his Almeria join'd ;
 With rapture melting into fix'd esteem ;
 Equal delight, and soul-exchanging bliss,
 So beam'd, so smil'd, so parted ev'ry year !
 Bright shone a summer's morn, when Thelamont
 Upon a placid sea set sail ; intent
 With baited hook to tempt the finny tribe.
 Cruel delight ! From native beds to drag
 The wounded fools, and spoil their silv'ry scales
 And spotted pride, writh'd on the tort'rous hook,
 In sufferance dumb, O be meek mercy heard !
 Thrice blest be he, who ever kindness shews
 To the poor brutal race : config'd by him,
 Who shelters all, to reason's manly rule
 And mild humanity's more tender care.
 Thrice blest be he ! soft pity copious show'r
 Thy gracious dew upon his head ; refresh
 His tender heart, and glad his darksome days.

" Where unknown horror lurks, and hidden snares.
 " This day is sacred to the rites of love;
 " This anniversary of the happy year
 " Since first our hands we join'd; and mutual pledg'd
 " Our faith. This happy day with me consume;
 " With me, I pray, and with our little race."
 And then she turn'd delighted looks to where
 Their rosy infants, dew-drops of gay health,
 Spring buds of purple youth, sported around.
 To this, of ans'ring feelings raptur'd full,
 Though all the father, all the husband rose
 At once; and tides o'erflowing of rich joy
 Almost his bosom burst, he answer made.
 " Sweet sharer of my days! partner of my bliss!
 " Fear not. I leave thee for a little space;
 " And long before brown night its shades extends,
 " Shall to thy arms return. Short absence makes
 " True love more sweet." O blindness to the future!
 That kindly veils sharp pain's perspective ills:
 Hides what no caution can avoid, or keeps
 From greater ills of choice! Silent, depress'd
 Almeria sat; placid, though not content;
 And forc'd a smile that would consent have spoken,
 And wip'd in haste, a stealthful tear unseen,
 That fear had drop'd upon her downcast eye;
 And check'd a sigh that apprehension breath'd,
 Soft as the summer evening zephyr curls
 The crimson bosom of the sleepy lake.

Now from the port the impatient vessel steers,
 And to the wanton gales the swelling sails
 Their bosoms gave; and gliding swift before
 The fresh'ning breeze, that brushing kiss'd the wave,
 The painted vessel danc'd, light, trim, and gay.
 With equal speed the shores receding flew,
 Till far into the azure main they gain'd.
 Deceitful morn! why dost thou smile so fair?
 Shall nature be so false? Fresh'ning the breeze
 Swells to a gale: the shifting gale a storm;
 That adverse soon forbad all hop'd return,
 And access to the wished-for land denied.
 Alas! poor Thelamont! thy drifting bark
 Flies fast before the furious winds, that mad
 And cruel wing thee from thy fading home;
 The lov'd, the happy spot, where wait thy own
 Thy dear delights, thy rosy smiling babes;
 The softest, sweetest, partner of thy care.
 Nor evening greets thee now with promis'd joy;
 Nor infant sports; nor her kind arms that wrap
 Thee in the lap of love; the flowery bow'r,
 That shields from every blast, from every pain.

Far,

Far, far, from these, and every soothing joy ;
Art thou to dreary, friendless night consign'd ;
And all the horrors of the rough rude storm.

The closing eve, meantime with moisten'd lids,
Sunk slow, and sad, on ocean's troubled bed,
In sympathy of melancholy fate.
On the remorseless main, her anxious eye
Almeria cast, where madness furious play'd,
And through the thick'ning mist did fancy paint
Last friend of grief, the vessel's distant form,
That held the lord, the sharer of her heart.
Her children oft, O happy age ! whom yet
Hope e'er delights, look'd through the darkning scene,
And in imagination's picture saw
The bark, and hail'd their parent's blest return ;
And made more keen Almeria's frantic woe,
When e'en deceptive promise fail'd to cheat,
And dull, blank disappointment coldly frown'd.
Go wrap your fondling arms, ye smiling babes !
Strain close your fainting mother's breast ! kiss, kiss
Away the tears ! that flowing fountains run,
And mingle pity's stream, with her full tide.
She needs your every soothing art, your wiles
To mellow sharp distress ! for never more
Shall she save in your sweetly-dimpling cheeks,
That picture sweet remembrance of past love,
The unfading image of your fire behold.

Last fancy fail'd, and cruel frowning night
Denied e'en cheering hope, and rolling slow
In pitchy darkness wrap'd the ruin'd scene.

INVOCATION TO FANCY and FORGETFULNESS to chase away the Demon
MEMORY.

[From the PAINS OF MEMORY, a POEM, by ROBERT MERRY, A. M.]

COME then, creative Fancy ! hither bend
Thy sportive flight, and prove thyself a friend ;
Raise by thy potent spells the castles fair,
Which charm the eye, thought built, but in the air ;
Console the poor with visionary wealth,
And lure the sick man to the bow'rs of health ;
To myrtle groves the panting lover bring,
And scatter roses from thy fairy wing ;
The maid ador'd, though faithless as the wind,
Shall there be ever constant, ever kind,
With fond approval listen to his tale,
Melt at his sighs, and let his vows prevail.

They

Thou bidst the soldier win, with proud delight,
 The deathless laurel of imagin'd fight,
 Spur his bold steed the routed foe to reach,
 Or foremost, sword in hand, ascend the breach.
 Thy magic influence makes the coward brave,
 Gives ease to anguish, freedom to the slave:
 Yet, he alas! condemn'd for evermore,
 To tug with hopeless toil the heavy oar,
 To guide the galley thro' the boist'rous sea,
 In ev'ry hour of respite, flies to thee:
 On the cold pallet stretch'd, his pangs subside,
 O'er his rapt thought thy pageant pleasures glide,
 Bright views entrance him, soft illusions rise,
 Dissolve his chains, and lift him to the skies.
 The niggard wretch at thy benign command,
 Feels with new tenderness his soul expand,
 Wakens to charity, and grants relief,
 At least in thought, to ev'ry human grief;
 Then, to reward his sympathetic tears,
 Invokes prosperity, and length of years.
 View'd thro' the medium of thy magic glass,
 The loveliest scenes in gay succession pass,
 Each virtue glows in purest tints array'd,
 In native ugliness is vice display'd:
 For never yet has mortal predestin'd
 Himself unjust, deceitful, or unkind,
 To gain the prize on which he loves to brood,
 The means are proper, and the end is good.
 Where'er thou deignst thy cheering glance to throw,
 Full harvests bend, saubrious rivers flow,
 Long lakes their glossy surfaces unfold,
 And heaven is deck'd with more resplendent gold.
 Spontaneous forests cloathe the lonely heath,
 And all creation brightens at thy breath.
 Then Fancy, hither come, exert thy sway,
 And chace the demon Mem'ry far away!

Thou too, Forgetfulness! whose opiate charm
 Can hush the passions, and their rage disarm;
 Approach, O kindly grant thy suppliant aid!
 Wrap him in sweet oblivion's placid shade;
 Veil the gay, transitory scenes, that fled,
 Like gleamy sunshine o'er the mountain's head;
 Sink in the dark abyss of endless night
 The artificial phantoms of delight;
 Nor let his early ign'rance, and mistake,
 The sober bliss of age and reason shake.
 Hide from his heart each suff'ring country's woe,
 And o'er its chains thy cov'ring mantle throw;

Hide yon deluded agonizing train,
 Who bleed by thousands on the purple plain ;
 Their piercing cries, their dying groans controul,
 And lock up all the feelings of his soul.
 Shield him from slander's persecuting race,
 Who seek to wound, and labour to disgrace,
 Who view the humblest worth with jealous eye,
 The viper brood of black malignity !
 So shall, perchance, content with thee return,
 'Mongst vernal sweets to raise his wintry urn ;
 To his retreat tranquillity repair,
 " And freedom dwell a pensive hermit there."

HOYLE LAKE, a POEM, written on that Coast, and addressed to its
 PROPRIETOR, SIR JOHN STANLEY.

[FROM LLANGOLLEN VALE, with other POEMS, by ANNA SEWARD.]

THEE, Stanley, thee, our gladden'd spirit hails,
 Since life's first good for us thy efforts gain,
 Who, habitants of Albion's inland vales,
 Reside far distant from her circling main.

These lightsome walls, beneath thy generous cares
 Arose, the lawny scene's convivial boast,
 While at thy voice clear-cheek'd Hygeia rears
 Her aqueous altars on this tepid coast.
 This coast, the nearest to our central home,
 That green Britannia's watry zone displays,
 Now gives the drooping frame a cheerful dome *,
 Whose lares † smile, and promise lengthen'd days.

When gather'd fogs the pale horizon steep,
 Falling in heavy, deep, continual rain,
 If, ere the sun sink shrouded in the deep,
 His crystal rays pervade the vapory train,

Dry are the tufty downs, diffusive spread
 O'er the light surface of the sandy mound,
 Where e'en the languid form may safely tread,
 Drink the pure gale, and eye the blue profound.

Dear scene !—that stretch'd between the silver arms
 Of Deva, and of Mersey, meets the main,
 And when the sun-gilt day illumines its charms,
 Boasts of peculiar grace, nor boasts in vain.

* The large and handsome hotel, built in the year 1792, by Sir John Stanley, and
 which converts these pleasant downs into a commodious sea-bathing place.

† Lares, Household-gods.

Tho' near the beach, dark Helbrie's lonely isle,
 Reposes sullen in the watry way,
 Hears round her rocks the tides, returning, boil,
 And o'er her dusky sandals dash their spray.

Mark, to the left, romantic Cambria's coast,
 Her curtain'd mountains rising o'er the floods;
 While seas on Orm's beak'd promontory burst,
 Blue Deva swells her mirror to the woods.

High o'er that varied ridge of Alpine forms,
 Vast Moel-y-Fammau * towers upon the sight,
 Lifts her maternal bosom to the storms,
 And screens her filial mountains from their blight.

Far on the right, the dim Lancastrian plains,
 In pallid distance, glimmer thro' the sky,
 Tho', hid by jutting rocks, thy splendid fanes,
 Commercial Liverpool, elude the eye.

Wide in the front the confluent oceans roll,
 Amid whose restless billows guardian Hoyle,
 To screen her azure lake when tempests howl,
 Spreads the firm texture of her amber isle †.

And tho' the surging tide's resistless waves
 Roll, day, and night, its level surface o'er,
 Tho' the skies darken, and the whirlwind raves,
 They froth,—but rush innoxious to the shore.

When fear-struck sea-men, 'mid the raging flood,
 Hear thundering shipwreck yell her dire decrees,
 See her pale arm rend every sail, and shroud,
 And o'er the high mast lift her whelming seas,

If to thy quiet harbour, gentle Hoyle,
 The shatter'd navy thro' the tempest flies,
 Each joyous mariner forgets his toil,
 And carols to the vainly angry skies.

What tho' they vex the lake's cerulean stream,
 And curl its billows on the shelly floor,
 Yet, in despite of Fancy's timid dream,
 Age, and infirmity, may plunge secure.

* *Moel-y-Fammau*, the first word spoken as one syllable, as if spelt *Mole*. The name signifies in Welch *Mother of Mountains*. It is seen in the Hoyle-Lake prospect, behind the Flintshire hills, and considerably higher than any of them.

† *Amber Isle*, the *Sand Island*, six miles long, and four broad, which lying in the sea, a mile from shore, forms the lake; and breaking the force of the tides, constitutes the safety of that lake as an harbour and bathing-place.

How gay the scene when spring's fair mornings break,
 Or summer's sons illumine the grassy mound,
 When anchor'd navies crowd the peopled lake,
 Or deck the distant ocean's sky-bound.

Like leafless forests, on its verge extreme
 Rise the tall masts;—or spreading wide their sails,
 Silvering, and shining in the solar beam,
 Stand on that last blue line, and court the gales.

The peopled lake, of song, and lively cheer,
 And boatswain's whistle bears the jovial sound;
 While rosy pennants, floating on the air,
 Tinge the soft seas of glass, that sleep around.

'Twas on these downs * the Belgian hero spread
 His ardent legions in auspicious hours,
 Ere to Ierne's hostile shores he led
 To deathless glory their embattled powers.

When, like the conqueror of the Eastern world,
 That stemm'd with dauntless breast the Granic flood,
 His victor sword immortal William whirl'd,
 And Boyne's pale waters dyed with rebel blood.

Since now, to health devoted, this calm shore
 Breathes renovation in its foamy wave,
 For the kind Donor shall each heart implore,
 The good his energies to others gave.

That long on him clear-cheek'd Hygeia's smile,
 And long on all he loves, serene may shine,
 Who from thy sparkling coast, benignant Hoyle,
 Diffus'd the blessings of her crystal shrine.

ODE ON HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

WHERE are the vows the Muses breath'd,
 That Discord's fatal reign might cease?
 Where all the blooming flow'rs they wreath'd,
 To bind the placid brow of Peace;

* King William encamped his army on the Hoyle lake downs, before he took shipping from thence, on his victorious expedition to Ireland.

Whose angel-form, with radiant beam,
 Pictur'd in Fancy's fairy-dream,
 Seem'd o'er Europa's ravag'd land,
 Prompt to extend her influence bland,
 Calm the rude clangors of the martial lay,
 And hail with gentler note our monarch's natal day?

II.

For, lo ! on yon devoted shore,
 Still through the bleeding ranks of war,
 His burning axles steep'd in gore,
 Ambition drives his iron car.
 Still his eyes, in fury roll'd,
 Glare on fields by arms o'er run ;
 Still his hands rapacious hold
 Spoils injurious inroad won ;
 And, spurning with indignant frown
 The sober olive's proffer'd crown,
 Bids the brazen trumpet's breath
 Swell the terrific blast of destiny and death.

III.

Shrinks Britain at the sound ? Though, while her eye
 O'er Europe's desolated plains she throws,
 Slow to avenge, and mild in victory,
 She mourns the dreadful scene of war and woes ;
 Yet, if the foe, misjudging, read
 Dismay in Pity's gentlest deed,
 And, construing mercy into fear,
 The blood-stain'd arm of battle rear,
 By insult rous'd in just resentment warm,
 She frowns defiance on the threat'ning storm ;
 And, far as Ocean's billows roar,
 By ev'ry wave encircled shore,
 From where o'er icy seas the gaunt wolf roves,
 To coasts perfumed by aromatic groves ;
 As proudly to the ambient sky
 In silken folds her mingled crosses fly ;
 The soothing voice of Peace is drown'd
 Awhile in war's tumultuous sound,
 And strains, from Glory's awful clarion blown,
 Float in triumphant peal around Britannia's throne.

To breathe my native air ;
 Forbade to cull the fairer flowers
 That thrive in Academic bowers,
 And clip'd my youth's aspiring wings ;
 —Envious of Fancy's brighter day,
 I trod th' inglorious private way
 To Learning's hidden springs !
 Thee, BERTIE ! happier fates attend,
 Nor is it thine to mourn
 From thee the father and the friend
 By death, untimely, torn !
 Thee, BERTIE ! worthy of thy fire !
 Let generous emulation fire
 With high-born pride, with ardor keen,
 Like heroes in th' Olympic race,
 Still to assert the foremost place
 In ETON'S crowded scene !



To "chase the rolling circle's speed,"
 To "urge the flying ball,"
 Thro' yielding waves the way to lead,
 The fluttering bird enthrall,
 Or fearful snatch the truant joy ;
 These may thy vacant hours employ.
 —But strenuous seek a nobler prize,
 To charm when thou no more art young ;
 Nor think, whate'er a GRAY has sung,
 "'Tis FOLLY to be WISE !"
 Tho' Passion and Disease may rage
 In Man with baleful strife,
 Tho' numerous ills, in riper age,
 On this black shade descend,

The joy the genuine Patriot feels ;
Or he who wounds of Sorrow heals,
In conscious Virtue blest !

The joy to nurse the liberal Arts !
Thro' Nature's sweets to rove !
What Science, or the Muse, imparts !
Friendship, or wedded Love !
—For feeling minds, and judging eyes,
Fountains of bliss unnumber'd rise,
And thro' their hallow'd course refine.
—The gifts unbounded Bounty strews
'Tis more than Folly to refuse ;
—'Tis impious to repine !
To Youth its sports, to Age its calm,
Indulgent Heav'n bestows,
With sorrow mingles comfort's balm,
And action with repose.
Disease from Sloth, or Pleasure springs,
Yet, with sedate Reflection, brings
Warm Hope, to sooth the mental strife,
Who whispers soft to Care, or Pain,
For present loss, a future gain,
For death, immortal life !

What to avoid, and what pursue,
Has Man no rule assign'd ?
No arms, high-temper'd to subdue
“ The vultures of the mind ? ”
—Oh blind to Truth ! tho' free of Will !
Thou mak'st thy own misfortunes still
Whom thy own passions still controul.
—Arm but thy will—their rage defy !
The dire Promethean terrors fly,
And leave th' unshaken soul !
Not words alone, but thoughts acquire !
And great examples know !
Till GREECE and ROME's extinguish'd fire
In Thee revived shall glow !
—Mark, worthy of the general trust,
An ARISTIDES, wise, and just,
To others mild, himself severe !
To wealth unmoved—Oh glorious boast !
His funeral at the public cost,
Graced by the public tear !

Not SPAIN and AFRIC's spoils combin'd
So SCIPIO's worth display'd,

"And moralize his song,"
While Heav'n decrees us here below
A mingled maze of joy and woe;
(Howe'er the plaintive Sophists moan)
Well to enjoy the prosperous hour,
Well to endure Affliction's power,
Are WISDOM's lot alone!

ILLUSTRATION of "the INFLUENCE of LOCAL ATTACHMENT
spect to HOME."

[From a Poem under that Title.]

HERE, where, descending from the sea-worn cliffs
In his own heavy cloud of darkness clad,
Full oft his watery pennons Auster lifts
And wraps the extensive isle in sudden shade,
Tho' vernal sunbeams were effus'd, to glad
Our landscapes, from Cornubia vein'd with ore
To Scotia's heaths that triumph in the plaid;
The Briton still prefers his changeful shore
To Ægypt's cloudless plains where no rude tempests roar

Yes! o'er his acres the green barley-blade
He values more than fields of clustering rice;
And rather shapes his way thro' plashy glade
Where crackles, at each step, the sheeted ice,
Than mid gay groves of cassia, that entice
The soul to pleasure, far diffusing balm;
To him more dear the oak-crown'd precipice,
Than the deep verdure of date-crested palm,
Where all is lap'd in ease, one languor-breathing calm.

Mid basil tufts, and odorous breezes curl
 The stream besprent with many a silver lot; ;
 While, on the smooth canal, light ships unfurl
 Their sportive sails, and gently as they float,
 Flutter the billing doves, and croud the neighbouring cote.

While the gay-gilded mosque shines, half-conceal'd
 By tamarinds and the broad-leav'd sycamore,
 And, as beneath their trembling verdure veil'd;
 Airs, Eden-born, delicious incense pour,
 Softening the fervours of the summer-hour!
 While rich pomegranates bid their cooling seeds
 To the parcht palate a keen sense restore,
 And, round each whispering islet of cane reeds,
 Its melon's grateful pulp the tepid water feeds.

Not ivory palaces, their roofs inlaid
 With massy gold, where thrones of coral glow,
 Starr'd with the gems of Ormuz; not the shade
 Ambrosial, waving its peach-flowers that blow
 To pearly grapes, and kifs the turf below,
 The genuine son of Albion could induce
 His darry-meads, his fallows to forego:
 Not all the fruits, that bloom o'er every sluice,
 Would, in his mind, outvie the redstreak's vermeil juice.

Nor, if to innocence a gentle smile
 Beam, placid as the May's mild morning break;
 If, with a modest blush, to mark our isle,
 Mantle to veins of azure the fair cheek;
 Are not the charms of foreign beauty weak,
 Beauty, that wantons with voluptuous air?
 Can jetty ringlets that adorn the neck,
 Sleek as they glisten to the sunny glare,
 Rival, O Albion's dames, your amber-brightening hair?

Yet pleasure views, and trembles at the gaze,
 Those glossy tresses their luxuriance spread
 To roseate essences; the diamond-blaze
 Of many-a crescent on the turban'd head,
 Or the pearl-lustre as by rainbows fed;
 The full dark eye; the panting of the breast,
 Through gauze that seems to kindle; limbs that shed
 Purpureal light by silken folds carest,
 And the rich zone that checks the thin transparent vest.

See, as the rose-lipt Almé weave the dance,
 To meking airs they move, in amorous play;
 Or, arch with nods and wreathed smiles, they glance
 Their nimble feet to frolic measures gay:

The cymbal's notes to love new warmth convey:
The burning aloe breathes its fragrance round.

O'er all the light saloon with sparkling ray,
The diamond trembles to the dancer's bound,
While with fantastic mirth the dizzy roofs resound.

See glowing virgins lave the polished limb,
What time they bid the musky bath exhale
Its steaming odours, and along the brim
The dalliance of the loves lascivious hail:
Or, when the clear night wafts her cooling gale,
See their fine forms, as eve's last colours die,
Slow on the flower embroider'd terrace sail;
While, glittering thro' its whole expanse, the sky
With its deep azure shade relieves the wearied eye.

Yes!—Home still charms: and he who, clad in fur,
His rapid rein-deer drives o'er plains of snow,
Would rather to the same wild tracts recur,
That various life had mark'd with joy or woe,
Than wander, where the spicy breezes blow,
To kiss the hyacinths of Azza's hair——
Rather, than where luxuriant summers glow,
To the white mosses of his hills repair,
And bid his antler train the simple banquet share.

All love their native spot; whether beside
Their ice-ribb'd mountains thro' a waste of night,
They catch the frost-gales from the stormy tide,
And shiver to the boreal flashes bright;
Or, if the sun vouchsafe a noonday light,
Hail, from the crags, his faint-reflected beams,
And slide, o'er mouldering bridge, from height to height,
Where pine, or ebony, or benreed gleams,
To float their huge-hewn planks, along the gulphy streams:

Or, whether blinded by the solar glare,
The moon-ey'd Indian amid poison'd dews
Tainting the breeze, to balsam groves repair,
And sleep, tho' venom many a plant diffuse:
Or whether he who journeys o'er Peru's
Re-echoing caverns, heap his ore, to pave
The streets with ingots, oft as he pursues
His burthen'd beast, to where the boiling wave
Once swallow'd Lima's walls, a universal grave.

E'en now, where rages red Vesuvio's flame,
Scarce from the fluid rocks his offspring fly;
Tho' cities, strown around, of ancient name,
The monuments of former vengeance lie.

And

f

And we have mark'd the indissoluble tie;
 By which a myriad down the yawning gloom
 Descended erst, as Etna fir'd the sky —
 By which a myriad that escap'd the doom,
 Cling to the sulphur'd spot, and clasp their comrades' tomb.

DESCRIPTION OF HAY-MAKING.

[From BEWSEY, a Poem.]

THERE see the mowers, to their half-done task
 Early returning, jocund, o'er the grass,
 That yesterday they cut: with stone well-ply'd,
 Bending, they whet the clear-resounding steel;
 And now in order plac'd, step after step,
 Slow following, with successive well-tim'd strokes,
 The scythe they brandish: falling at their feet
 In semicircles wide, a mingled heap
 Of seedling stalks and flow'rs of various hues
 In wild confusion lies, to bloom no more.
 Meanwhile a num'rous train of men and boys,
 And country maidens, bearing in their hands
 The rural trophies, cheerfully begin
 Their pleasing toil, and scatter far and wide,
 With airy toss, the odoriferous hay;
 Light burden! While as now the climbing sun,
 In splendour clad, pours forth his sloping rays
 Stronger, the field is all a moving scene
 Of gaiety and business, mirth and toil.
 Many the jokes, and frequent are the laughs,
 Enlivening their labour: on the copse
 Of yonder hedge, where gay the wild-rose blooms,
 Is laid the copious can, with needful store
 Of liquor fill'd, and cover'd from the sight
 Of busy flies. Full oft the heated swain
 Thither is seen to pace, and from the cup
 First takes a long, deep draught: then to the fair,
 Not asking, but whose warm flush'd cheeks betray
 Her thirst, slow carrying, presents the cup
 With awkward gallantry. Fatigued, the band
 Awhile repose: the sun-burnt clown, robust,
 Pulls on his knee his modest-looking fair,
 Pleas'd, and yet half asham'd: ah! happy he,
 If from her lips he gains at last the kiss,
 With many struggles won; nor is ev'n she,
 Tho' her disorder'd locks with many a frown
 Now she adjusts, displeas'd at heart to lose
 The fragrant prize she wish'd not to withhold.
 She seeks not to ensnare a captive train

Practis'd in flattery's arts, with oily tongue,
 Pours in his vainer fair's deluded ears.
 Here 'tis, that Love bestrews his pleasing joys,
 Unblended with his cares; for here no fears
 Of rankling jealousy disturb the breast.
 He *knows* his maiden true, as she her swain;
 And so shall each be prov'd, for Hymen soon
 In bondage sweet shall join their willing hands.
 Be kind, ye Southern breezes! blow not yet,
 Nor bid your train of gloomy clouds and show'rs,
 Unwelcome now, deform the tranquil sky!
 But let the frequent wain, unstopp'd by rains,
 Clear the dry hayfield of its dusky piles!

REPAST of LUCIAN and SWIFT, in the House of Rhetoric
 [From the PARADISE of TASTE, by ALEXANDER THOMSON]

NOW turning to the other table,
 Which rather look'd more comfortable,
 Thereon two covers we survey'd,
 And things in rank for supper laid,
 While warm and snug, another pair
 Of satirists were seated there—
 The Greek, whose lively fancy drew
 So many a pleasing interview;
 Who heroes old so well could show
 Converſing in the shades below,
 And whose celestial dialogues
 Made all Olympus whores and rogues;
 His messmate was Hibernia's boast,
 In caustic wit himself a host;
 Excuse to view who durst presume

The vile disgusting picture drew
 Of that inhuman brute Yahoo.
 Before them, hunger's best relief,
 An ample dish of steaks of beef,
 Stood smoking, juicy, fat, and nice,
 Of which they each secur'd a slice,
 And season'd it, without dispute,
 As best it might his palate suit.
 The Greek was mighty well content
 With pickles from Jamaica sent,
 And pepper brought from Surinam,
 More hot and fiery than a dram.
 Not so St. Patrick's dirty dean,
 Who rubb'd along his platter clean
 Of assafoetida a pound,
 Which threw a dismal stench around,
 And then he gobbled up in haste
 His odoriferous repast ;
 Which done, no longer would he stay,
 But instant rose, and ran away.
 Then to my keen inquiring eye
 My gracious guide made this reply :—
 " I cannot bring my tuneful tongue,
 " To sounds of other order strung,
 " To tell you now the shameful place
 " Where this strange wretch has hid his face,
 " Who views those sights with pleasure's smiles,
 " From which each other eye recoils ;
 " To whom those sounds alone are dear,
 " That strike with pain each other ear :
 " If curiosity be strong,
 " Much better go with him along,
 " And see him there, in all his glory,
 " Rehearsing of a filthy story ;
 " But me you must, my child, excuse,
 " Whose eye such objects never views."
 To this what answer I should make,
 Long time to think I did not take :
 " I feel," says I, " no inclination
 " For such minute investigation ;
 " And rather ne'er would see his face,
 " Than follow him to such a place."

SITUATION of SHAKESPEAR, in the ISLAND of FANCY.

[From the same Work.]

THERE up to heav'n a mass of rock was pil'd,
 Which seem'd to mingle with the midnight sky ;
 Of rude access it was, and prospect wild,

And

And rear'd its proud ambitious head so high
 As almost left behind the aching eye. —
 Deck'd was the scene with beauties all its own;
 Whose pow'rful charms each critic glance defy;
 And on its topmost height, the regal throne
 Of this romantic realm, stood Avon's bard alone:

Alone he stood — for there was none but he
 On such a fearful precipice could stand;
 Careless he stood, from fear and danger free,
 And wav'd with ease that more than magic wand,
 Whose pond'rous weight would numb each other hand;
 For who like him could fairy chaplets twine,
 Could paint with living hues the airy band
 Of shapes infernal and of forms divine,
 Or dive so wond'rous deep in fancy's golden mine?

Reluctant rising from their nether skies,
 A troop of griesly ghosts before him stood,
 With iron teeth and staring stony eyes,
 Demons and fiends, and all the hellish brood
 Which fancy figures in her trembling mood;
 Around his head those elves and spirits flew,
 Who taste on earth of heav'n's ambrosial food,
 Who suck with bees the cowslip's honey due,
 And steal, to make them coats, the rainbow's brilliant hue.

There on her car sate Mab the fairy queen,
 And dreams of various hue around her flung;
 Her coachman, merry Puck, array'd in green,
 Before her on the nut-built chariot hung,
 And all his knavish tricks and frolics sung.
 There was the witch's child, who ne'er unclos'd
 His brutal lips but forth a curse there sprung;
 And Ariel quaint, of other mold compos'd,
 Who trode the winter wind, and in the gale repos'd.

EULOGIUM ON CONVERSATION.

[From CONVERSATION, a Didactic Poem, by WILLIAM COOKE, E

—— CONVERSATION, ever on the wing,
 Delights to rove through all the honied spring
 Like music's voice, harmonious, deep, and clear,
 Pours all its information through the ear,
 Draws out the force of education's plan,
 Combines the whole, and finishes the man.

See how it decorates the classic page!
 And how the ancients felt this pleasing rage!

Or at their baths—their meals—the public hall,
 'Twas Conversation took the lead in all.
 Here rights were canvass'd—manners understood,
 And laws develop'd for the public good,
 Here heroes' deeds were told with kindred blaze,
 Nor humbler virtues 'scap'd their share of praise.
 The matron's constancy—the sage's sense,
 The power of beauty, and its best defence,
 The poor man's firmness in the struggling hour,
 Contentment's charm, or riches' liberal power,
 All learning taught—all daily life had shewn
 —The most unerring science to be known—
 Were here enforc'd with simpleness and truth,
 As food for age, or models for their youth;
 Nay, ev'n in death they felt for human kind,
 And left their moral legacies behind.

O! life's true teacher!—most illustrious sage!
 Whose great example burns, from age to age,
 Who scorn'd the trammels of the wrangling schools,
 And taught philosophy by christian rules;
 Tho' doom'd a base—unworthy death to share,
 In spite of pity's voice, and virtue's prayer —
 Still did thy soul unbroken, and serene,
 With conscious truth survey the awful scene,
 Fearless what pangs the poison'd bowl could give,
 And to the last inform'd us how to live.

With these bright models plac'd before our view,
 Let's learn to copy each proportion true,
 Explore what Conversation can produce,
 For moral happiness, and social use.
 In life's gay spring 'tis that perpetual school,
 Which moulds the manners, free from tyrant rule,
 Gives flow of speech, and readiness to scan
 The various habitudes of active man.
 Possess'd of this, we better learn to prize
 What comforts fashion gives, or what denies;
 What dress imports, what friendship's crowds employ,
 In all the frivolous pursuits of joy.
 Shielded by this, we better learn to shun
 Those baser lengths which youthful passions run;
 Gaming's sad charm, which rends all social ties,
 Engenders fraud, rapacity, and lies;
 Or Bacchus' court, or lust's decoying cell,
 Where rank disease and dissipation dwell.
 Far from those haunts, the tutor'd bosom strays,
 Who converse love—love not those dangerous ways.

What

What books we read, tho' read with critic zeal,
 'Tis Conversation stamps the final seal;
 Marks what's original, and what is known,
 And adds another's strictures to our own.
 What school, what travels, what examples taught,
 As rich materials for our use are brought,
 Proud now to feel what charm'd our earlier days,
 Return with ten-fold interest to our praise,
 On every side we some advantage prove,
 It warms our friendship, and inspires our love.

In latter age, when passions milder flow,
 And our chief pride is rais'd on what we know,
 Tho' love no longer takes an active part,
 No longer flames, or agitates the heart,
 Still Conversation keeps its settled throne,
 Its power of pleasing still is all our own.
 By this once more we prove the virgin kind,
 And gain fresh conquests o'er her charms of mind,
 Disperse the gloomy, aid the cheerful hour,
 Obtain respect, and confidence, and power.
 And when, approaching to its awful close,
 Life seeks its chiefest pleasure in repose,
 This social charm shall gild our setting day,
 Inspire fresh hopes, and brighter views display;
 Hopes which foretaste, confirm'd by pious trust,
 The sacred Conversation of the just.
 Where man "made perfect" feels celestial fires,
 Glows in discourse, or hymns in heav'nly choirs,
 Where, blest communion! every joy is thine,
 Eternal truth—and harmony divine.

ELEGY occasioned by the Loss of the Author's DAUGHTER.

[From SORROWS, sacred to the Memory of PENELOPE, by Sir BROOK BOOTHBY, Bart.]

NOW the down of the swan o'er my temples is spread,
 And grief and misfortune have bow'd down my head;
 Now old age is at hand, and each sorrowful day
 Something adds to the load, as the strength wears away.
 'Twere fitting, the little that life had to last,
 Free from care and alarm might have quietly pass'd;
 That in studious repose, to my bosom still dear,
 Soft peace might have ended an humble career;
 In the house of my fathers, ah! too much my pride!
 On a wife's faithful breast have securely relied;
 With a few dear companions, who knowing my heart,
 Had to faults been indulgent, where that had no part;

'Till the marble, in wait for the rest of its prey,
To eternal oblivion had snatch'd me away ;
To her again join'd, at whose sad, early doom,
All my joys, hopes, and pleasures, were hid in the tomb.
Such once was my wish, nor unworthy to know
The calm that an innocent life should bestow ;
But vain were my projects, my wishes all vain ;
No repose, no retirement, must soften my pain ;
Strange masters my meadows and groves shall possess ;
For them, my loved plants wear their beautiful dress.
To new regions I go ; unfriended, alone.
Rejected, forgotten, unpitied, unknown.
Doom'd, perhaps, to behold my dear country no more,
My bones shall lie white on some far distant shore ;
O'er my poor scatter'd relics no sorrows be shed,
And nameless the dust that flies over my head.

threw's Gospel, and to judge on which side of the scales the weight of evidence preponderates. In an Appendix our author maintains, with Augustine, and other writers among the ancients as well as moderns, that St. Mark's Gospel is an abbreviated translation of St. Matthew's Syro-Chaldaic Gospel.

In our Register for the year 1788, we announced to our readers the object and general character of Mr. now Dr. Ryan's "History of the Effects of Religion on Mankind; in Countries ancient and modern; barbarous and civilized." It is but lately that we have seen a Supplement to that work, in a 2d. Vol. which bears the date of 1793, and is executed with the same learning and ingenuity as the former. It is divided into four sections, in which the author shews, that the erroneous doctrines and superstitious practices of Christians are not to be imputed to Christianity; illustrates the enthusiasm of the heathens, the origin, progress, and influence of fanaticism in the times of the crusades, &c. with the effects of it on the literature, the religion, and the morals of the English nation; points out the real causes of several persecutions, heresies, controversies, wars, &c. falsely imputed to Christianity by modern infidels; and refutes the objections which have been urged against the utility of religion.

Mr. Roberts, in his "Observations on the Principles of Christian Morality, and the Apostolic Character, occasioned by Dr. Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity," attacks that valuable writer on account of the liberality with which he concedes to the enemies of Revelation, what he deems to be untenable and useless points, and the caution with which he has

refrained from using the language of party principles. These very circumstances, in the opinion of some of the ablest and most zealous advocates for Revelation, have stamped superior excellence on the doctor's labours, and contributed essentially to serve the cause which he supports. Mr. Roberts is of a different opinion; and endeavours to convict Dr. Paley of injustice to the religion of the gospel, by giving improper or defective views of its morality, of its peculiar doctrines, and of the characters of its founder, and his apostles. From the manner in which he conducts his hostility, he does not prove himself to be a very formidable antagonist.

"Christian Philosophy, or an Attempt to display the Evidence and Excellence of revealed Religion; by Vicesimus Knox, D. D." in 2 Vols. is a work which the well known talents of the author led us to open with considerable expectations; but which the perusal hath most grievously disappointed. Abandoning the strong ground which the most venerable and judicious advocates for Christianity have so well maintained, that of historical testimony; and even undermining it (for he is willing seriously to make the concession that Christianity is not founded on argument), Dr. Knox rests the faith of a Christian on "the divine irradiation of the holy ghost, shining upon and giving lustre to the *letter* of Revelation." Very distinct is this principle from the doctrine of divine energy, operating on the heart of a virtuous man, to assist him in the performance of his duty; as it supposes the belief of Christianity to depend on an immediate divine impulse. This, surely, is mysticism, rather than philosophy; and

and tends more to encourage the sneers of the infidel, or the visionary conceits of the fanatic, than to satisfy the mind of the sober rational enquirer. To many of Dr. Knox's excellent observations on the practical influence of Christianity, and to the vast weight in favour of its truth which that influence affords to the minds of those who embrace it, we subscribe with all our heart. We are also proud to appeal with him to that branch of the internal evidence of our holy faith; while at the same time we are confident in the success of an appeal also to human reason and human learning in its defence, although "the infidel is ever ready to oppose weapons from the same armoury."

Mr. Clarke's "Answer to the Question, why are you a Christian?" originally published at Boston, in New England, deserves to be recommended to young persons, as a well written and pleasing manual of the leading arguments in favour of Christianity. The author has arranged these arguments under the heads of internal evidence, arising from the nature of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity; its early and extensive propagation; the completion of prophecies; and the character and miracles of Christ.

Mr. Malham's "Word for the Bible; being a serious Reply to the Declarations and Assertions of the speculative Deists and practical Atheists of modern Times, particularly the Age of Reason, Part II." is one of those hasty and indigested productions, which do no honour to the talents of their authors, and disserve the cause they are intended to support. It was written, as the advertisement acknowledges, *currente calama*, in less than three weeks. Such precipi-

tancy, on so important a subject, and in reply to a shrewd and popular, although a gross, illiberal, and disingenuous adversary, cannot easily be excused.

Mr. Winchester's "Defence of Revelation, in ten Letters to Thomas Paine; being an Answer to the 1st Part of the Age of Reason," was first published at New York, whence it came strongly recommended to the friends of religion in this country. It would be injustice in us not to acknowledge that it is deserving of considerable praise, as a calm, comprehensive, and perspicuous summary of the arguments and facts which may be resorted to in repelling the calumnies of Paine.

"The Age of Infidelity, Part II. in Answer to the Second Part of the Age of Reason, &c." proceeds from the same pen with the first part, which was announced in this department of our work for the year 1794. It discovers the same abilities, and spirit; and the same impolicy in embarrassing the grand question, by the introduction of topics which relate only to disputes agitated among Christians, and not to the points at issue between Christians and infidels.

The "Essay on the Originality and Permanency of the Biblical Hebrew, with an Application to the leading principle of a modern Unbeliever, who denies the Existence of any written Word of God, by the Rev. Gerald Fitzgerald, D. D. &c. Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin," is highly creditable to the learning and ingenuity of the author. Without either adopting or rejecting his opinions respecting the origin and permanency of the Hebrew language, the priority and permanency of the present Hebrew letters,

or the antiquity of the vowel points, we have no hesitation in pronouncing him completely victorious over his opponent. We are not convinced, however, that such an expenditure of talent was necessary to the object which the worthy author had in view.

The "Apology for the Bible, in a Series of Letters, addressed to Thomas Paine, &c. by R. Watson, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Landaff, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge," is a publication for which the Christian world is greatly indebted to the worthy prelate. In his attack on the scriptures, Mr. Paine chose to disclaim all appeal to learning and antiquity, and engaged to shew, from the books themselves, that they are entirely unworthy of credit. Dr. Watson, refraining to avail himself of that strong collateral testimony, the value of which his opponent was incapable of appreciating, meets him on his own ground; and, as far as it was possible to arrange his miscellaneous and confused objections in any regular order, proceeds to the separate discussion of them in a series of ten letters. In perusing them, the reader must be struck with the liberal, candid, and gentlemanly spirit which pervades the whole; while he will find numerous opportunities of admiring the judicious and happy manner in which the bishop employs his extensive and well known acquaintance with literature and science, and his acknowledged logical acumen, in a pleasing and popular defence of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. We cannot too strongly recommend them, as most admirably adapted to counteract the injurious effects which the treatise they are designed to an-

swer was calculated to produce on ignorant and uninformed minds.

The publications entitled "The Bishop of Landaff's Apology for the Bible, examined, &c. by A. Macleod," and "Thomas Paine vindicated, &c. by a Deist," by no means abound with argument; nor do they appear to have been dictated by that candour and seriousness, which we consider to be inseparable from the proper love of truth.

Mr. Hollis, in his "Sober and Serious Reasons for Scepticism, as it concerns revealed Religion," is decorous and modest in stating the difficulties which have operated so powerfully upon his mind, as to induce him to renounce his belief in Revelation. These are, chiefly, the scripture doctrine concerning the future punishment of the wicked, which he conceives to announce everlasting misery to be the destination of the great mass of human beings; the extermination of the Canaanites; and the improbability of the deity's ever breaking in upon the established order of nature by miraculous interpositions. Our readers will perceive that there is nothing new in Mr. Hollis's difficulties; and may probably be of opinion that they require no new solution.

Mr. Williams's "Reasons for Faith in revealed Religion, opposed to Mr. Hollis's Reasons for Scepticism," contain an ingenious, candid, and dispassionate reply to the arguments adduced by the last named writer; and also, proofs in favour of the Christian Revelation drawn from the character of Christ, and the history and present state of the Jews. Those readers, however, who do not concur with Mr. Williams in embracing the commonly received opinions, will not

tend, that he has maintained some points which might be abandoned with advantage to the cause for which he is an advocate.

Such, likewise, will be their verdict on Mr. Trebeck's "Letter to John Hollis, Esq. &c." which, as a methodical and argumentative production, is inferior to the last mentioned article. The author is zealous in the cause which he espouses, without displaying illiberality, or bad temper.

Mr. John Jones's "Defence of the Mosaic, or revealed Religion, proving the Authenticity of the Pentateuch, the Consistency of Moses's Description, with the Principles of Natural Philosophy now current, and the Truth of Scripture Chronology," although singular and uncouth in point of composition and language, contains many pertinent and valuable observations, which merit the consideration of philosophical infidels.

Mr. Cogan's "Reflections on the Evidences of Christianity," so far as his plan permitted him to enter into the controversy with the enemies of Revelation, are ingenious and weighty; and successfully expose the methods in which attacks are commonly conducted against the credit of the New Testament writings.

"Deism traced to one of its principal Sources, or the Corruption of Christianity the grand Cause of Infidelity, &c. by J. Coward," is a publication distinguished by good sense, moderation, and seriousness. To the author's leading position we subscribe without hesitation; as also will numbers of Christians, who hold for truths doctrine which he deems to be antisciptural. His intention is highly to be commended; and on the serious thinking deist it is like-

ly to produce a better impression, than a laboured defence of any systematic theology.

Mr. Evans's "Preservative against the Infidelity and Uncharitableness of the eighteenth Century, &c." was written as a sequel to his "Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World," which we introduced to our readers in our last volume, in terms of commendation. Its tendency is equally liberal and catholic; and it presents to the juvenile reader a pleasing and useful collection of the sentiments of numerous eminent men, of different denominations, and of different religious opinions, which forcibly concur in recommending a spirit of candour and unanimity among Christians. To the whole is prefixed, an ingenious and seasonable essay on the right of private judgment in matter of religion.

Dr. Priestley's "Observations on the Increase of Infidelity," were originally published at Northumberland, in America, and are well calculated to promote the interests of that faith for which, while in his native country, he pleaded so ably in his "Institutes of Religion," his "Letters to a philosophical Unbeliever," and his "Discourses on the Evidences of revealed Religion." They illustrate, with that plainness and simplicity which distinguish the author's writings, many of the causes which, independently of the evidences of Revelation, contribute to increase the number of real or practical unbelievers; evince the superiority which the Christian possesses over the infidel, with respect to his motives and encouragements to moral conduct; offer excellent advice on the subject of the behaviour of Christians towards unbelievers; and

afford consolatory reflections to those who are alarmed at the present aspect of the religious world. We recommend the perusal of them to Christians of all denominations and opinions.

The object of the "Considerations on the Universality and Uniformity of the Theocracy, by a Layman of the Church of England," is to prove, that not only Jews and Christians are indebted to divine Revelation for their religious sentiments, but all the wise men in the pagan world; who either derived from Noah, or immediate supernatural communications, the knowledge and belief of one God, the creator and preserver of the universe, and of a future state of rewards and punishments. This opinion the author endeavours to justify, by various testimonies, ancient and modern; the writings of the Jewish prophets; and the authority of Christ and his apostles. His readers must judge how far he has succeeded in his design.

"The Rise of Mahomet, accounted for on natural and civil Principles, by the late Nathan Alcock, M. D." is a sensible and well written pamphlet. The view which it affords of the causes which contributed to the reception and rapid progress of the doctrines of the prophet of Mecca, offer a striking contrast to the circumstances under which the religion of Christ was propagated; and will impress the dispassionate reader with strong presumptive evidence in favour of the claims of the latter to supernatural origin and support.

Mr. Berington, a catholic clergyman, in his "Examination of Events termed Miraculous, as reported in Letters from Italy," with a manly spirit, liberality, and incontrovertible arguments, exposes

the delusions which have lately been attempted to be practised at Ancona, Rome, and other places in the papal domains, in order to excite the enthusiasm of the populace in defence of image worship, and the other religious abuses of the court of Rome. To the rational supporters of Christianity, catholic, as well as protestant, it will give pleasure, as affording "an increased power of conviction to the miracles of primitive times," by discriminating them from "the suspicious events, or the base alloy of counterfeit materials."

"The practical Efficacy of the Unitarian Doctrine considered, in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Andrew Fuller, &c. by Joshua Toulmin, D. D." has been published in answer to the illiberal charges against unitarians in Mr. Fuller's treatise entitled "The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems examined and compared, as to their moral Tendency, &c." which was noticed by us in our Register for the year 1793. Instead of returning railing for railing, our author enters into a dispassionate and judicious enquiry into the influence of the principles which he defends; and in a strain of perspicuous and solid reasoning, intermixed with animated appeals to the examples of some of the most eminent and worthy characters which have adorned our own country in later times, completely repels the attack of his opponent. The spirit in which this performance is written is very honourable to the author; and is worthy of Mr. Fuller's imitation, when he next engages in religious controversy.

Mr. Hawtrey's "Particular Enquiry into the Doctrine of an eternal Filiation," is published as "A Sequel to the Appeal to the New Testament,"

Testament, in proof of the Divinity of the Son of God," which was announced in our Register for the year 1794. The result of it is, a denial that the idea intended to be conveyed by the terms eternal filiation, or eternal generation, if they can be said to carry with them any distinct and precise meaning, is in the least countenanced by the scriptures. The sense which he gives to the expression in the Nicene Creed, "begotten of the father before all worlds," would seem to favour of heresy; for he considers the expression to refer to the determination and purpose of the divine mind. The author's orthodoxy, however, will not admit of the least question.

Dr. Robert Wallace Johnson's "Remarks on Religious Opinions, and their Effects, &c." are published in defence of the middle sentiment, between Athanasianism and Socinianism. And if they present nothing new, in point of argument, to those who are acquainted with the controversy, they will be perused with pleasure, on account of the impartiality they discover in the strictures they contain on the improper practices of different religionists, and the candid pious spirit in which they appear to have been penned.

Mr. Love's "Addresses to the People of Otaheite, designed to assist the Labour of Missionaries, and other Instructors of the Ignorant," appear to have been dictated by the purest and most ardent zeal for the interests of Christianity, but without a proportionate share of judgment. For the author advises the initiating of these simple islanders into the mysteries of the Calvinistic Creed. What! before they are possessed of the previous knowledge that can enable them to judge

of the proofs which are appealed to in support of these mysteries? The plan which Mr. Love recommends in these addresses, on the most favourable construction, is certainly chargeable with that incongruity. An attempt at such a process of instruction, if it do not produce the immediate defeat of a mission which, we understand, many well meaning persons have actually engaged in, can succeed only in substituting one species of ignorance for another, and in disseminating superstition instead of the rational useful principles of the Christian faith.

Mr. Swindell's publication entitled "Certain Doctrines teaching certain Duties and Devotions according to Godliness, in three Volumes, with a distinct Preface to each, asserting the Dignity of Reason assisted by the Divinity of Revelation," consists of a variety of practical and devotional pieces, in plain, but too verbose language, which appear to have originated in the laudable desire of inculcating sentiments of virtue and piety on the uninstructed among the lower classes of society. When doctrinal subjects occur, the author agrees in opinion with the creed of our established church.

Mr. Bean's "Family Worship, a Course of Morning and Evening Prayers for every Day in the Month," deserves to be recommended as a pleasing and animated manual of devotion, on the principles of our established system of faith. It is distinguished by a greater variety than is generally to be met with in such species of compositions; and possesses the merit of directing the mind to practical topics, while it excites the pious emotions.

Mr. Woolley's "Prison Meditations,"

tions, composed while in Confinement in the King's Bench Prison, in the Year 1795," are serious, and practical, and may be read with pleasure and improvement, by devout Christians whose sentiments are what are called orthodox.

The "Advice to a Young Clergyman, upon his entering into Priest's Orders, in Six pastoral Letters, by a Divine of the Church of England," is chiefly employed in a warm and indiscriminate panegyric on the doctrines, the ceremonies, the liturgy, and the discipline of the church, and in urging an implicit attachment and obedience from the sacred obligations of the ordination engagement. Little will be found in these letters to assist the clerical reader in the choice of proper studies, or in the discharge of his pastoral functions. These objects would seem to have been matters only of secondary consideration in the estimation of the author. Dr. Napleton's "Advice to a Student in the University," which we announced in our last volume, is, we had almost said of unspeakable merit, when contrasted with this anonymous production.

"The Declaration of George Wiche, on resigning the Office of an hired Preacher," was published to vindicate the author from all suspicion of infidelity, and to explain the motives which induced him to quit his professional situation. The principal of these appears to have been a conviction, that the office of an hired preacher affords strong temptations to dishonesty, and imposes intolerable restraints in the investigation and communication of truth. We honour the author for his integrity, but we cannot feel the force of the scruples which determined his conduct.

The author of "An Enquiry into the second Coming of our Saviour," and of "Further Considerations on the second Advent of Christ," undertakes to prove, as well from Matthew 24, and 1st. Cor. 15. as from the Revelation, that the promised kingdom of God is not yet come; that the Gospel of the kingdom was not intended to be preached to all the world, till after the second coming of Christ; that the end of the world will not be at his second coming; that this second advent of Christ was not at the destruction of Jerusalem; and that it is to be the establishment of that kingdom, which Daniel foretold the God of heaven would set up. Ch. ii. and vii. How far his general reasonings, criticisms, and incidental remarks are valid and important, we shall leave to the decision of his readers; observing only, that in his grand conclusion he is supported by able commentators, who differ from him, and from each other, with respect to the circumstances that are to precede the proper establishment of the Messiah's kingdom on earth.

The same subject has been treated more fully, and satisfactorily, in a work, in 2 vols. entitled "Illustrations of Prophecy; in the Course of which are elucidated many Predictions, which occur in Isaiah, or Daniel, in the Writings of the Evangelists, or the Book of Revelation; and which are thought to foretell, among other great Events, a Revolution in France, favourable to the Interests of Mankind, the Overthrow of the Papal Power, and of Ecclesiastical Tyranny, the Downfall of civil Despotism, and the Subsequent Melioration of the State of the World." This work is evidently the result of

of laborious industry, and much various reading. In addition to many ingenious original observations and criticisms, it presents us with a large collection of extracts, from numerous commentators, foreign as well as domestic; many of which, in the combined form which the author has given them, and as applied by him to the illustration of particular topics which he discusses, will appear highly interesting to readers of very different sentiments, and at least prove gratifying to the curiosity of the most incredulous with respect to the authenticity of the prophetic writings. The author appears to have undertaken these illustrations, with the commendable view of adding weight to the evidences of Christianity, and of drawing such conclusions from the predictions which he elucidates, taken in connexion with the present, and what he considers to be the approaching circumstances of the world, as may prove favourable to the interests of virtue and of liberty.

Our catalogue of the collections of Sermons published during the year 1796, commences with such as are posthumous. In this number we find a volume "by the late Right Rev. John Hinchcliffe, D.D. Lord Bishop of Peterborough." The greater part of these discourses were composed with the design of counteracting the impressions produced on some thinking, but uninformed minds, by sceptical writers; and the rest are directed to guard the well disposed against that religious indifference, which seldom fails of producing effects most fatal to the interests of virtue. For these purposes they are well adapted, as they are distinguished by that manly sense, perspicuous reasoning, and serious spirit, which justly entitled

the worthy prelate to the praise of being a judicious and useful popular preacher; and they are written in chaste, simple, and pleasing language.

The "Sermons on several Evangelical and practical Subjects, by the late Rev. and learned Samuel Morton Savage, D.D." are justly said by the editor in his preface to be "distinguished by good sense, perspicuity, precision, and accuracy." They are composed, after the practice of the old divinity school, in divisions and subdivisions; which, if not carried to excess, possesses considerable advantages, in point of utility, over the inmethodical and unconnected forms which modern taste affects. When any contested theological topics occur in them, Dr. Savage's sentiments are orthodox, but without bigotry; and the practical purposes to which they are applied, appear to have been his principal object in introducing them. Three of these sermons were published in his life time; and the rest have been faithfully taken from copies prepared for the press by the author, or under his immediate direction. To the whole is prefixed a well written biographical sketch, by Dr. Joshua Toulmin; from which the reader will learn that Dr. Savage possessed considerable literary acquirements, which recommended him to the divinity chair in the dissenting academy formerly flourishing at Hoxton, where he had for his "colleagues in other branches of science, Dr. Kippis and Dr. Rees."

The volume of "Sermons on various Subjects, by the late Rev. Thomas Toller," with the exception of two new discourses, is a republication of such as were printed separately by the author, and

met with a favourable reception from the public. They are now collected by his son, out of respect to his father's memory, and to afford gratification to those who were acquainted with his excellent character, by putting them in possession of such a "memorial of his pious labours." They are sensible, serious, and practical; and are cloathed in correct and pleasing language.

The "Sermons by James Gillespie, D. D. late Principal of St. Mary's College, in the University of St. Andrew's, published from the Author's Manuscripts by George Hill, D. D." in their construction and phraseology approach more nearly to the models of the puritanical writers of the last century, than to those elegant productions of modern times, from which divines both in north and south Britain have derived considerable reputation. On that account, however, they will prove the more acceptable to certain classes of readers, as well as from the uniform agreement of their theology with the system of opinions established in the Scottish church. They do not appear to have been the result of much study, and are employed on common pulpit topics.

Mr. Veyrie, in his "Doctrine of the Atonement illustrated and defended, in eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1795," at the Bampton lecture, undertakes to refute the arguments generally adduced to prove that the scriptures afford no countenance to such an opinion; and those, in particular, which are advanced by Dr. Priestley in his History of the Corruptions of Christianity. In pursuing his plan, he quits the high grounds of satisfaction to divine justice, and imputed

righteousness, and understands by the atonement of the Christian scriptures, reconciliation with God, which the death of Christ hath procured for the believing and penitent, as a propitiatory sacrifice. That this is the doctrine of the New Testament he maintains, from the sacrificial language made use of in describing the effects resulting from the death of Christ, which, he contends, is analogical, and not merely figurative, and implies a correspondence, in nature and design, between the Jewish sacrifices for sin, and the shedding of the blood of Christ. These topics employ a considerable part of his volume; the remainder is devoted to an examination of Dr. Priestley's Moral Arguments against the Doctrine, and the practical application of it. These sermons justly entitle Mr. Veyrie to the praise of ingenuity, moderation, and candour, whatever may be the opinion entertained respecting his success in terminating the controversy.

Mr. Gray's "Sermons on the Principles upon which the Reformation of the Church of England was established," preached at the same lecture, contain a learned, ingenious, and elegant defence of the establishment of which the author is a member. With very cautious and restricted concessions on the subject of "such further regulations, as shall be proved to be clearly expedient, and favourable to the advancement of Christianity," Mr. Gray strenuously contends for the preservation of things as they are; and he boldly asserts, that the civil magistrate, from the relation in which he stands to God, is under sacred obligations "to accept Christianity, to erect it with formal ratification and public institutions, to provide for its maintenance."

sters with competent maintenance, and to preserve its establishment by arrangements adapted to its character, and consistent with the general welfare of his subjects." To such doctrine it is not every zealous churchman that can subscribe; and sectaries will pronounce it to be untenable, dogmatical, and futile. In many parts of these discourses the author discovers a commendable spirit of toleration and liberality; but he occasionally forgets himself so far as to rail against those who attack Christianity, and what he deems to be its fundamental doctrines, and to insist on the necessity of the magistrates inflicting on them civil penalties. On the whole, we cannot say that Mr. Gray has brought forward any new matter on the subjects which he engaged to illustrate, or that such discussion was called for in the present situation of the religious world.

The "Sermons by George Hill, D. D. &c. Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrew's, &c." attract our notice, chiefly, as animated and popular harangues, the style of which is fluent, and often elegant, but not unfrequently debased by gross provincialisms. Novelty of matter the author disclaims, and theological controversy he utterly explodes. For Dr. Hill, also, is for the preservation of things as they are; that is on the other side of the Tweed. In these discourses he has taken sedulous care not to transgress beyond the limits which he had prescribed to himself. But in so doing he has bound himself in fetters; shrinking back from that lawful and proper scope, which would have enabled him to discuss with greater advantage the moral topics on which he has fixed, and submitting to that implicit faith which

must ever prove an insurmountable bar to the progress of rational enquiry and useful knowledge.

Sir Adam Gordon's "Collection of Sermons, on several Subjects and Occasions, particularly on the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England," affords abundant evidence of the piety and good intentions of the author, and of his reverence for the institutions of that church of which he is a minister. Of their importance and excellence, as pulpit compositions, we cannot speak in high terms; and on the policy or propriety of the author's wish to revive a religious attention to the numerous saints' days which crowd our calendar, but few of his readers will bestow their praise.

Mr. Draper's "Twenty Sermons on various Subjects, preached at All-hallows in the Wall," are recommended by great simplicity and neatness of language, which must have rendered them impressive from the pulpit, and which cannot fail to please in the closet. And, what is more to their praise, the subjects on which they treat are all important and useful; they come home to men's business and bosoms.

Mr. Cappe's "Discourses on the Providence and Government of God," are judicious, energetic, and elegant compositions. They contain a concise and methodical view of the arguments which may be adduced in support of the fundamental principles of natural and revealed religion, interspersed with animated devotional sentiments, and weighty practical observations. We warmly recommend the perusal of them to the rational believer, and to the sober sceptic.

Mr. Ireland, in his "Five Discourses, containing Arguments for and against the Reception of Christianity by the ancient Jews and Greeks,

Greeks, preached at Croydon, in Surry," has evinced much ingenuity and originality of manner in his treatment of a subject which has directly, or indirectly, employed the pens of some of the ablest defenders of our religion. The contrast which he draws between the motives which led the Jews and Pagans, respectively, to the rejection of Christianity, and the stronger motives which would have commanded their belief, had they not been influenced by preconceived erroneous opinions, and temporal considerations, is judicious and striking, and merits the consideration of those who consider the question to be attended with much difficulty. His illustrative notes bear honourable testimony to the author's erudition, and to the attention which he has bestowed upon his subject. His style, however, is too icholastic for a popular auditory.

Dr. Priestley's "Discourses relating to the Evidences of revealed Religion, delivered in Philadelphia, 1796," were originally published in that city, and have been reprinted in the author's native country. They may be considered as supplemental to those which he delivered in England, just before he quitted it, of which we gave an account in our Register for the year 1794; but interfere as little as possible with the former. Of the author's able, candid, and disinterested efforts to maintain the credit of divine revelation, to remove the doubts of the serious enquirer, and to expose the sarcasms of the sneering sceptic, they afford ample and satisfactory proof; and entitle him to the thanks of every believer. The subjects of them are, the importance of religion; a view of the heathen worship; the excellence of the Mosaic institutions;

the principles of the heathen philosophy compared with those of Revelation; the evidence of the Mosaic and Christian religion; the proof of revealed religion from prophecy; internal evidence of Jesus being no impostor; and the moral influence of Christian principles.

Dr. Auchincloss's three Sermons entitled "The Sophistry of the 1st. Part of Mr. Paine's Age of Reason, or a rational Vindication of the Holy Scriptures as a positive Revelation from God, &c." have few pretensions to praise as argumentative, liberal productions, or in point of composition.

The "Three Sermons inscribed to the Friends of Peace, Reason, and Revelation, by a Clergyman of the Church of England," abound in too much tinsel rhetoric, and extravagant rant, to please the serious and judicious. In loyalty, according to the modern sense of the phrase, the author is by no means deficient: but that quality outstrips his liberality and candour.

Mr. Fleet's "Four Sermons, on public Occasions," exclusive of the first, which celebrates the memory of the founder of King's College, Cambridge, are chiefly of a political complexion, and are intended to combat the popular principles respecting the origin of society and government, which are rapidly spreading throughout Europe. In this cause our author is a fluent declaimer.

In our Register for the year 1791, we announced to our readers a volume of "Sermons by Robert Walker, Senior Minister of Canongate, Edinburgh." Since that notice the author has published three additional volumes, which we have not seen, but which we are informed partake of similar merits, in

in point of matter and composition, with the preceding.

Among the few single sermons and episcopal charges of the year which our limits will permit us to notice, is one "Preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church, Westminster, March 9, 1796," on the day appointed for a general fast, by William lord bishop of Exeter. One object of this discourse is to vindicate Christianity from the misrepresentation of those who contend, that it is hostile to civil liberty, and true political equality. Of the manner in which this part of his lordship's plan is executed, it would be unjust were we not to speak in terms of approbation. But the right rev. prelate is not satisfied with sustaining the character of an advocate; he must become an aggressor in his turn. In this character, French apostacy, and French republicanism, and those who oppose the measures of government, and plead for reformation at home, are the subjects of his severe animadversion. The introduction of such topics could tend only to excite the resentful and malignant passions, and must ill accord with the sentiments which ought to possess the mind on a day of national humiliation.

Dr. Holmes's "Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster," on the same day, as far as it is theological, contains an ingenious comment on the parable of the unfruitful fig-tree, and an orthodox application of it to the circumstances of individuals and communities in the present age. But the author chose that it should be political likewise; and has made use of such pointed and acrimonious expres-

sions, in charging the legislature of the French nation with atheism and libertinism, as were highly unbecoming the occasion on which it was delivered.

The "Sermon preached in the West Church, Aberdeen," on the same day, by Dr. Brown, principal of Maristhal College, inculcates truths and principles excellently adapted to the proper design of the meeting. In a nervous, pleasing style, the author delineates the natural effects of religion on the happiness of nations as well as individuals; and very forcibly recommends the practice of what the history of the world, and divine Revelation unite in assuring us, shall be followed by the protection and favour of providence. We recommend it as a proper model for fast day discourses.

"The Charge of Samuel Lord Bishop of Rochester, to the Clergy of his Diocese, delivered at his primary Visitation, in the Year 1796," contains many gloomy forebodings of the evils, which, in his apprehension, threaten the church, in these perilous times, when the clergy "have to encounter a malignant aversion, of some part of the people to every thing that carries the name of religion; arising from that ferocious impatience of restraint, and those mad notions of liberty, which the fiend of French democracy, the most wicked hateful fiend which providence has ever made the instrument of its wrath upon guilty nations, hath within the last six years, spread throughout Europe." Under these circumstances he wishes to prepare their minds for the worst; and inculcates the necessity of their uniting in their characters the policy of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. For this purpose,

purpose, he strenuously recommends to them a circumspect conduct; the diligent pursuit of learning and science, as the best substitutes for that inspiration which accompanied the first preachers of Christianity; the implicit resignation of their understandings to the authority of the written word; and an attention to the interest of their order; which he accompanies with an explanation of the nature and provisions of the late Curate Act. With this advice his lordship intermixes some remarks on metaphysical learning, natural religion, and the origin of all religion from Revelation, which numbers of his brethren of the clergy, equally orthodox with himself, will by no means subscribe; and lamentations over the destruction of the "august monarchy and venerable church establishment" of France, which some of the most zealous advocates for the British constitution, and our national church establishment, will be at a loss to reconcile with truly English and protestant principles.

Of a very different complexion is "The Primary Charge of William Newcome, D. D. Archbishop of Armagh." This truly excellent publication is not employed in exciting or confirming party prejudices, or in propagating theological or political whims, but in calling the attention of the clergy to "a very important and much neglected part of the pastoral care," that of "occasional and private instruction." After premising that it had been the intention of archbishop Secker, to have committed his thoughts on this subject to writing, that he might leave behind him some admonitions concerning it, to be added to his instructive

charges, our author, with great modesty, expresses his wish to supply, "what the occupations and infirmities of that most eminent prelate did not permit him to undertake." This object he has pursued, by pointing out the qualifications for the duty which he recommends; the opportunities for private instruction, which arise from the ordinary course of the clerical duty, and those which accidentally offer themselves; and the manner of accommodating instruction to different descriptions of persons. On each of these topics the archbishop's charge is distinguished by that good sense, knowledge of the world, and ardent zeal for the interests of practical religion, which eminently qualified him for his high station in the Irish church. His style and language, also, are admirably adapted to the subject, and to the occasion. To his own hints doctor Newcome has added some apposite passages from the pastoral care of bishop Burnet, whom he pronounces "an incomparable prelate; equally conspicuous for his knowledge, his labours, and his piety." Such characters are rare. Our readers, nevertheless, will not be at a loss in determining, to whom in modern times they may without flattery apply that concise and beautiful eulogium.

To the single discourses already mentioned, published during the year 1796, we might add a number of others, on subjects relative to the evidences of Christianity, or to contested points of doctrine or discipline, which are not unworthy of distinct notice: but their insertion would occupy more room than we have to spare.

The next publications which call for our attention, belong to the head of Philosophy and Ethics.

In this department the English reader is introduced to the threshold of that new system of speculative philosophy, which, as we have announced in former volumes of our work, has acquired numerous profelytes among the German metaphysicians. Mr. F. A. Nitsch, formerly lecturer in the royal Frederician College, at Königsberg, is the gentleman who has undertaken to explain the principles of that philosophy in this country; and in pursuance of that design has published "A General and Introductory View of Professor Kant's Principles concerning Man, the World, and the Deity, submitted to the Consideration of the Learned." This work, as the title imports, is preliminary only, and intended to enable the readers to form some judgment of what they may expect to meet with in the study of the professor's writings, and to initiate them into the terms of his technical language. For this purpose the author has adopted the following plan. In the first place, he presents us with an examination of that series of philosophical opinions which gave rise to the Kantian system; in which he particularizes the various and contradictory notions which have been entertained respecting the nature of those substances of which the world is composed; the bounds of the universe; the first cause of all that exists; the nature of the percipient principle; and the freedom of the human will. Mr. Nitsch's next object is to inform us of the manner in which professor Kant conducted his enquiry, so as to avoid the respective errors of preceding philosophers, and to

ascertain "what can be known by man, or what is the extent of human knowledge in general." To illustrate this method, our author submits to us a summary of the leading principles of this new philosophy, in numerous general propositions, reserving the arguments by which they are supported for future publications. In the last place, Mr. Nitsch endeavours to obviate some objections to the system, and to point out the influence which it is likely to have on science in general, and on religion and morals in particular. Before our author's additional publications appear, or we are introduced through other channels to a more intimate acquaintance with the works of our German professor, it would be highly improper in us to pronounce a decisive opinion respecting the truth and importance of his principles. At present, they appear to be involved in much obscurity, both of ideas and language, which, it is possible, farther light may tend to remove.

Mr. Caleb Pitt's "Essay on the Philosophy of Christianity, Part I. containing preliminary Disquisitions on Power, and Human Preference," is the production of a new advocate for the doctrine of philosophical necessity. "It is introductory to a work which the author appears to have undertaken from the most commendable motive, that of harmonizing the chief discordances respecting the doctrines of scripture, which have obtained among protestants, and which he conceives to have originated in the hypothesis of philosophical liberty, and tracks of thought consonant with that hypothesis. In these disquisitions on power and human preference, we cannot

cannot say that the philosophical reader will meet with any material arguments with which he is not already acquainted, or that he will not occasionally meet with explanations and illustrations that are needlessly tedious and trifling. At the same time, we must do the author the justice to acknowledge, that he entertains a clear conception of the doctrine for which he pleads, and that his manner of defending it, in general, is perspicuous, and ingenious.

The next article that we have to introduce, which belongs partly to the head of Ethics, and partly to that of Legislation, is a work singularly interesting to curiosity, and supplies us with a vast fund of information respecting the opinions and customs of the natives of India. It is entitled "Institutes of Hindu Law; or, the Ordinances of Menu, according to the Gloss of Cullūca, comprizing the Indian System of Duties, Religious and Civil: verbally translated from the Original Sanscrit; with a Preface, by Sir William Jones." These Institutes, which in the opinion of the learned translator must have received their present form about eight hundred and eighty years before the birth of Christ, are an authentic summary of those ancient usages, and established rules of conduct among the Hindus, which they firmly believe to have been promulged in the beginning of time, by Menu, the son or grandson of Brahma. By adopting the elegant words of Sir William Jones, towards the conclusion of his preface, we shall convey to our readers the most just and accurate idea of their general character. "The work," says he, "now presented to the European world, contains abundance of curious matter

extremely interesting both to speculative lawyers and antiquaries; with many beauties which need not be pointed out, and with many blemishes which cannot be justified or palliated. It is a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks; it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions, and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception; it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd and often ridiculous; the punishments are partial and fanciful; for some crimes, dreadfully cruel, for others, reprehensibly slight; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are in one or two instances (as in the case of light oaths, and of pious perjury) unaccountably relaxed: nevertheless, a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all sentient creatures, pervades the work; the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe; the sentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harsh admonitions, even to kings, are truly noble; and the many panegyrics on the Gāyātri, the mother, as it is called, of the Veda, prove the author to have adorned (not the visible material fin, but) that divine and incomparably greater light, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian Scripture, "which illumines all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate

irradiate (not our visual organs merely, but our souls and) our intellects."

The "Enquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe, from the Time of the Greeks and Romans, to the Age of Grotius, by Robert Ward of the Inner Temple, Esq. in 2 Vols." is a work on which the author has bestowed considerable industry and ingenuity. By the Law of Nations, Mr. Ward understands the law of nature, united with the moral system engrafted upon revealed religion. After having endeavoured in a series of chapters to illustrate his definition, to establish the foundation on which it is built, and to point out the different classes of nations upon whom it is obligatory; he proceeds to give a chronological account of this law, as it has been observed in Europe; of the strange ideas that were formerly entertained of it; of the gradual changes which took place in those ideas; together with the improvements which were given to them; so as to elevate this law into the rank of the sciences. Mr. Ward afterwards employs himself in pointing out the influence of the feudal law, of Christianity, and ecclesiastical establishments, of chivalry, of treaties and conventions, and of the rank and claims of the nations of Europe, upon the law of nations; and concludes with its history to the period mentioned in the title-page. From the perusal of this work we have received much pleasure and entertainment, notwithstanding that we found ourselves frequently obliged to differ widely in opinion from the author. If the definition of the law of nations for which he contends be just, those who do not enjoy the

advantages of Revelation, are excluded from its benefits; and it will follow, likewise, we fear, that there is not a nation in Europe but what has retired from its obedience. The events which have lately taken place on the continent, particularly in the instance of Poland, justify us in entertaining this apprehension; and lead us to conclude, that the expression 'law of nations,' like the expression 'balance of power,' will soon become a very convertible phrase, convenient in the harangues of statesmen, but nugatory, if not detrimental, in its application to political practice.

The work entitled "Principles of Legislation, by Charles Michell, of Forcett, Esq." is the production of a well informed and able writer, who, with great temper and ingenuity, controverts the fundamental maxims on which the French constitution is erected, and endeavours to establish the superiority of the monarchical over the republican form of government. In pursuing his plan he presents us with discussions on a variety of political topics, in two books, subdivided into eighteen chapters; which terminate in an enquiry into the foundation of the British constitution, and into the causes of that danger which, in the author's apprehension, threatens the existence of what is best calculated to preserve the fabric of liberty in this country. These chapters are followed by a great body of illustrative notes, and an Appendix, containing remarks on subjects in political economy. During our perusal of this work, we met with many just and important observations, on the science of government, and collateral subjects, placed in a strong light, which are worthy the

the serious consideration of political writers of all parties and opinions. But the author has not been able entirely to divest himself of party prejudices; and has partaken in that political alarm which the advocates for things as they are have so inauspiciously propagated in this country. Owing to these circumstances he has introduced much into his work, that will be disputed by many of the advocates for liberty: we mean British liberty, as it exists in the genuine principles of our constitution. They will particularly except to what he has written on the subject of equal rights, religion, the law of primogeniture, a standing army, and the extent of the power that ought to be intrusted to the crown; which, they will contend, is more favourable to the establishment of despotism, than well regulated freedom.

Mr. Angus Macaulay's treatise entitled "Rudiments of Political Science, Part the First, containing Elementary Principles, with an Appendix," is the introductory part of a work in which he proposes to examine the characters of the different forms of government which have subsisted in the world, in order to deduce such conclusions as shall serve to detect political error, and establish the truth of that theory which may prove most favourable to the happiness of mankind. The volume before us is divided into seven chapters. In the first two the author chiefly employs himself in proving the necessity of some kind of civil government, for the good order and comfort of society; and in refuting the representations of doctor Robertson, respecting the social union which obtained among the American tribes independently

of any kind of civil government, Rousseau's romantic theory of a state of nature, and doctor Adam Smith's, relative to the progress of human society. In the following chapters, which are subdivided into numerous sections, Mr. Macaulay treats of the ends of civil government; its right, which he derives from the consent of the governed; political resistance; the difference between forms of governments and constitutions; the importance of developing the distinct characters of governments; and on a variety of other subjects, which incidentally arise in the course of his discussions. The Appendix consists of interesting and curious historical elucidations of the author's reasonings, and classifications of forms of government taken from Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle. On the whole, Mr. Macaulay's Rudiments afford abundant evidence of extensive reading, cool discrimination, and liberal views of things, which entitle him to a respectable rank among our writers on political science. His style and language, likewise, are perspicuous and correct.

The author of "The Origin of Duty and Right in Man considered," maintains that right in man is subordinate to duty; that he has a sphere of action assigned him, in which, if he faithfully and universally observe his rule of duty, he is entitled to his right; and that "the object of government is to produce the discharge of those duties in each, which shall ensure to all the enjoyment of what they denominate their natural right. These duties," he adds, "forming a part of that absolute and indefeasible obligation with which man is born, each man brings them with him into society; nor can any artificial

or incidental circumstances of social life whatever, exonerate any one from that condition, to obtain the performance of which in all, is the very essence of association, the immutable purpose of all government." The reader will perceive that there is not any novelty in our author's ideas, and will search in vain in his treatise, for any determinate and explicit definition of rights and duties as they are connected with the relation of man to man in society.

Dr. Bisset's "Sketch of Democracy," is introduced by some sensible and well written observations on the value of experience in all matters of human science, and in the practical application of political principles. His work is afterwards divided into fifteen chapters. In the first he endeavours to explode the popular notion, that the general will ought to be the rule of government, and contends for the necessity of what he calls "a government of check, in opposition to the uncontrouled dominion of any individual, set of individuals, or the people at large." The remaining part of this sketch is composed of appeals to the history of the principal governments in Greece, to that of Rome, and in one chapter to that of England, in order to prove, that their internal disorders are all to be attributed to the prevalence of the democratic spirit; and that for their success and glory they were indebted to the mixture, or temporary prevalence of aristocracy in their respective constitutions. In treating this subject the author is not sparing of indignant declamation against furious and ignorant mobs, and designing demagogues, which he has enriched with what he unquestionably deems a happy and

1796

seasonable mixture of modern political terms and phrases. But his facts will not always bear him out in the conclusions which he deduces from them; neither is their connection with their legitimate causes always traced with becoming impartiality.

Mr. Watkins's "Reflections on Government in general, with their Application to the British Constitution, in Five Sections," constitute a valuable little tract, replete with just and liberal principles, enforced in neat and pleasing language. The titles of the different sections are: on the natural equality of man, with remarks on the republican and monarchical forms; on the form of government, relative to the security of liberty; on government, relative to the improvement of the people, with observations on reform; on government relative to religion; and on government relative to its origin and powers, its laws and organization.

"The Essence of Algernon Sydney's Work on Government, &c. by a Student in the Inner Temple," contains a judicious abridgment of several of the most important sections of that valuable writer; in a form well adapted for circulation, and for impressing his rational and useful opinions.

The "Defence of the Pamphlet ascribed to John Reeves, Esq. and entitled 'Thoughts on the English Government,' by the Rev. J. Brand, A. M." is an ingenious but highly exceptionable attempt to support and disseminate the pernicious doctrines to which we adverted in the account of that pamphlet, in our last volume. Their only tendency is, to prepare the unthinking and credulous to

N

submit

submit to the trammels of despotism; and they must be execrated by every person who values the English constitution. Such was the judgment of the jury by whom the author was tried on an indictment for publishing a libel against the constitution, who were so liberal as to acquit him of wickedness and malignity of intention, while they severely condemned his opinions.

Other defences of the "Thoughts on the English Government," were published, chiefly by anonymous writers, but which were too unimportant and too absurd to be distinctly noticed by us.

"The Politician's Creed, being the great Outline of Political Science from the Writings of Montesquieu, Hume, Gibbon, Paley, &c. Vol. II." is the continuation of a work which was announced by us in our Register for the year 1794, under the title of "The Citizen, being the great Outline, &c." On that volume we bestowed a considerable share of praise, on account of the judgment and taste discovered in its composition, while we excepted against the tendency of some of the author's opinions. The present volume is not distinguished by equal marks of diligence and attention, in the selection and arrangement of the materials of which it consists; nor by a proportionate share of originality. It is compiled, with very few additions, or notes, almost verbatim, from the works of the authors mentioned in the title-page, and treats of the balance of power; the balance of trade; the jealousy of trade; public credit; public debts; wars; taxes; the division of labour; the introduction of money; the price of commodities; the general principle of trade;

luxury; the effect of liberty on trade; and agriculture.

The "Tracts on Political and other Subjects, published at various Times, by Joseph Towers, LL. D. and now first collected together, in 3 Vols." form a valuable and seasonable republication of a variety of treatises employed, not merely on temporary politics, but on important general subjects, connected with the science of government and legislation. Many of them have been so long in the possession of the public, in their detached state, and have reflected so much credit on the abilities and independent spirit of the author, that it is quite unnecessary to enter into an enumeration of their particular merits. Their general characteristics are, solid sense, just sentiments, accurate and popular reasoning, perspicuous and animated language, and an uniform correspondence with the great principles of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. Brand's "Historical Essay on the Principles of Political Associations, &c." is a laboured piece of sophistry, intended to vindicate the Crown and Anchor association in 1792, and its affiliated societies, and to criminate the proceedings of the committee of the Whig Club, appointed to prepare and announce the form of a general association of the people, for the repeal of the two statutes, best known by the names of the Grenville and Pitt Acts. For these purposes it inculcates, more than obliquely, the old slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and pleads for the continuance of abuses, by exciting alarms against every attempt, however legal and peaceable, to remove oppressions or corruptions which have been sanctioned by acts of the legislature.

ture, however hastily they may have been obtained under the influence of temporary delusion. For these purposes, likewise, it abounds in misrepresentations of, or false deductions from historical transactions, and illiberal and unjustifiable insinuations against the principal opposers of the measures of the existing administration.

Major Cartwright, in his treatise entitled "The Constitutional Defence of England, internal and external," propagates very opposite opinions from those advanced in the last mentioned article. Actuated by a zealous attachment to the government of this country by king, lords, and commons, he is anxious to preserve each branch in the possession of its proper weight in the scale of legislation; and, therefore, contends very ably for the restoration of the commons house in parliament, to its constitutional purity and independence. His arguments on this subject are thrown into the form of an animated speech, intended to have been spoken at the nomination of candidates for the county of Lincoln, and are illustrated by apposite appeals to undeniable and alarming facts. The measure for which he pleads would, in his opinion, and we may add in the opinion of the best informed statesmen, effectually preserve the nation from any internal commotions. To his speech he has subjoined a sensible letter on the necessity of arming the nation at large, on the plan of the ancient militia projected by Alfred; which would prove equally effectual in defeating any attempt at an invasion of these kingdoms.

Mr. Longley's "Essay towards forming a more complete Representation of the Commons of Great

Britain," is a temperate and well written production, in which the author adduces a variety of facts and arguments to prove the necessity of a political reform. The plan which he recommends with respect to representation is, that the number of persons chosen should be six hundred; that they should receive payment from the public for their daily attendance; that they should be elected for two years; and that the body of electors should be composed of all the heads of families.

The "Letters to William Paley, M. A. Archdeacon of Carlisle, on his Objections to a Reform in the Representation of the Commons, and on his Apology for the Influence of the Crown in Parliament, being Strictures on the Essay on the British Constitution in his Principles of moral and political Philosophy," are four in number, and form a very valuable and important publication. They display much sterling sense and just reflection, an accurate acquaintance with the British constitution, and a warm spirit of genuine patriotism; and abound in nervous arguments, delivered in energetic and pointed, although temperate language. In the first letter the author ably exposes the departure which hath taken place in the constitution of parliament from ancient rules, respecting the mode of choosing representatives, the controul of the electors over the elected, the responsibility of the latter, and the term of their sitting; and points out the practicability and necessity of speedily recurring to first principles. In the second letter he refutes Mr Paley's objection, that no new scheme promises to collect together more wisdom, or produce firmer integrity, than that

at present followed; and maintains the necessity of an identity of interests between the representatives and the represented. The third and fourth letters are employed in a successful attack on Mr. Paley's apology for the influence of the crown in parliament, as necessary to the existence of the monarchy, if not of the monarch himself. In an Appendix, the author has cited some important authorities in confirmation of his arguments. We recommend the serious perusal of these letters to the admirers of Archdeacon Paley, (and who are not his admirers?) in order to counteract the influence which his name and reputation may give to opinions, which are blemishes of the first magnitude in his excellent and popular work.

The "Facts Addressed at the serious Attention of the People of Great Britain, respecting the Expence of the War, and the State of the national Debt, by William Morgan, F. R. S." constitute a very interesting and important publication. It may be considered, in some measure, as a continuation of his "Supplement to his Review of Dr. Price's Writings on the Finances of Great Britain," announced in our last volume; and its object in the same, viz. to fix the reflections of his readers on some alarming circumstances in our financial situation, which, if not speedily altered, must plunge the country into the abyss of bankruptcy and ruin. The chief of these are, the enormous expences of the first four years of the present war, which have been two thirds greater than those of the most extravagant war in which this country has ever been engaged, and are uniformly accelerating in

every department; the ruinous modes of obtaining loans adopted by the minister, according to which "the profusion in borrowing seems to keep pace with the profusion in expending;" the vast increase of the national debt, in consequence of which the amount of the annual taxes, even in peace, must nearly equal the rental of the kingdom, according to its statement by the chancellor of the exchequer; and the mismanagement of the sinking fund. On these subjects he appeals to indisputable documents, and draws from them such legitimate conclusions respecting the ruinous consequences of pursuing our present system, as are sufficient to make every person tremble who has the true interest of his country at heart.

The "Enquiry into the State of the Finances of Great Britain, in answer to Mr. Morgan's Facts, by Nicholas Vansittart, Esq." is intended to counteract the powerful impression which the last mentioned publication is calculated to produce on the public mind, by roundly denying, or artfully contesting, under the form of arithmetical demonstration, the principal points on which Mr. Morgan insists; by expatiating on the flourishing state of the resources of this country, and the exhausted state of the French finances; and by the most unqualified encomiums on the measures of administration, in all their financial operations. This treatise is written more in the spirit of a partisan, than of a disinterested and dispassionate inquirer into the actually existing circumstances.

Mr. Morgan in his "Additional Facts, &c." has ably refuted the objections which have been brought against

against his statements and reasonings, and confirmed them by fresh and most convincing evidence.

Mr. Wood's "Plan for the Payment of the national Debt, and the Reduction of the Taxes two Millions per Annum," originated, we doubt not, in a pure desire to promote "the general interests and happiness of society;" but of its wisdom and expediency we are not so well convinced. The mode of payment which he wishes to recommend, "is that by instalments, of a certain sum for a certain number of years; and to render it intelligible to every capacity," he has "calculated three tables, all upon one principle, and only different in regard to the times and amount to be discharged; which would be, according to the first, fifty millions in twelve years; according to the second, an hundred millions in seventeen years; according to the third, three hundred millions in twenty six years. This is to be effected by issuing bills, under the sanction and authority of parliament; payable at such times as there will be funds sufficient for their discharge, as per the above mentioned tables; which bills shall not bear interest from government, but be constituted a lawful tender in all money transactions between man and man."

The author of "An original System of Taxation, or general Contribution by way of Stamp Duty, in which all his Majesty's Subjects of every Description, being under the Protection of the Laws of this Realm, are required to contribute to the Exigencies of the State in some Proportion to their Rank and Situation in Life, &c." would introduce into this country invidious badges of distinction, which must be followed by the

most mischievous effects on the intercourse of men with each other in society. For his plan recommends the division of all the members of the community, of a certain age, paupers excepted, into different classes; the members of each to wear rings, distinguishing the class to which they belong, and for which they are to pay a stamp-duty in proportion to their wealth or rank.

"The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance, by Thomas Paine," while it contains some just and striking observations on the ruinous consequences of the funding system, the immense and increasing circulation of paper money, and the mysterious and dangerous connection of the bank of England with the government, adds nothing to the information which we have received on these subjects from writers in our own country; particularly from doctor Price, and Mr. Morgan. Some of the statements on which he argues are erroneous, or assumed from insufficient data; and the conclusions which he draws from them must, consequently, be liable to strong objections. But the general conclusion which his work impresses on the mind of the reader, viz. that if the destructive measures for increasing the national debt, which have of late years been followed, are persisted in, public bankruptcy must be the issue, and at no very distant period; we consider to be as incontrovertible as any mathematical demonstration. The author's prediction of the precise period when that event shall take place, is merely fanciful; as is his ratio of increment, established as he imagines in the nature of things, on which that prediction is founded.

Mr. Broome, in his "Observations on Mr. Paine's Pamphlet, entitled the Decline and Fall, &c." ably corrects some of the misstatements of his opponent, respecting the nature of the government securities in circulation, and the proportion between the quantity of notes issued by the bank of England, and the quantity of cash, ingots, and other valuable assets, that must insure the solvency of that institution. He, likewise, endeavours to give us consoling views of our financial situation, and of the funding system. But he is not thoroughly satisfied with the state of the times. He considers the nation, from the accumulation of the public debt, to be infected by a disease, which is in a progressive state; and he advises the use of such remedies as, he imagines, will prevent it from becoming fatal. Among others, he prescribes the commutation of tythes by a modus, or their purchase from lay improprators, and the framing of taxes in such a manner as that they shall fall entirely upon the rich. But the mode in which the latter object is practicable, he does not point out.

Mr. Smith's "Examination of Mr. Paine's Decline, &c." is also employed in combating the positions of the latter, particularly those relative to the similarity of the paper currency of this country, with that of France and America; and in exposing the futility of his attempt to shake that basis of public credit, on which the greatness and prosperity of Britain have been erected. It is well meant, and not defective in shrewdness of remark; but of its higher pretensions we shall leave the reader to form his own judgment.

Lieutenant-colonel Chalmers'

"Strictures" on the same work, "to which are added some Remarks on War, and other national Concerns," are partly intended to controvert the bold assertions and reasonings of the Gallo-American champion, by assertions equally free and unceremonious with those of his antagonist; and partly, to urge the British government to a vigorous perseverance in the war with the French republic. To encourage them in the expensive contest, he points out several subjects of taxation, which, he conceives, will supply ample and unobjectionable resources. But before he can render them so, he must inspire the great and rich with what he acknowledges to be a desideratum, "the inclination to place taxation on substantial means, suited to the ends."

Mr. Daniel Wakefield in his "Letter to Thomas Paine, in Reply to his Decline and Fall, &c." so far as he has employed himself in exposing the hypothetical and fanciful assumptions in the treatise against which he writes, has managed his subject with tolerable address. But in drawing the picture of the actual situation of this country, he has laid himself open to recrimination; for he contends, that the British system of finance has not yet attained to its maturity, and that the credit and resources of this country are at present in as flourishing a state as at any period since the commencement of the funding system.

In our Registers for the years 1786, and 1788, we introduced to our readers different treatises by Mr. Herenchwand, on subjects in political economy, which were published as preliminary dissertations to a greater work, for which he was preparing materials. In those

those volumes we bestowed considerable praise on the intentions of the author, and on his talents; while we freely censured what appeared to us to merit censure in his mode of conducting his plan. During the present year he has published two parts out of three of his grand work, under the title "*De l'Economie politique et morale de l'Espèce Humaine*," or "On the political and moral Economy of Mankind," in 2 volumes. The first volume is employed in investigating the true nature of man, by proving, under a variety of propositions, that animals are invariable, but men infinitely variable in the mode of their existence; that the necessities of animals are provided for directly, but those of men only indirectly; that animals use things without, but men with the comprehension of their nature; that animals are imperfectible, but men perfectible without end; that animals being imperfectly organized, were formed for their destination in a way the opposite to that by which man was formed for his destiny; that animals were placed on the earth for others, but that man was placed here for himself alone: that human societies are susceptible of different degrees of improvement; that, according to the natural order of the earth, the human species is capable of developing its own possible intelligence, in a very high degree; and that there is a political economy for a people of cultivators. On these topics the author is needlessly diffuse, and tedious, and frequently labours to prove what is incontrovertible. In the second volume Mr. Herenchwand treats, of the nature of a political economy of a nation of cultivators; the active principle of political economy of a na-

tion of cultivators; the precious metals considered in their relation to the moral and physical order of the earth; the circulation of the precious metals, according to the political economy of a nation of cultivators; the application of the precious metals to develop the prosperity of a nation of cultivators; external commerce; public banks of circulation; conquests; the application of public credit to develop the prosperity of a nation of cultivators; public contributions of a nation of cultivators; government of a nation of cultivators; and colonies from a nation of cultivators. While we except to many of our author's positions and arguments, we recommend his work to the perusal of every well-wisher to the human race; convinced that his disquisitions, although they may sometimes offer much old matter in no novel or very inviting dress, and sometimes oppose favourite opinions with a greater share of declamation and assumed importance, than of calm reasoning and urbanity, and sometimes contain what may appear frivolous or fanciful, abound, nevertheless, in judicious reflections, valuable remarks, and originality of sentiment, which render them deserving of universal attention.

The "*Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various Crimes and Misdemeanors which at present are felt as a Pressure upon the Community, and suggesting Remedies for their Prevention, by a Magistrate*," is a truly important and valuable work, for which the public is greatly indebted to the intelligent author. Of the depravity of manners in the metropolis, and of the existence of numerous schemes in which art and ingenuity are exercised in

pilfering and plundering the public, no person who has resided there for any time can be ignorant. But of the astonishing extent to which these evils are carried, and of the regular systematic form which they assume, it is not easy for those to form any conception who are not in possession of such information as is displayed in the treatise before us. That information, methodically arranged and detailed with perspicuity, is highly curious and interesting, and employs seven chapters of the work, in which the author treats of the causes of the increase of crimes; of small thefts; of receivers of stolen goods; of pillage upon wharfs and quays, and from ships and vessels in the river Thames; of frauds, plunder, and pillaging in the public arsenals, and in ships of war and transports; of burglary and highway robbery; of the coinage and circulation of base money; and of forgeries, swindling acts, and gaming. These chapters are followed by five others, setting forth defects in the laws intended to suppress or prevent these evils, especially those relative to the detection, trial, and conviction of offenders; the sanguinary nature of our present criminal code; the abuses in the execution of our laws; and suggesting various plans of amendment, that merit general and serious attention, as they appear to be the result of sound judgment, practical observation, and genuine patriotism.

In our last volume we introduced to our readers the first number of an intended series of publications in Political Economy, by Count Rumford. During the present year, that number has been followed by four additional Essays, which are replete with much valuable and in-

teresting information, founded on extensive experience, and adapted to increase the stock of human happiness, particularly in the lower ranks of society. The subjects on which they treat are, the fundamental principles, on which general establishments for the relief of the poor may be formed in all countries; various kinds of food, and the cheapest means of feeding the poor; chimney fire-places, with a view to the saving of fuel, and the prevention of smoke; and accounts of different institutions and projects of the author, for extending the benefits of a well regulated political economy at the capital of Bavaria.

The author of "A Dissertation on the Poor Laws," under the signature of "A Well-wisher to Mankind," in a spirit of laudable benevolence, and with great force of reasoning, exposes the evils which arise to the poor, as well as rich, from the continuance of that burdensome and pernicious system, and maintains the necessity and propriety of its total abolition. In his judgment, compulsory provision for the poor, tends rather to encourage them in habits of idleness, than to relieve the miseries of poverty. And he contends, that those miseries would be most effectually removed by the voluntary contributions of benevolent individuals, in aid to the benefits resulting from a compulsory establishment of friendly societies throughout the kingdom. We see no substantial objection that can be urged against the general principles of this dissertation.

The treatise entitled "The Prevention of Poverty by beneficial Clubs, with preliminary Observations upon Houses of Industry, and the Poor Laws, by Edward Jones, Esq."

Esq." contains some sensible observations in support of the plan mentioned in the title-page; and some important remarks on the ill effects produced by houses of industry, which deserve the serious notice of the advocates for such establishments.

Sir William Young, likewise, in his "Considerations on the Subject of Poor Houses and Work Houses, &c." offers very powerful arguments against the system condemned in the last mentioned article, and many liberal propositions for meliorating the condition of the poor, congenial to the spirit of a free nation, and tending to improve the health, industry, and morals of the lower classes.

Mr. Vancouver, also, in his sensible and ingenious "Enquiry into the Causes and Production of Poverty, and the State of the Poor, &c." produces strong reasons against the institution of poor houses, even when conducted on the most humane and economical principles; and in favour of friendly societies, "at once the offspring of freedom, and the parents of independence." He, likewise, proposes a plan for the effectual relief of the aged poor, by a percentage on the earnings of the labourer deposited in a public fund; which, under proper regulations, and aided by the support of the wealthy, might be followed by the most beneficial effects.

The "Reflections on the Cruelty of inclosing common Field Lands, particularly as it affects the Church, and the Poor," are founded in misapprehension and prejudices incompatible with a liberal enlightened policy, and a knowledge of the true interests of the church or the poor.

The "Three Letters on the Subject of Tythes and Tythe-associators, &c." are full of anger and invective against the advocates for the abolition, or commutation of tythes, whether laymen or of the clerical order; but are greatly wanting in argument and candour.

The "Enquiry into the Corn Laws and Corn Trade of Great Britain, and their Influence on the Prosperity of the Kingdom, with Suggestions for the Improvement of the Corn Laws, by the late Alexander Dirom, Esq." is a very ingenious and valuable publication, abounding in statements and reasonings of great national importance. His grand object is to prove, "that abundance of grain at home, and at a moderate price, cannot be obtained by importation from abroad, and can only be secured by giving such liberal encouragement to exportation, as may render agriculture, or the raising of corn, the favourite object of industry in the kingdom." In establishing this point, he justly considers agriculture to be a manufacture, which like every other species of manufacture may be encouraged by wise laws, or depressed by injudicious regulations. This doctrine he supports by able arguments, and an appeal to facts taken from the history of this country, which strike the mind with the force of mathematical demonstration. These arguments and facts, together with a variety of ingenious calculations, and conclusions, connected with, or resulting from them, are digested into five chapters, in which the author treats, of the general state of nations with respect to the alimentary support of mankind, and particularly that
of

of Great Britain; the causes and effects of the several corn laws of Great Britain, prior to the revolution in 1688, the effects of those laws subsequent to the revolution; a recapitulation of the principal heads of the corn laws of Great Britain, with tables and remarks elucidating the excellence of the old system; and arrangements proposed for carrying into execution, and giving effect to the corn laws. In a Supplement to this Enquiry, Mr. William Mackie, of Ormiston, in East Lothian, confirms Mr. Dirom's doctrine, by bringing down the subject from the year 1784, to the year 1793, and by applying to it the facts and circumstances which have taken place during that period. He has also successfully combated the opinion of doctor Adam Smith, respecting the corn laws.

The "Hints for promoting a Bee Society," are published with the laudable design of exciting the attention of the public towards an object in political economy, which has been too much neglected in this country, and which is capable of uniting together, in no inconsiderable degree, innocent amusement and profit. These Hints are accompanied with a plate of a hive, which appears well adapted to supply the proprietor with honey and wax, without destroying or injuring the industrious little labourer to whom we are indebted for those useful articles.

The "Considerations on the Attempt of the East India Company to become Manufacturers in Great Britain," have been published in consequence of a measure lately adopted by the company, to hire a number of mills, and (in technical language) throw into organ-

zine, their own silk, in large quantities, against the representations, and to the prejudice of the merchants and manufacturers in the silk trade. They contain a variety of serious and important reflections, of a political, and commercial nature, which are highly deserving of public attention. The political reflections address themselves to the advocates for the purity and independence of the representative body in the house of commons, which is liable to be essentially affected by the influence which the company, always at the devotion of the minister of the day, must obtain in the different towns and boroughs where their manufactories are established. But the reflections of a commercial nature come home to the feelings of every individual merchant and trader. Should the plan now adopted be continued, "and succeed," says the author, "who can tell to what a mischievous extent the practice of the principle may be carried? When the company have once tried their strength, it will be at their choice and in their mercy, what branch of manufacture they will next invade—whether they will print their own calicoes; make their own gunpowder; wind, spin, and weave, their own cottons; bake and refine their own sugars; or even manufacture those articles fabricated from our staple domestic produce, and which, by their charter, they are obligated to export. A calamitous alternative would then be the lot of the persons who are now engaged in such manufactures: unable to trade to India, or to cope in this country with the gigantic strides of a manufacturing East-India company, they must either abandon their pursuits,

or be degraded into dependents on the all-sweeping monopolists by whom they are injured. Thus, evils similar to those which the engrossing of small farms has inflicted on the husbandman, would be severely felt by the individual merchant and manufacturer; and thus, the advantages resulting from the various energies and competitions of private capital in our manufactures, would be lost to the community."

Among the Law publications of the year 1796, we meet with "The Jurisdiction of the Lords' House, or Parliament, considered according to ancient Records, by Lord chief Justice Hale, to which is prefixed, by the Editor, Francis Hargrave, Esq. an introductory Preface, including a Narrative of that Jurisdiction from the Accession of James I;" lord chief baron Gilbert's "Law of Tenures," a new edition, with a historical introduction on the feudal system, and copious notes and illustrations, by Charles Watkins, esq. "Modern Reports, &c." a new edition, by P. Leach, Esq. in 12 vols. "Reports of Cases argued, &c. in the Court of King's Bench, to Trinity Term, 36 Geo. III. inclusive, by Charles Durnford, and Edward Hyde East, Esqrs." which complete the VIth volume of that work; "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Exchequer, from Easter Term, 32 Geo. III. to Trinity Term, 33 Geo. III. both inclusive, by Alexander Anstruther, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq." in 2 vols; "Reports of Cases argued and ruled at Nisi Prius, in the Courts of King's Bench, and Common Pleas," during the years 1795, and 1796, by Isaac Espinasse, of Gray's Inn, esq;

"Reports of Cases argued in the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer Chamber, to Hilary Term, 36 Geo. III. inclusive, by Henry Blackstone, Esq." which completes the IIId volume of that work; "Rules and Orders on the Plea Side of the Court of King's Bench, beginning in Easter Term 1731, and ending in Trinity Term, 1795," compiled by Mr. Abbot, Clerk of the Rules; "Jurisdiction and Practice of the Court of Great Sessions of Wales, on the Chester Circuit," said to be the production of the same author; "An historical Treatise of a Suit in Equity, &c. by Charles Barton, of the Inner Temple, Esq;" "The Practice of the Court of Chancery, originally published by Joseph Harrison, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. and enlarged by John Griffith Williams, Esq. with considerable Additions, &c. by Wilmot Parker, Solicitor," in 2 vols; "The Practice of the Courts of King's Bench, and Common Pleas, by Baker John Sellon, Esq;" completed in 2 vols; "A brief Exposition of the Law relative to Wills and Testaments, &c. by S. W. Nicoll, Esq;" "A Digest of the Laws relative to Borough Elections, by S. Heywood, Esq. Serjeant at Law, Part I;" "Cases in Evidence before Committees of Election of the House of Commons, by T. E. Tomlins, Esq;" the 3d edition, revised, and enlarged, of "A System of the Law of Marine Insurance, &c. by J. A. Park, Esq;" "A practical Arrangement of the Excise Laws, by A. Highmore, Jun." in 2 vols; the 2d edition, considerably enlarged of "A Collection of Cases on the Annuity Act, with an Epitome of the Practice relative to the Enrolment of Memorials, by W. Hunt, Esq. of Lin-

Lincoln's Inn;" "An Abstract of, and Observations on the Statutes imposing Duties on Administrations, &c. by Peter Lovelass, of the Inner Temple, Conveyancer, to be inserted preceding the Index to the 8th Edition, of the Law's Disposal, &c;" "The new Pocket Conveyancer, or Attorney's complete Pocket Book, &c. by James Barry Bird, of New Inn, Esq." in 2 vols; "Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on the Laws of England, intended to be delivered in pursuance of an Order of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, at their Hall, by Michael Nolan, Esq;" the trials of "William Stone," and "Robert Thomas Crossfield, for high Treason," and "of the Bishop of Bangor, and others, for an assault, &c. taken in short hand, by Joseph Gurney;" and "The History of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor general of Bengal, before the High Court of Parliament in Westminster Hall, on an Impeachment by the Commons of Great Britain, for high Crimes and Misdemeanors."

Our annual list of Mathematical productions commences with the third volume of a valuable publication, by baron Maseres, entitled "Scriptores Logarithmici; or, a Collection of several curious Tracts on the Nature and Construction of Logarithms; mentioned in Dr. Hutton's historical Introduction to his new Edition of Sherwin's Mathematical Tables: together with some Tracts on the Binomial Theorem, and other Subjects connected with the Doctrine of Logarithms." In addition to the numerous tracts composing this volume, judiciously selected from the labours of foreigners as well as na-

tives, with amendments and illustrations which the editor was eminently qualified to undertake; he has presented the mathematical world with four important treatises of his own, on the method of finding the value of slowly converging infinite serieses, and the reversion of such serieses. For the various subjects of the other tracts which he has admitted into his collection, we must refer our readers to the work itself. The first and second volumes were announced by us in our Register for the year 1794.

The volume entitled "Mr. James Bernoulli's Doctrine of Permutations and Combinations, and some other useful Mathematical Tracts," ushered before the public by the same learned editor, contains some pieces contained in the above mentioned collection, which, on account of their clear and accurate method of demonstrating the binomial theorem, he has republished in a more commodious form, to make them generally known to mathematical students; an abridgment of two original treatises in the second volume of the *Scriptores Logarithmici*, employed in demonstrating sir Isaac Newton's binomial theorem in the case of integral and affirmative powers; Dr. Wallis's discourse on combinations, alterations, and aliquot parts; and other republications of methods of finding rational numbers that express the sides of right-angled triangles, of extracting the cube roots of numbers by approximation, and of resolving affected equations of all degrees by approximation, together with various tables, which promise to prove of considerable use to those who engage in such studies.

"The Principles of Algebra, by Wil-

William Frend," have been published with the design of removing the difficulties in the study of that science, which half a dozen years' experience, as tutor of a college in the university of Cambridge, convinced the author that young men labour under in endeavouring to learn it by the common mode. One of the principal of these is the use of negative numbers, which he rejects as ridiculous and absurd, and offers an explanation of the principles of the science, and deduces his solutions by a mode of reasoning to which, he conceives, there can be no objection. He, likewise, explodes the terms quadratic, cubic, biquadratic, &c. as applied to equations, and the words square, cube, solid, sur-solid, as applied to numbers, in order to adapt his language to the comprehension of English scholars, and to avoid impressing positions on their minds, which are not true. This attempt to simplify a most useful science is highly to be commended; and it is entitled to the dispassionate and serious consideration of mathematical instructors. Should the author's ideas meet with a favourable reception, he proposes "to lay down in another volume, the principles of fluxions, and the method of increments and differences; to explain farther the higher parts, as they are called, of algebra; and to give a series of problems, adapted to the two volumes."

Mr. Manning's "Introduction to Arithmetic and Algebra," is recommended to the use of students by the "laborious exactness," and perspicuity, with which the author has explained what is difficult or abstruse in each operation that is performed. The arithmetical part contains the four fundamental

rules; and the algebraic extends to the solution of quadratic equations. Mr. Manning very handsomely acknowledges his obligations to preceding writers, particularly baron Maseres, and Mr. Wood, of St. John's College, Cambridge. The last mentioned gentleman has lately published a System of Algebra, pronounced by Mr. Manning to be judicious and comprehensive, which we have not seen, but which we understand is approved, and very generally adopted by the Cambridge tutors.

The "Short Account of the late Mr. Reuben Burrow's Measurement of a Degree of Longitude, and another of Latitude, near the Tropic in Bengal, in the Years 1790, 1791, by Isaac Dalby," has been drawn up with great attention and care by the editor from Mr. Burrow's manuscripts, left by him in an unconnected and unfinished state, and will be favourably received by the mathematical world, as it offers an addition to the stock of scientific knowledge. The results of the different observations give us 60455 fathoms for a degree on the meridian, and 55985 fathoms for a degree of longitude, in latitude $23^{\circ} 28' N$.

Mr. Kelly's "Practical Introduction to Spherics and nautical Astronomy, being an Attempt to simplify those useful Sciences, &c." is the production of an author who is evidently well acquainted with the subjects on which he treats, and who has adopted a judicious and perspicuous mode of explaining their principles to such young persons, as have not previously made any considerable progress in geometry. It is divided into two parts. In the first part, which comprehends spherics, Mr. Kelly introduces the scholar, by the most

easy

easy and familiar method, to the knowledge of stereographic projection, and to the solution of the most important stereographic problems. The second part contains the application of spherics to those problems of astronomy which are most useful at sea, such as finding the azimuth, amplitude, time, latitude, longitude, &c. which are solved both by projection and calculation. The whole concludes with a new method of working the lunar observations, by sines without the interference of cosines; which is simple and correct, and with the assistance of the tables in Taylor's Logarithms, calculated to seconds, much more expeditious than the common mode.

The next work which we have to announce is an important and interesting one, in point of information and entertainment, for which the mathematical student will acknowledge himself much indebted to the author. It is entitled "A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary: containing an Explanation of the Terms, and an Account of the several Subjects, comprized under the Heads Mathematics, Astronomy, and Philosophy; both natural and experimental: with an historical Account of the Rise, Progress, and present State of these Sciences: also Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of the most eminent Authors, both ancient and modern, who by their Discoveries or Improvements have contributed to the Advancement of them. With many Cuts and Copper Plates. By Charles Hutton, LL. D. F. R. S., &c." in 2 vols. 4to. On the well known abilities of Dr. Hutton for executing the arduous task which he undertook, it is unnecessary for us to dwell; and on the manner in which it is

performed, notwithstanding occasional defects and omissions which will be discovered by the eye of a well informed and accurate reader, it would be unjust not to bestow a high degree of praise. It is a rich repository of scientific knowledge; and a judicious directory to the best sources of that additional and more extended information, which could not be comprehended within the limits to which the author was confined. The biographical notices, likewise, which it contains, of most of the eminent authors who have adorned the mathematical and philosophical classes, in different periods of the world, render it a pleasing as well as useful performance.

Mr. Jones's "English System of Book keeping by single or double Entry; in which it is impossible for an Error of the most trifling Moment to pass unnoticed; calculated effectually to prevent the Evils of the Method so long established, and adapted to every Species of Trade," is a work of which the commercial world had been led to form very high expectations, from the advertisements and promises of the author previous to its publication. It was also prefaced with the attestations of several considerable merchants to its superior excellence. But notwithstanding the sanction of their names, and the confident pretensions in the title-page, and the still more confident pretensions in the introductory part, it has by no means met with a reception flattering to the author's vanity. Several able merchants and accountants have very severely animadverted on Mr. Jones's assertion, "that the Italian method is the most infamous and cunningly devised system ever formed; intended only to cover in

in secrecy the worst of purposes by systematic art." They have asserted, per contra, that the chief excellencies of the new system are borrowed from the old; that it has not remedied the principal defects of the old method; and that, upon the whole, greater inconveniences than benefits would follow from adopting it, particularly in extensive concerns. We leave those who from practice must be the best judges, to determine these points.

Mr. Collier, in his "Defence of double Entry, with a new Arrangement of the Journal, and Objections to Mr. Jones's new Plan of Book-keeping," joins in the verdict abovementioned, and ably maintains the superior advantages of the Italian system in detecting errors, and the general practice of the counting house. His new arrangement of the journal is neat, and more concise than that generally followed, but more complex, and on that account less generally useful.

Mr. Gosnell's "Elucidation of the Italian method of Book-keeping, with Examples calculated to simplify and perfect that long approved System, and to supply the Defects of the present Practice; prefaced by free Observations on Jones's English System, &c. and concluded by concise Strictures on Collier's Defence of double Entry," accords, in general, with our best writers on the Italian plan, and satisfactorily refutes the arguments drawn from its abuses, against its adequateness to its professed purposes. The improvements which he proposes merit the attention of the commercial world. In Mr. Gosnell's free Observations on Jones's System, the recommenders of that work come in for a proper share of animadversion,

on account of their hasty and injudicious testimony in favour of its merits; and in his Strictures on Mr. Collier's Defence of double Entry, he confirms our concluding remark on that publication.

The "Examination of Jones's System, &c. by James Mill, Accountant, and Notary Public," is another well written treatise, which clearly demonstrates "the insufficiency of that mode of keeping accounts;" establishes "the superiority of the Italian method, by the materials of Mr. Jones's work being formed into a complete system of book-keeping by double entry;" and detects gross errors in the pretended improved plan, which effectually destroy its credit, and call "for shame to burn the cheeks"—not of those who would not "bury their opposition in oblivion, and the principles which gave that opposition birth."

The "Letter to Mr. T. Edward Jones, on the Inefficacy of his English System, &c. by a Merchant," is another attack, less formidable indeed than the preceding, but not unsuccessful, on some of the principles of the new method of book-keeping. What the author denominates improved plans for the waste book and journal, and short but infallible rules to ascertain the proper subjects or parties, which constitute the debtors and creditors, in the arrangement of a merchant's accounts, we leave to the judgment of the counting house.

"The Stocks examined and compared, or a Guide to Purchasers in the public Funds, &c. by William Fairman, of the Royal Exchange Assurance," and the treatise entitled "An Epitome of the Stocks and public Funds, &c. by T. Fortune," are both adapted to supply persons

persons concerned in buying or selling of stock with useful information. The former work is much more copious than the latter.

The volume entitled "Observations upon military and political Affairs, written by General George Monk, afterwards created Duke of Albemarle, &c. illustrated with engraved Plates," is republished from an impression that made its first appearance during the struggles between Charles I. and the parliament. As a compendium of the state of military tactics at that period, it is an object of considerable curiosity; and it contains many remarks and hints which may be read with profit by the modern soldier.

Lieutenant colonel Hanger's treatise entitled "Military Reflections on the Attack and Defence of the City of London; proved by the Author to have been the most vulnerable Part of Consequence in the whole Island, in the Situation it was left in the Year 1794, &c." although it may not completely satisfy the reader that his leading statements, and the arguments by which he supports them, are unassailable, yet it will be acknowledged to contain much important and interesting matter, which deserves general attention, as well as that of military men.

The next work which we have to introduce is distinguished by marks of good sense, ingenuity, and originality, that render it worthy the notice not only of civil engineers, and artists, but of those public-spirited gentlemen who are active in promoting the internal improvement of the kingdom. The subjects on which it treats will be understood from the title, which is "A Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation; exhi-

biting the numerous Advantages to be derived from small Canals, and Boats of two to five Feet wide, containing from two to five Tons Burthen. With a Description of the Machinery for facilitating Conveyance by Water through the most mountainous Countries, independent of Locks and Aqueducts: including Observations on the great Importance of Water Communications, with Thoughts on, and Designs for, Aqueducts and Bridges, of Iron and Wood, illustrated with seventeen Plates. By R. Fulton, Civil Engineer."

The "Gothic Ornaments in the Cathedral Church of York, drawn and etched by Joseph Halfpenny," published in numbers, containing five plates each, and of which seven have already appeared, are executed with accuracy, and beauty, and will prove an acceptable present to those who wish to revive the study of that style of architecture. So, likewise, will the "Specimens of Gothic Ornaments, selected from the Parish Church of Lavenham, in Suffolk, on forty Plates," which are "choice examples" of elegant remains of the art.

The "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year 1796," present us with various papers in pure, and mixed mathematics, and in anatomy, some of which possess considerable merit. Under the first head we meet with a neat and concise Algebraic Demonstration of Newton's Binomial Theorem, by the rev. Mr. Sewell; a very important paper on the Construction and Analysis of Geometrical Propositions, determining the Positions assumed by homogeneous Bodies which float freely, and at rest, on a fluid's Surface, and determining
also

also the Stability of Ships, and of other Floating Bodies, by George Atwood, Esq; an improvement of Mr. Jones's and Mr. Emerson's Computation of the Hyperbolic Logarithm of 10, by the Rev. Mr. Hellings; and an ingenious article, in the French language, by M. Simon L'Huilier, recommending a new elementary Mode of deducing the Exponential Quantities, and Trigonometrical Properties of Circular Arcs. The most valuable articles in mixed mathematics are, Dr. Herschel's communications relative to the Changes that happen to the Fixed Stars, and his Catalogues of their comparative Brightness, for ascertaining the Permanency of their Lustre; Mr. Brougham's curious and nice Experiments, on the Inflection, Reflection, and Colours of Light; Mr. Macdonald's careful and accurate Observations on the diurnal Variation of the Magnetic Needle, at Fort Marlborough, in the Island of Sumatra; Dr. Grey's Account of, and Observations on the Earthquake felt in various parts of England, Nov. 18, 1795; Dr. Pearson's Observations on some ancient metallic Arms and Utensils, with Experiments to determine their Composition; and an Analysis of the Carinthian Molybdate of Lead, with Experiments on the Molybdic Acid, and on the Decomposition of the Sulphate of Ammoniac, by Charles Hatchett, Esq. — The anatomical articles were furnished by Mr. Home, and consist of his Croonian Lecture on Muscular Motion, some particulars in the Anatomy of the Whale, and a Description of the Anatomy of the Sea Otter, from a dissection made jointly by himself and Mr. Archibald Menzies. Some of the other articles which the two parts of this annual publication com-

1796.

prize, would deserve to be distinctly noticed, were our limits less restricted.

During the present year, the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester have published the II^d part of the IVth volume of their "Memoirs." Among the mathematical and philosophical papers which this volume contains, we find an Investigation of the Laws of Motion of a Cylinder, compelled by the repeated Strokes of a falling Block to penetrate an Obstacle, the Resistance of which is an invariable Force, by Mr. Gough; Observations on the Flints of Chalk Beds, by Dr. Beddoes; curious and interesting Experiments and Observations on the Vegetation of Seeds, by Mr. Gough; and some valuable Meteorological Observations, collected and arranged by Dr. Garnet. Dr. Bardsley's Observations on Canine and Spontaneous Hydrophobia, with the relation of an extraordinary Case, and his Remarks on Medical Writers on this subject, also merit praise. Of the remaining articles of this publication, some will be found in the preceding departments of our present volume; and the others, which are partly on economical subjects, and partly to be referred to the head of antiquities, will not be thought unworthy of insertion in the Memoirs of the Society.

The example of Manchester, in forming a provincial association for promoting the interests of science and literature, has been laudably followed in the principal city of the west of England. At Exeter, a society of gentlemen have combined their talents in offering to the public a volume of "Essays," on topics chiefly in polite literature and criticism, which they have chosen

O

to

to usher into the world without the names of the authors. We have introduced the notice of it in this place, on account of the scientific papers which it includes. These are some curious and novel Observations on Light, particularly on its Combination and Separation as a Chemical Principle; ingenious Reflections on the Composition and Decomposition of the Atmosphere, as influencing Meteorological Phenomena; some cursory Remarks on the present State of Philosophy and Science; and an Essay on the Iris, explaining the motions and effects of that membrane on the pupil; in which, contrary to the common opinion, the author maintains that the iris is in its active state when the pupil is dilated, and in its passive state when the pupil is contracted. The remaining essays are miscellaneous; some historical, some critical, some poetical, and some whimsical, from which the reader may derive information and entertainment.

During the present year, the Fourth and Fifth volumes of "the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures, consisting of original Communications, &c." have been completed, and maintain the same character with the preceding, which we have announced in the order of their appearance.

Among the publications of individuals in natural philosophy we find an interesting and useful work, in 3 vols. entitled "the Economy of Nature explained and illustrated on the Principles of modern Philosophy, by G. Gregory, D. D." These volumes contain a pleasing compendium of the various branches of physical knowledge, for the use of "all whose curiosity would lead

them to take a general survey of nature—for all, in particular, who wish to understand the elements and principles of natural history;" the materials of which have been collected with much diligence and care, digested and arranged with judgment and perspicuity, and clothed in popular and elegant language. The whole work is divided into ten books, subdivided into chapters, which treat of the general properties of matter; of the Nature of Fire; of Light and Colours; of Electricity; of Air; of Mineral Substances, and the structure of the Earth; of Water; of Vegetables; of Animals, and particularly of Man; and of the Human Mind. These volumes are illustrated with forty-six plates. "The Studies of Nature, by James Henry Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, translated by Henry Hunter, D. D." in 5 vols. with 5 plates, will likewise prove an acceptable and useful present to young and inquisitive minds. Together with numerous ingenious, intermixed with some fanciful theories, they contain a large fund of striking physical facts, detailed in animated and poetic language, and applied in a pleasing illustration of the arguments for an intelligent first cause, and superintending Providence, and in a refutation of the objections drawn from partial views of the works of nature. The fifth volume, which is supplementary, is composed of the much admired tale, called Paul and Virginia, and a short piece of the same kind, entitled Arcadia. Dr. James Hutton's "Theory of the Earth, with Proofs and Illustrations," in 2 volumes, is a laborious attempt to support the doctrines respecting the origin of the earth, &c. which were originally published in the Transactions of the Royal Society

Society of Edinburgh, and noticed in our Register for the year 1788, in opposition to the objections of Mr. Kirwan, and the reasonings of M. De Luc, M. Saussure, and other modern geologists. In pursuing his object, he is bold in his conjectures and hypotheses, and often very ingenious in arguing from the facts which he has collected; but we cannot yet pronounce him successful in establishing his theory. Mr. King's "Remarks concerning Stones said to have fallen from the Clouds, both in these Days and in ancient Times," display no small portion of learning, and, many wicked modern philosophers will add, no small portion of credulity. They will pronounce his facts to be tricks or delusions; and, even admitting for the sake of the argument their possibility, dispute, with their accustomed pertinacity, the theory on which he attempts to account for such marvellous phenomena. Mr. Lyon's "Account of several new and interesting Phenomena, discovered in examining the Bodies of a Man and four Horses, killed by Lightning, near Dover, in Kent," details some curious circumstances, worthy the attention of electricians; but we have not been able to discover that the principles on which he endeavours to explain them, are more satisfactory than those of the Franklinian school. Mr. Bent's "Meteorological Journals of the Years 1794 and 1795, kept in London," and published in separate treatises, are equally accurate with his former publications; and rendered more extensively useful, by observations on the diseases of each month in the city and suburbs, and remarks on the state of the air, vegetation, &c. &c.

Our next list, that of articles in

the various branches of Chemistry, is unusually barren. In the aërial department, we claim the right of inserting in our Catalogue of Domestic Literature Dr. Priestley's "Experiments and Observations relating to the Analysis of Atmospheric Air, &c." originally printed in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. This Treatise contains, in addition to what is above mentioned, farther Experiments relating to the Generation of Air from Water; and considerations on the Doctrine of Phlogiston, and the Decomposition of Water, addressed to Messrs. Berthollet, De la Place, and other eminent French chemists, who have been the most conspicuous supporters of the system of Lavoisier. The object of Dr. Priestley is, to assign additional reasons for adhering to his former opinions, notwithstanding that in this age of revolutions, philosophical as well as civil, he is left to maintain the contest almost alone; and, by proposing new objections to the French theory, to invite its advocates to fresh discussion, which "perhaps may be the means of bringing out something more decisive in point of *fact* or of *argument*, than has hitherto appeared." This work, like the author's former discussions, bears the marks of unremitting assiduity, and is temperate, ingenuous, and candid. Dr. Peart's "Essay on the Composition and Properties of Water," may be considered as supplementary to his treatise noticed in our last volume, as its design is partly to reiterate his attack on the doctrines of M. Lavoisier, and partly to support his former work in opposition to the criticisms of different reviewers. We do not imagine, however, that what he has farther advanced in the publication before us will induce either

the disciples of the new school to pronounce him a formidable antagonist, or his reviewers to alter their verdict. Dr. Dickson's "Essays on Chemical Nomenclature, in which are comprehended Observations on the same Subject, by Richard Kirwan, L.L.D. &c." is intended to shew, "that the language of chemistry is not essentially or radically faulty; that it is capable of being reformed without being new modelled; and that the steady establishment and judicious augmentation of the ancient nomenclature would be much more favourable to the advancement of science than the introduction of any entire system of new technical names." These topics employ the author in eight chapters, in which he displays such ingenuity, learning, and information, as cannot fail to render his work highly interesting even to those who may not concur with him in opinion. The last article we have to mention under this head, and which belongs to it more properly than to the following, is M. Schmeisser's translation from the German of M. Von Ussler's "Chemico-physiological Observations on Plants;" containing some ingenious remarks on the structure and economy of vegetables, and particularly on their irritability, which serve to elucidate those curious and interesting subjects.

In enumerating the publications of the year in Natural History, we have to announce the appearance of the II^d and III^d volumes of Mr. Lewin's splendid work entitled "the Birds of Great Britain systematically arranged, &c." What we said of the former volume, in our last Register, is applicable to those before us: and we have only to add, that they contain a great variety

of species
tailed by
fourteen
binet of
highly-fin
Tookey,
elegant D
son, R.
from the
Climes,
tific Desc
Surgeon,
credit to
must rece
curacy at
all lovers
all men
numbers,
mount to
already a
two 'plat
beautiful
tem of N
the Inst
form of
ten in G
Gottinge
method
scientific
portant
particula
insects,
compani
plates, c
figures;
commen
work, p
hands o
in their
extender
be acqu
of the f
the tran
praise to
cations
readers:
work p
of the
compan
of Sir]

stance of Dr. Russel; which promises to do great honour to all the parties concerned. They are the Ist. and IId. Fasciculi of "Plants of the Coast of Coromandel; selected from Drawings and Descriptions presented to the Honourable Court of Directors, &c. by William Roxburgh, M. D." This work is to consist of selections from five hundred drawings made by Dr. Roxburgh, while carrying into execution a plan formed by Dr. Russel, and approved by the court of directors; and from MSS. and specimens in the possession of the president of the Royal Society, by J. G. Koeng, a pupil of Linnæus, who spent nearly twenty years in the diligent study of the natural history of India. These Fasciculi contain fifty beautiful engravings. The "Introduction to Botany, in a Series of familiar Letters, with illustrative Engravings, by Priscilla Wakefield," is ingeniously adapted to familiarize the first principles of that science to young minds, and to excite in them a desire to become acquainted with more comprehensive publications. To the local botanical student, the following work will prove useful: "Hortus Botanicus Gippovicensis; or, an Enumeration of the Plants cultivated in Dr. Coyte's botanical Garden at Ipswich, in the County of Suffolk; also their generic Characters; English Names; the Natives of Britain particularized; the Exotics, where best preserved, and their Duration; with occasional botanical Observations."

Among the Agricultural publications of the year we must class the several papers in the "Transactions of the Society instituted at London, for the Encouragement

of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce," that relate to planting, embanking and draining, and the culture of different kinds of soil, and to machines and utensils adapted to the improvement of husbandry; from which gentlemen of landed estates, and the practical farmer, may derive useful information. But the most important work in this department is Mr. Marshall's "Rural Economy of the West of England, including Devonshire, and parts of Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall, together with Minutes in Practice," in 2 volumes. These volumes are part of the author's general work, with the nature and value of which the public are sufficiently acquainted, and offer a great variety of remarks, and judicious hints, relating to farming, and the different branches of rural economy, by which British husbandmen in general, and the cultivators of the districts under consideration in particular, may greatly profit; and for which those who study agriculture as an amusement, as well as for business, will consider themselves greatly indebted to him. Dr. Anderson's IIIrd vol. of "Essays relating to Agriculture and rural Affairs," will also be received with pleasure, as containing a mass of well digested and interesting practical information. These essays are three in number. The first is on the obstacles to the advancement of agriculture in England, and the means of removing them. The second, is divided into two parts, on the improvement of waste lands, by means of culture, and by planting trees. The third contains hints on the economical consumption of the produce of a farm. To the whole he has added some cursory remarks on the Corn Laws of Great Britain,

in which he is the more concise, as his sentiments nearly coincide with those of Mr Durom, already noticed by us. The treatise entitled "Foreign Agriculture, or, an Essay on the comparative Advantages of Oxen for Tillage, in Competition with Horses, being the Result of practical husbandry, by the Chevalier de Monroy, &c. selected from Communications in the French Language, with additional Notes, by John Talbot Dillon Esq." recommends a practice, approved of and encouraged by some of our ablest agriculturists, but adds nothing to the information we already possess on the subject. Dr Hunter's "Outlines of Agriculture," whatever may be the opinion entertained respecting the truth of his chemical principles, and the validity of the arguments by which he endeavours to support them, offer some valuable remarks to the farmer who will take the trouble of thinking before he sows his seed; and his attention is also due to a little treatise entitled, "A New Method of raising Wheat for a Series of Years on the same Land," pointing out the advantages of transplantations, published under the patronage, if it do not proceed from the pen of the same public-spirited gentleman. — The "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement, drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, from the Communications of Mr John Hill &c. and the additional Remarks of several respectable Gentlemen and Farmers in the County," has been published in pursuance of a resolution recommended to the board, by their president, Sir John Sinclair, in his address on the 29th of July 1794; the substance of which is inserted in our Register. It "is no of men to enquiries their view gour of the reader will be that the evident racy, from been precise of a and know that it is and useful by the writer and an in these defects contains much and inter-cularly re potatoes, manures, cow keep horticulture him for the use. The Agriculture has been auspicious work, an although free from preceding tionable the author tical economy neverthel informati We shall, fine, have ance of some name-mentioned have veys, and those republicies

are intended, the greater part if not the whole of them, to be committed to the press, as soon they are deemed fit for publication. Mr. Kirkpatrick's "Account of the Manner in which Potatoes are cultivated and preserved, and the Uses to which they are applied in the Counties of Lancaster and Chester," &c. and the anonymous "Account of the Culture of Potatoes in Ireland," are both the evident results of considerable experience, deliver their directions with great perspicuity and simplicity, and merit the attention of all cultivators of that valuable root. Mr. Lindley's "Plan for an Orchard, exhibiting at one View, a select Quantity of Trees sufficient for planting an Acre of Land, properly arranged according to their usual size of Growth, and Hardiness of Bearing, &c. &c." will be useful to those who wish to lay out such a plantation, and to stock it with the species and varieties that may afford fruit, proper for the table and the kitchen, in regular succession throughout the season.

Among the publications of the year which belong to the head of Anatomy, Surgery, and Medicine, we meet with the commencement of a work which has excited much curiosity among professional men, and promises, when completed, to prove of considerable importance to the interests of Science. It is entitled, "a System of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, by B. Harwood, M. D. F. R. S. &c. Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge, &c. Fasciculus I." quarto. This Fasciculus consists of seventy-two pages of letter press, illustrated with fifteen plates. The greater part is divided into fourteen sections, which, besides preliminary matter

explanatory of the author's object in the work, and a short account of the brain and organs of sense, treat of the olfactory organs in man, in herbivorous and carnivorous quadrupeds, in birds, in fishes, and in amphibia, which are severally compared, and followed by the author's physiological conclusions. In these sections Dr. Harwood will be allowed to display much ingenuity, by those who may not in every instance be entirely satisfied with his conclusions, or with the plan which he has followed. The remaining part of the letter-press is employed in explaining the plates, which are accurate, and beautiful, and exhibit various parts of the olfactory organs in various animals, on which the author's reasonings are founded. Mr. Davidson's "Observations anatomical, physiological, and pathological, on the Pulmonary System, &c. tending to establish a new Pathology of the Lungs, &c." contain accounts of the laudable exertions of an ingenious and attentive practitioner to cure pulmonary hæmorrhages and ulcerations, to which he was directed by reflections on the anatomy and physiology of the parts, and which in some striking instances were attended with extraordinary success. Without admitting that they establish the author's new system, we think them worthy of the serious notice of the faculty, as well as the author's pharmaceutical remarks in the appendix. The object of Dr. James Hamilton, junr.'s "Observations on the Seats and Causes of Diseases, illustrated by the Dissections of the late Professor Morgagni, of Padua, vol. I." is "to retain only the facts witnessed by Morgagni, or his preceptor Valsalva, or that seem established on

unequivocal authority; to new arrange the whole; to prefix to each collection of cases, a view of the general symptoms and seat of the disease; and to add observations on the causes, and remarks on the histories detailed." Such a plan, executed with the attention and judgment which the volume before us displays, cannot but prove acceptable and useful to medical practitioners. The next work which calls for our notice is highly splendid, both with respect to the typography and the accompanying engravings. It is entitled, "Observations on the Mechanism of the Horse's Foot; its natural Spring explained, and a Mode of Shoeing recommended, by which the Foot is defended from external Injury, with the least Impediment to its Spring; illustrated by copper-plates: by Strickland Freeman, Esq." The principal value of this work consists in the plates; which, although they do not display perfect anatomical representations of the horse's foot, such as are necessary for a person who would qualify himself for curing the diseases of that part, yet will be found useful in illustrating that method of shoeing, which is best adapted to the natural form and motion of the animal. But the expensive shape in which the work appears, must render its circulation, among those who would chiefly profit by it, very restricted.

Mr. Lara's "Dictionary of Surgery, or the young Surgeon's Pocket Assistant," appears to have been carefully compiled from approved and standard works, and to contain such practical directions as will be useful to inexperienced practitioners who have not the opportunity of consulting the originals. For the translation from the Spanish of "a new Method of operating for the

Femoral Hernia, by Don Antonio de Gimbernát, Surgeon to the King of Spain, with plates," the English surgeon is indebted to Dr. Beddoes; and it claims his attention from the success, the ease, and convenience to the patient with which it has been practised. By this new method, which cannot be explained without the plates, the translator asserts that the patient, will infallibly recover. To the original work Dr. Beddoes has added Queries, respecting a safer mode of performing inoculation by diluting the variolous matter, and the use of mercury in the treatment of certain fevers. Mr. Home's "Practical Observations on the Treatment of Strictures in the Urethra," contain a very able defence of the practice, originally recommended by the late Mr. Hunter, of applying caustic in the disease above-mentioned, with improvements in the mode of using it; and an enumeration of the cases which satisfactorily establish the propriety and extensive utility of that practice. The "Dialogues between a Pupil of the late John Hunter, and Jesse Foot, &c." are intended to depreciate the labours and character of the former, and to expose to ridicule some of the opinions and reasonings of Dr. Darwin, in which he has concurred with Mr. Hunter. They are not to be commended for the modesty or liberality which they display; and abound in assertions more than appeals to facts. "The History of the Inoculation of the Small Pox in Great Britain, comprehending a Review of all the Publications on the Subject, with an experimental Enquiry into the relative Advantages of every Measure which has been deemed necessary in the Process of Inoculation, by William Woodville, M. D. Physician to the Small Pox and Inoculation Hospital,"

tals," in 2 Vols. is a work which the well-known abilities and judgment of the author, and his professional situation peculiarly qualified him to undertake; and which cannot fail of proving highly interesting to medical men, and general readers. "The Inoculator, or Suttonian System of Inoculation, fully set forth in a plain and familiar manner, by Daniel Sutton, Surgeon," contains many useful and important practical observations, which merit the attention of professional men; but not unmixed with assertions and opinions that will not be implicitly received in the present state of knowledge upon the subject. Mrs. Stephens's "Domestic Midwife, or the best Means of preventing Danger in Child-Birth," contains simple and plain directions on the subject, which she appears to have derived from an acquaintance with the best writers on the obstetric art, united with experience. We cannot say that she is very liberal in her reflections on male practitioners. Mr. Sheidrake's "Observations on the Causes of Distortions of the Legs of Children, and the Consequences of the pernicious Means generally used with the Intention of curing them, &c." offer many remarks and reasonings that are entitled to respectful notice; but with respect to the particulars of his own method of cure (in many instances, we doubt not, very efficacious) he is not very communicative. The "Complete Dictionary of Farriery and Horsemanship, &c. compiled from the best Authors, by J. Hunter, Veterinarian," is a work of considerable merit; and, from the freedom with which the author has selected materials from Wallis's Farrier's Dictionary, may be recommended as an improvement of that once popular

treatise. Mr. Taplin's "Compendium of practical and experimental Farriery, &c." may also be recommended as containing much valuable advice with respect to the treatment of the generous and useful horse.

In our Register for the year 1794, we introduced to our readers the first volume of Dr. Darwin's very ingenious and entertaining work entitled "Zoonomia, or the Laws of Organic Life." During the present year he has published a second volume, which completes his plan, and contains the practical application of the principles before laid down. It is divided into two parts; the former containing a catalogue of diseases distributed according to their proximate causes, with their subsequent orders, genera, and species, and with their methods of cure: and the latter, the article of the materia medica, with an account of the operation of medicine. The same extensive information, depth of thought, acuteness, and originality are displayed in the present, as were so conspicuous in the preceding volume; and those of his readers who may not coincide with the author in his system of medical philosophy, will, nevertheless, acknowledge themselves indebted to him for a large share of entertainment, and many valuable practical directions. Dr. Duncan's "Medical Commentaries for the Year 1794, &c." and "for the Year 1795, &c." like the preceding volumes of that well-known work, contain useful analyses of several modern publications, and a variety of observations, reflections, and curious facts, which will contribute to the extension of medical knowledge. The collection of "Medical Extracts, on the Nature of Health, with practical Observations, &c. by a Friend to Improve-

Improvements, in 3 vols." consists of a variety of facts and opinions, from modern writers, not injudiciously selected and arranged; and intended to contribute to the establishment of a new and philosophical practice of physic, on the basis of the pneumatic chemistry in connexion with the Brunonian theory. Dr. Sinnot's "Observations tending to shew the Mismanagement of the Medical Department of the Army, with a View to trace the Evils to their Source, &c." and Mr. Somerville's "Memoir on the Medical Arrangements necessary to be observed in Camps, &c." both contain important and useful matter, worthy the serious notice of government, of military officers, and of the gentlemen who compose the army medical establishment. Dr. Fordyce's "Second Dissertation on Fever, containing the History and Method of Treatment of a regular Tertian Intermittent," as the reader will conclude from the known abilities of the author, offers some practical observations by which medical students may be benefited; but neither so novel, nor so important as we are led to expect from the continuation of his series of Treatises on Fever. Dr. Carmichael Smith's "Description of the Jail Distemper, as it appeared among the Spanish Prisoners, at Winchester, in the year 1780, with an Account of the Means employed for curing that Fever," and his "Account of the Experiments made, at the Desire of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, on board of the Union Hospital Ship, to determine the Effect of the Nitrous Acid in destroying Contagion, &c." will be deemed valuable by medical men, on account of the successful methods they exhibit of stopping the ravages of a very infectious and fatal disorder.

But the author's Theory of Contagion, in the first of the above-mentioned publications, in which he considers all fever of the jail kind to originate in putrefaction, will not be admitted without farther evidence of its truth than what the author has hitherto produced. Dr. Paterson, in his "Remarks on some of the Opinions of Dr. Rush, respecting the Yellow Fever which prevailed in Philadelphia in 1793," opposes the reasonings of the American physician intended to illustrate the remote and proximate causes of that terrible distemper, and condemns the "adventurous means" made use of by him in its cure. But we cannot pronounce his arguments sufficiently powerful to overthrow Dr. Rush's theory, or to induce the medical world to reject his practice. Mr. Bryce, in his "Account of the Yellow Fever, with a successful Method of Cure," describes, with much perspicuity, the progress of that disease on board the Bulbridge East Indiaman, during her voyage from England to Madras and Bengal, in the year 1792. His mode of treatment, consisting chiefly in evacuating the contents of the abdominal viscera by large doses of calomel, either given by itself, or joined with other powerful cathartics, nearly coincides with that of Dr. Rush. Dr. Falconer's "Observations respecting the Pulse, intended to point out with greater Certainty, the Indications which it signifies, especially in Febrile Complaints," are ingenious and interesting; and the tables which he has formed, by which to judge of symptoms from the proportion which the accelerated pulse bears to the natural, are the result of much experience and attention. Should they not be thought applicable to all cases that may occur, they

they will, nevertheless, in a great variety of instances, afford desirable assistance to the practitioner. — Dr. Sayer Walker's "Treatise on Nervous Diseases, &c." is a sensible and well written performance, in which the author approaches, perhaps, as nearly to precision as can be expected, in describing the causes of such varied and complicate maladies. The methods of cure which he prescribes, appear to be dictated by judgment, are recommended with modesty, and merit being brought to the test of repeated experiment. Dr. Latham's brief treatise "on Rheumatism and Gout," is intended to prove that those diseases are not inflammatory, but occasioned by obstructions in the lymphatic system. Whether this theory materially differ from that commonly received, we leave his brethren of the profession to judge; and refer them to his pamphlet for the means of cure which he prescribes. Mr. Paterson's "Treatise on the Scurvy, &c." if it should not be thought to contain any new information respecting the nature of that disease, deserves the attention of the faculty from the success with which the author appears to have used a new medicine for its cure, during his practice as a surgeon in the royal navy. That medicine consists of a solution of nitre in vinegar. For the proportions of the mixture, and the manner of using it, we must refer to the work itself. Dr. Reid's "Directions for warm and cold Sea Bathing, with Observations on their Application and Effects in different Diseases," offer some useful practical advice upon the subject, but nothing sufficiently new or important to be more particularly noticed. Dr. Fothergill's "Essay on the Abuse of Spirituous Liquors, be-

ing an Attempt to exhibit, in its genuine Colours, its pernicious Effects upon the Property, Health, and Morals of the People," &c. is ably written, and excellent in its tendency, and deserves to be circulated among all classes and descriptions in the community. Dr. Buchan's "Observations concerning the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease," are intended, like his other well-known productions, to offer familiar and practical advice on the subject which he has chosen to discuss. But of all the diseases to which mankind are subject, there is scarcely any one in which it can be more dangerous for the patient to attempt to become his own physician, even with the help of the doctor's sage instructions, than in the venereal. Its symptoms are infinitely various, so as frequently to perplex the ablest professional men; and the principal medicine employed in its cure, may produce the most baneful effects, from mistakes, against which the author's directions are very insufficient to guard the ignorant and unwary. Mr. Good's "History of Medicine, so far as it relates to the Profession of an Apothecary," &c. is principally intended to impress on the public mind a sense of the evils which must arise to society, from the encroachments which chemists and druggists have of late made "on the profession of the apothecary, by vending pharmaceutical preparations, and compounding the prescriptions of physicians." To remedy this evil, it appears that a number of apothecaries have entered into an association, the object of which is to obtain from the legislature "a competent jurisdiction in the profession itself to regulate its practice, and to restrain ignorant and unqualified persons from practising at all." —

At

At their request this history is published; which, although it be not a very complete or argumentative production, bears marks of ability, and contains much curious information. Mr. Braduey, in his "Murepsologia, or the Art of the Apothecary traced up to its original Source in History, and the Antiquity and Consequence of the Druggists, &c." turns the tables upon the apothecaries, in a strain of lively remark rather than of weighty argument, and warmly opposes any medical reform that would preclude druggists from the right of making up physicians' prescriptions. The "Hints on the proposed Medical Reform," are written with ability, and are intended to justify the object of the above-mentioned association. Whatever may be thought of the author's success with respect to his principal point, his Hints deserve the attention of the respective parties concerned. It is proper to add in this place, that a petition from the associated apothecaries has been delivered to parliament during the present year, and that their prayer has been rejected. Dr. Graves' "Pocket Conspectus of the new London and Edinburgh Pharmacopœias, &c." is a judicious and useful compilation, for which young and inexperienced practitioners are much indebted to the author. Dr. Wilson's "Experimental Essay on the Manner in which Opium acts on the living Animal Body," does credit to the author's ingenuity, and diligence of investigation, but adds little that is definite and certain to the knowledge we before possessed on that subject. The "Dissertation on Respiration, translated from the Latin of Dr. Menzies, with Notes, by Charles Sugrue," contains a number of ingenious and important experiments, intended to ascertain the

quantity of air usually taken in at each respiration, and the quantity of heat generated in the lungs during the same process; together with conclusions which, by tending to throw light on the functions of so important an organ, may ultimately lead the way to remedies for its most obstinate diseases. The last article which we have to mention in this department, is entitled, "Medical Cases and Speculations, including Parts IV. and V. of Considerations on the Medical Powers and the Production of Factitious Air, by Thomas Beddoes, M. D. and James Watt, Engineer." This publication, which the editor observes is intended to be the last of the series, contains farther striking evidence of the efficacy of pneumatic medicine, and of the laudable zeal, attention, and becoming diffidence with which enquiries have been prosecuted, that promise to lead to material improvements in the healing art.

The first work which calls for attention in our next department is, the IIIrd. volume of the "History of Greece, by William Mitford, Esq." In our Registers for the years 1784, and 1790, in which the Ist. and IIrd. volumes of this history were introduced to our readers, they will find our opinion so fully expressed, relative to its character as a narrative of facts, and its merits as a composition (which in both respects is applicable to that before us) that we shall content ourselves with laying before them a brief syllabus of what they may expect to meet with in this part of the continuation of our author's plan, and chiefly in his own words. The volume commences with the twenty-first chapter, which comprizes the history of Athens from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war,

war, and the establishment of the supreme council of thirty, commonly called the thirty Tyrants, to the restoration of the democracy by Thrasylulus. The twenty-second chapter consists of illustrations, from the orators and philosophers, of the civil history of Athens and the condition of the Athenian people, between the ages of Pericles and Demosthenes; with a summary view of the rise of philosophy and literature in Greece. The twenty-third details the transactions of the Greeks in Asia and Thrace, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, in which Persia was the ally of Lacedæmon, to the renewal of war between Lacedæmon and Persia; including minute particulars of the famous retreat of the ten thousand. In the twenty-fourth chapter we are presented with the history of Lacedæmon from the restoration of the Athenian democracy, and of the affairs of the Greeks in Asia from the renewal of war between Lacedæmon and Persia, 'till the recall of Agesilaus from Asia, in consequence of renewed war within Greece. In the twenty-fifth we have an account of the affairs of Greece, and of the transactions of the Greeks in Asia, from the establishment of the general confederacy against Lacedæmon, to the treaty between Lacedæmon and Persia, and the re-establishment of the Lacedæmonian power in Greece, through the general peace dictated in the king of Persia's name, commonly called the peace of Antalcidas. The twenty-sixth chapter continues the history of the affairs of Greece, from the peace of Antalcidas 'till the depression of the Lacedæmonian power and the elevation of Thebes to supremacy among the Grecian republics, by the battle of Leuctra; and the twenty-seventh, from that

event to the failure of the attempt to extend the Theban supremacy over Greece, through support from Persia. In the twenty-eighth chapter, which is the last in this volume, and proportionably long, as the events which it includes are important, the author proceeds with the history of Greece from the failure of the attempt of Thebes to establish her supremacy through the aid of Persia, until the depression together of the aristocratical and democratical interests, and the dissolution of the ancient system of Grecian confederacy, through the event of the battle of Mantinea; concluding with curious and interesting memorials of Xenophon "the soldier—philosopher—author, who has been his conductor, through a period of nearly half a century, among those transactions in which he was himself an actor."

In our Register for the year 1792, we announced the appearance of Essays selected from the 1st. and 2d. volumes of the "Asiatic Researches," entitled "Dissertations and miscellaneous Pieces, relating to the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia," in 2 vols. In the same work we introduced to our readers the the 3d. volume of the instructive and interesting labours of the Bengal Society. From this source, chiefly, the conductors of the above-mentioned selections have, during the present year, derived materials for a 3d. volume of their work; which cannot fail of being an acceptable present to the public, since the original, from its scarcity, can be but in few hands, and since the papers which it contains serve to throw considerable light on the histories of nations, their manners and customs, arts and literature. In addition to these extracts, this volume is enriched

riched with Sir William Jones's learned and elegant preface to the Institutes of Hindu Law, noticed by us under a preceding head, and Sir John Shore's Eulogium on the Life and Writings of that celebrated and much lamented character.

The "History of Great Britain from the Death of Henry VIII. to the Accession of James VI. of Scotland to the Crown of England, being a Continuation of Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain, and written on the same Plan, by James Petit Andrews, F. S. A. Vol. I." is a work which cannot fail of being acceptable to the public. Of the peculiar advantages of Dr. Henry's plan, and the importance and value of his labours, we have had repeated opportunities of giving our opinion; and that of the public was abundantly ascertained, by the reception which his volumes met with, still more flattering and encouraging as he proceeded in his design, and by the universal regret that he did not live to complete it. Mr. Andrews, who some time after the author's death announced his intention of continuing his history, afforded satisfactory evidence of his qualifications for such an undertaking, by the industry, accuracy, and judgment displayed in the two parts of the first volume of his "History of Great Britain connected with the Chronology of Europe," &c. noticed in our Register for the years 1794 and 1795. And in the work before us these qualifications have been called forth into exercise, in a manner highly honourable to the author, and highly gratifying to the reader. Equal industry with his predecessor Mr. Andrews was not obliged to exert; as his continuation relates to a period, when the revival

of learning, and the invention of the art of printing had considerably dissipated the obscurity in which the facts relating to earlier times had been involved, and greatly multiplied the sources of genuine information. From this circumstance, however, he has been enabled to introduce a greater variety of entertainment into his work: and, in the accuracy and precision with which he has ascertained and combined his numerous particulars, the impartiality and perspicuity with which he has related them, and the liberal spirit which he discovers, he has shewn himself not unworthy to tread in the steps of our veteran historian, while he has excelled him in the commendatory graces of style and language. In no instance has Mr. Andrews departed from Dr. Henry's method, excepting by adding a new article under the section of Commerce, on the subject of inventions and improvements, and a copious index, "a necessary appendage to history, although often neglected by the historian as too mechanical a task."

The next article which we shall introduce in this place is of singular importance, both as a collection of documents for future historians of this country, relative to a most interesting period, and as affording contemporary readers assistance "in judging leisurely and deliberately, how far what has been asserted by the contending parties" on the present awful political scene "is true, and how far the essential interests of the constitution are involved" in the principal measures which have been adopted. It is entitled "the History of two Acts, an Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government against treasonable and seditious

Seditious Practices and Attempts, and an Act for the more effectually preventing seditious Meetings and Assemblies, &c." In order to render this work complete in point of authority and utility, it was "thought necessary to collect from the papers on both sides, every document and evidence of a public or private nature, which seemed to tend in any important degree to throw a light upon the acts, their meaning and consequence, or upon the state of the public mind respecting them. The debates in parliament it was especially incumbent to give at great length and from the best authorities. The different reports of them have accordingly been carefully compared, that the sentiments of the several speakers might be as correctly ascertained as the circumstances of the case will admit. The proceedings of the several counties, cities, towns, boroughs, and other associations, are detailed from the attested accounts of the parties, collated with each other." Such are the contents of this history in the language of the editor; and our readers will naturally conclude, and they will do so very justly, that it will supply them with a mass of very valuable and curious information. Prefixed to this work we meet with Remarks on the State of Parties, and of Public Opinion during the Reign of his present Majesty, which are the production of a vigorous, well-informed, and dispassionate mind; and to the whole are added an Appendix and Index. One short article we cannot avoid selecting from the latter, which states, that the whole number of petitions in favour of the bills was 65, and the number of signatures, as announced on presentation, 29,922; and the number of petitions against the bills 94, and the signatures 131,284.

Major John Scott, in his "Observations on Mr. Belsham's Memoirs of the Reign of George III." has undertaken to prove, that the last-mentioned gentleman, as an historian of the proceedings of the English government in India, under the presidency of Mr. Hastings, "by artfully omitting many important facts, and by not stating a single fact fairly, fully, and truly," "is utterly unfit for the character which he has assumed; or, that he has been guilty of gross and wilful misrepresentation." In our last year's Register we introduced to our readers, "Remarks on those Passages in Mr. Belsham's Memoirs, &c. which relate to the British Government in India," which were published with the intention of substantiating the same charges. From the evidence then before us, we admitted that Mr. Belsham might have been deceived, in some points, by the documents on which he relied; but that we were not presented with sufficient data from which to draw the conclusion, that his representation of the oppressions practised upon the inhabitants of Hindostan was entirely unfounded, or that the historian deserved the severe epithets which were applied to him. After a calm and unbiassed perusal of the observations before us, we lament, that from the author's statements we are not enabled to acquit the British government of the East, or its agents, of the foul imputations which have been cast upon it, of injustice and cruelty towards those whom a superior force, and a superior policy have subjected to its dominion. Many facts, doubtless, have been exaggerated, and misstatements of circumstances conveyed to this country, which have excited in generous minds a sensibility and resentment by which they have been
led

led too indiscriminately to condemn all the principal measures of the eastern empire, and to include in their execrations almost all the leading actors on that scene. But we are fearful that, after every justificatory and palliating plea which ingenuity may suggest, much, too much of evil will be found to have preponderated in the British government of Hindostan. With respect to our author's reasonings, we must in justice acknowledge that they have considerable weight in exculpating Mr. Hastings from personal responsibility and blame, in conducting some parts of that system: and our readers are not unacquainted with the judgment pronounced by the highest tribunal in the nation, on the charges brought against him respecting his conduct of the whole. In regard to Mr. Belsham, that candour which we are proud to exercise even to a fault, rather than be chargeable with the least want of it, still forbids us to subscribe to the harsh and severe censures of our author; while at the same time we must allow, that the historian may derive benefit from the observations before us, in revising and correcting his Memoirs. We likewise have met with documents which, after our most unprejudiced enquiries, appear to us to be equally deserving of credit with his own, but at the same time materially affect the accuracy of some of major Scott's statements. We are persuaded, however, that he wrote under a conviction that he was uniformly supporting the interests of truth and justice; and that he had not the most distant intention of practising the base and contemptible arts of misrepresentation and deception.

The "Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France, with some Remarks on the French

Revolution, containing a Sketch of general History previous to the French Revolution; Remarks on the French Revolution from 1789 to 1791, and an Abridgment of the History of the Revolution from 1791 to 1796," notwithstanding its pretensions and bulk, by which it would seem to claim admission into a higher class than that of temporary pamphlets, is distinguished by little, either with respect to materials or arrangement, that can entitle it to rank among historical productions; and that little is chiefly employed in speculative or party politics. The author's principal object appears to be, to warn his countrymen against the ambitious character of French ministers, which, whether under the monarchical or republican system, he contends, invariably leads them to promote the aggrandizement of their nation by increasing the extent of their dominion. While he endeavours to impress this opinion on their minds, he shews himself lamentably deficient in an acquaintance with the recent history of that country; and, after indulging in a variety of digressions relative to continental and domestic politics, drops "the pen, full of regret for the unexpected consequences that have resulted from the French revolution."

Mr. Playfair's "History of Jacobinism, its Crimes, Cruelties, and Perfidies, &c." gives such a representation of the causes leading to, and the events accompanying the French revolution, as is adapted to exasperate the prejudices and excite the hatred of the people of this country, and to include under indiscriminate reproach the most conspicuous actors in that scene; and the friends of freedom on both sides of the water. The honours of ingenuity

genuity we can award to our author, but not those of impartiality. For, in tracing the enormities which disgraced the revolutionary struggles to their proper source, he overlooks the more obvious and natural causes, and attributes them to the influence of a number of abstract propositions, which it has become fashionable among the adherents of our present administration to endeavour to expose to contempt; he connects those consequences with principles, which can in justice be ascribed only to their abuse; and he confounds together, as partakers in equal culpability and guilt, the leading men of the different republican parties, whether Girondists or Mountaineers. In his reflections on the friends of liberty in this country, whom he denominates factious philosophers, political divines, and reforming philanthropists, he is equally illiberal and injurious; and he is for introducing such measures for the suppression of affiliated clubs, and the free discussion of political principles, as are totally incongruous with the spirit of the British constitution. At the same time he is guilty of the inconsistency of occasionally avowing those liberal principles, and granting those concessions to the advocates for reform, which are at variance with the main design of his work, and give it a very strange and motley appearance.

Mr. Perry's "Historical Sketch of the French Revolution, commencing with its pre-disposing Causes, and carried on to the Acceptation of the Constitution in 1795," in 2 vols. presents the reader with a connected narrative of the principal transactions which took place during the eventful period mentioned in the title-page, for the materials of which he is indebted, partly to the

labours of preceding writers, and partly to his own observations and enquiries during his residence on the interesting scene. This author's political views and opinions differ in the extreme from those of the last-mentioned writer; and, as may be expected, his colouring of events, and elucidations of causes and consequences are equally different. We cannot class him, however, among the most unbiassed and impartial historians of the French revolution. "With respect to the literary execution of this work, the author lays no claim to excellence; he considered the utility of it to be founded on earliness and expedition;" and "he trusts he may, without vanity, say, that with more leisure it would have been less imperfect." We will do him the justice to add, that he does not appear to have assumed too much in the concluding part of the apology just quoted.

Miss Williams's IVth volume of "Letters containing a Sketch of the Politics of France, from the 31st of May 1793, to the 28th of July 1794, and of the Scenes which have passed in the Prisons of Paris," is equally important and interesting with the preceding, and extends her animated account of the revolution, and of the singular circumstances attending it, to the establishment of the new constitution in 1795. It presents the reader with particulars of the retributive justice inflicted on some of the principal agents in promoting anarchy and carnage, which cannot but be gratifying to his feelings; and several affecting and beautiful narratives the result of which will compensate him for the painful emotions unavoidably excited in the perusal of them. It contains, likewise, a narrative of the victories of the French armies, drawn up from materials furnished

by such as had a personal share in them, which deserve to be compared with the accounts published by the coalesced armies, by every person who wishes to obtain a knowledge of the exact truth; and some striking anecdotes relative to the shocking Quiberon business, authenticated by the celebrated de Lille, who commanded one of the republican columns.

The favourable reception which Miss Williams's Letters on the French Revolution have met with, and the well known impression they have made on the minds of their readers, appear to have suggested the idea of the next publication in our catalogue, of a very opposite political complexion and tendency. It is entitled "a Residence in France during the Years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795; described in a Series of Letters from an English Lady: with general and incidental Remarks on the French Character and Manners. *Prepared for the press* by John Gifford, Esq." in 2 vols. This work, which is not ill written, comes before the public in such a questionable shape, that the most candid reader must hesitate at admitting its genuineness. A comparison, likewise, of the information which it includes of facts and events stated to have taken place during the revolutionary movements, with the accounts of preceding writers of character and credit, will, in many instances, greatly affect its authenticity. These circumstances detract much from the value of whatever the letters present to us wearing the marks of originality, and lessen the effect of the humorous or satirical scenes in which they describe pictures of French customs and manners. The obvious objects which the editor had in view in *preparing* these letters for the press were, to

expose to obloquy and detestation the principles, and leading actors of the French revolution, together with its English advocates, and to convince his countrymen, that "the old monarchical constitution of France, with very slight meliorations, was every way better calculated for the national character, than a mere popular form of government." What portion of argument and liberality he has displayed in endeavouring to accomplish the former, we leave his readers to judge: and with respect to the latter, as this is the age of experiment, they will probably reply, **WE SHALL SEE.**

The "Historical Epochs of the French Revolution, translated from the French of H. Goudemetz, a French Clergyman Emigrant in England, dedicated, by permission, to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Rev. D. Randolph, &c." are stated by the editor to contain "a faithful outline of an interesting and momentous period of history," from which the reader "will see how naturally each error produced its corresponding misfortune." They consist of facts, related without any comment, excepting what may be implied in expressions of resentment against the conductors of the revolution, and are, with a few exceptions and omissions, accurate and authentic. That part which will prove not the least useful to future historians, is subjoined to a new edition, which is added to the work, of a separate treatise entitled "the Judgment and Execution of Louis XVI. King of France," comprizing "a list of the members of the national convention, who voted for and against his death; and the names of many of the most considerable sufferers in the course of the French revolution, distinguished according to their principles."

The "History of the Conspiracy of Maximilian Robespierre, translated from the French of M. Montjoye," consists rather of eloquent and animated declamation against that once popular demagogue, and vivid colouring of his horrid atrocities, than of that careful selection of facts, and calm investigation into their causes, which are necessary to entitle it to the character of history. If the author's representations were accurate, the existence of such a monster as Robespierre, without talents, without pretensions to any virtue, disgusting in his person, brutal in his manners, and despised rather than courted by the different parties with whom at different times he united himself, connected with the fact of his rise to unlimited power over a great and mighty nation, would constitute a more inexplicable enigma than is presented in the whole history of human society. Such representations, therefore, are calculated to excite suspicions of invention, or blind indiscriminate resentment, and must materially affect the credit of any narrative in which they are inserted. From the access which we had to better sources of information, we were enabled to draw a more natural portrait of the famous conspirator, in our British and Foreign History for the year 1794. Another circumstance which detracts from the value of M. Montjoye's work is, the slight and contemptuous manner in which he passes over the destruction of the Girondist party, so essential to the tyrannical views of Robespierre, and so fatal to many of the first characters in France for talents and virtue. This can be attributed only to his prejudices as a royalist, which unfitted him for the office of a dispassionate historian.

The "Memoirs for the History of the War of La Vendée, &c. translated from the French of Louis-Marie Turreau, Commander in Chief of the Western army," appear to contain a faithful narrative of the principal events which took place in that disastrous intestine war, from its origin till the 13th Floreal of the second year of the French republic; and an explication of the various circumstances that contributed to its prolongation, to rouse the religious prejudices of the people, and to extend the despotic influence of their chiefs. To the future historian of the French revolution it will afford very desirable aid.

The "History of the Campaigns of General Pichegru, containing the Operations of the Armies of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuse, from March 1794, to March 1795, &c. translated from the French of Citizen David," is highly interesting, both as it details an apparently well authenticated account of some of the most brilliant exploits which have distinguished the most extraordinary war that has occurred in the annals of mankind; and as it illustrates the new tactics by which, in union with the enthusiasm inspired by the love of liberty, that commander, with raw troops and striplings, disgraced the best generals of Europe, of the old school, and ruined the most numerous and best appointed armies ever brought into the field. The anecdotes, likewise, and the memoirs which it includes of generals Pichegru, Jourdan, Moreau, &c. &c. will be gratifying to the reader.

The "Journal kept in the British Army, from the Landing of the Troops under the Command of the Earl of Moira at Ostend, in June

1794, to their Return to England in the following year," claims no pretensions to literary merit, but professes to lay before the reader a faithful and accurate relation of facts, which may "give some idea of the various scenes which occur in the military life, and of which those who spend their days at home in ease and peace can have but a very faint conception." Of the uncommon hardships and miseries sustained by the British troops during the latter part of the period comprehended in this journal, we inserted some "heart-rending" particulars in our last volume, taken from the uncontradicted account of a British officer. The author of this treatise corroborates many of these particulars in a plain unvarnished narration, and adds several minute circumstances that will fill the humane mind with horror at the calamities attendant on war.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith's "Narrative of the Loss of the Catharine, Venus, and Piedmont transports, and the Thomas, Golden Grove, and Folus Merchant Ships, near Weymouth," during the dreadful storm in November 1795, which dispersed and shattered the fleet under the command of admiral Christian, was drawn up from information taken on the spot, and contains an elegant detail of truly melancholy and affecting circumstances, some of which are not generally known. It has been published, with the humane design of contributing to the relief of an unfortunate survivor from one of the wrecks, and her infant child.

"The Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly in Jamaica, in regard to the Maroon Negroes," &c. consist of official papers, published with the design of vindicating the British government from

the imputations of breach of faith and cruelty in their conduct towards the Maroons. Prefixed to these proceedings, we meet with an introductory account, containing observations on the "Dispositions, Character, Manners, and Habits of Life of the Maroons, and a Detail of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the late War between those People and the White Inhabitants," partly compiled from Long's History of Jamaica, and partly original, from the pen of Mr. Edwards, author of the "History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies." This part of the work displays considerable information; and considerable ingenuity in defending or apologizing for the conduct of the assembly. The subject was undoubtedly deserving of investigation; and Mr. Edwards has certainly bestowed considerable pains upon it. We are, however, of opinion, that there was no necessity to introduce the subject of the slave trade into this publication; and we cannot acquit our author of gross mistakes (to use no harsher phrase) in his statement of the proceedings of the Old Jewry Society, instituted for the purpose of obtaining the abolition of negro slavery.

To the vile system of negro-slavery, and its pernicious effects on morals and manners, are we in a great measure to attribute the horrors described in "a Narrative of the Revolt and Insurrection of the French Inhabitants in the Island of Grenada, by an Eye-witness." This revolt, according to the author of the narrative before us, originated in the men of colour, generally the ignorant and vicious offspring of a licentious intercourse between the whites and blacks.

was instigated by the French commissioners at Guadaloupe; was supported by the greater part of the French white inhabitants; and was attended by plunder, devastation, and massacre, in their most frightful forms. The author, however, mentions one circumstance which, in justice to the French commissioners, ought not to be concealed; viz. that they endeavoured to prevent the massacre which took place, and that the officer whom they sent for that purpose, when he found that he had arrived too late, "reprehended, in the strongest terms of disapprobation and abhorrence," the cruelties of the insurgents. He mentions, likewise, another circumstance, which, although it cannot palliate, will in some measure account for the savage barbarities which they practised so early in the revolt; and that is the issuing of a proclamation, by the president of the council, offering a reward "of twenty joes" for "each head" of the rebels.

The author of "a Brief Enquiry into the Causes of, and Conduct pursued by the Colonial Government, for quelling the Insurrection in Grenada," &c. speaks of the circumstance mentioned at the conclusion of the last article, as the first fatal measure which, being quickly followed "by other unnecessary and intemperate acts, had full effect" in producing the subsequent calamities. If the representations which he gives are just (a point which we cannot take upon ourselves to decide), while we are forced to execrate the conduct of the insurgents, we are obliged at the same time to condemn the impolicy and misconduct of the colonial administration. In accounting for the disaffection of the French and men of colour to the

British government, and their known disposition to act against it on the first emergency, he asserts, that since the restoration of the island to Great Britain in the year 1784, the British born subjects opposed the conferring on the ceded inhabitants the franchises granted them by the crown after the peace of Paris, and for a considerable time divested them of all political rights as British subjects. "I believe I might add," says the author, "of all civil ones also: that their churches and glebe lands, of which they held the undisturbed possession for upwards of twenty years under the British government, were now taken from them; a measure which of all those carried into effect to irritate and distress them, was the most severely felt;" and that a gentleman "who had been an implacable and active enemy of the adopted subjects for near thirty years, had obtained the appointment of lieutenant-governor, and was the resident commander in chief." We wish, for the honour of the British name, to see these assertions and representations refuted.

"The Chronologist of the present War, containing a faithful Series of the Events which have occurred in Europe, from the Commencement of the Year 1792, to the End of the Year 1795," &c. will be useful to those whose minds are solely intent on facts, as a book of reference, to ascertain the dates of all the memorable incidents within the space of time mentioned in the title.

The "Chronological Tables, beginning with the Reign of Solomon, and ending with the Death of Alexander the Great, with a Prefatory Discourse, by the late Thomas Falconer of Chester, Esq."

were presented to the university of Oxford, by the author's brother, Dr. Falconer, of Bath, and are issued to the world from the Clarendon press. The design of the author was, to correct the mistakes of several writers of distinguished abilities and learning, in adjusting the reigns of Jewish kings to those of eastern monarchs, and in filling up the dark interval between the cessation of the Jewish history, and the certainty of that of Greece. In accomplishing his plan, besides the rich stores of biblical literature, he has had recourse to the collateral assistance of the era of Nabonassar; and where historical evidence was wanting, he has admitted analogical reasonings, marking the facts deduced from them with an asterisk, to distinguish them from those which are grounded on direct evidence, and offering his calculations to excite, rather than satisfy enquiry. In his prefatory discourse, from which we have selected the foregoing particulars, he has explained the arrangement, and illustrated the utility of his Tables, while he has displayed much learning, elaborate research, and a sound judgment, in settling disputed chronological topics. The whole work promises to be of material service in elucidating ancient profane, as well as scripture history.

Mr. Walker's "Analysis of Researches into the Origin and Progress of Historical Time, from the Creation to the Accession of C. Cæsar," &c. is published as an introductory specimen of a larger work, in which he expects, on the basis of the Hebrew computation, in connection with astronomical calculation, the mean quantity of generations proportionate to the standard of natural life in the several ages of the world, magistracies,

national epochs, &c. to establish a more just and accurate system of chronology than has hitherto appeared. We cannot analyse the author's analysis; nor can we be so rash as to pronounce peremptorily on the importance and value of his labours from the specimen before us. His undertaking certainly merits encouragement; and, we have no doubt, will prove advantageous to the interests of knowledge, and biblical criticism. But we cannot say that his cursory strictures on former writers are always very weighty, or very decorous. Those on Mr. Falconer's Tables are particularly exceptionable.

Mr. Payne's treatise entitled, "Geographical Extracts, forming a general View of Earth and Nature in Four Parts, illustrated with Maps," consists of an instructive and entertaining selection of materials, from the best sources of information, partly historical, partly geographical, and partly scientific, judiciously arranged, and formed into a generally uniform and pleasing style. To young persons it deserves to be recommended as a useful companion in the course of their geographical studies: and to readers in general, who have not opportunity or leisure for consulting a variety of treatises on the phenomena and productions of our globe, it will prove an interesting compilation.

In our list of the Theological publications of the year 1788, we inserted an account of Mr. now Dr. Ryan's "History of the Effects of Religion upon Mankind," which it was the author's avowed intention to continue in a succeeding volume. That volume, which bears the date of 1790, we have now to announce;

announce; and we do so in this place, on account of its appertaining more properly to the head of Ecclesiastical History than that of Theology. With respect to the character of that continuation, we observe in general, that it bears similar marks with the former of the author's erudition, and diligence of enquiry, and that, on the whole, it is well adapted in point of matter, arrangement, and style, to the laudable design which he had in view. Exceptions we found ourselves obliged to make to some of Dr. Ryan's representations and opinions: particularly when he employs his pen in observations on the character of the Puritans, and their persecutions in the reign of queen Elizabeth, in which he loses sight of candour and impartiality; and when he attempts to prove, that the persecutions in general, which have disgraced the Christian world, are to be traced to civil causes, and not to religious bigotry. The volume before us contains a supplement to the preceding, consisting of additional historical facts to support the author's reasoning in his first four sections; and four other sections, on the following topics: the erroneous and superstitious Practices of Christians not to be imputed to Christianity; the Enthusiasm of the Heathens; the Origin, Progress, and Influence of Fanaticism, in the Time of the Crusades, and in the Sixteenth Century, with the Effects of it in England in the Seventeenth, on the Government of the Kingdoms, on the Manners of the Fanatics, on Literature, and on the Religion and Morals of the English Nation; the real Causes of several Persecutions, Heresies, Controversies, Wars, and Massacres im-

puted to Christianity by Shaftsbury, Voltaire, Rousseau, Hume, Gibbon, and others; and a Refutation of the Objections which have been urged against the Utility of Religion.

In our Register for the year 1794, we introduced to our readers the first vol. of Mr. Milner's "History of the Church of Christ," written on a new plan, of which we endeavoured to lay before them a general idea, as well as of the religious opinions and partialities chiefly prevalent in the work. During the last year a second vol. of that work was published, "containing the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," which is written in the same manner with the first, and will be particularly interesting to those whose sentiments relative to Christian doctrines and church discipline agree with the author's. For it contains an ingenious defence of ecclesiastical establishments; Mr. Milner's history of the Arian controversy; his history of Pelagianism; and his account, at considerable length, of the writings and labours of Augustine, the great champion of the doctrines of grace.

The first work which calls for our notice among the Biographical publications of the year, is "the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, by William Roscoe," in 2 vols. 4to. In order to supply himself with materials for his undertaking, Mr. Roscoe had recourse not only to the labours of preceding biographers, historians, and critics, but, through the medium of a friend, to the Laurentinian and Riccardi libraries, at Florence, whence he was enabled to derive much original and interesting information. We shall endeavour to lay

before our readers a brief syllabus of the instructive and curious matter of which these volumes consist. The whole work is divided into ten chapters; of which each volume contains five, with a copious appendix of historical and literary documents. The first chapter presents us with a sketch of the history of Florence to the period when the house of Medici acquired a preponderating influence in the state, and the life of Cosmo de' Medici, the grandfather of Lorenzo. The second chapter is employed in describing the earlier years of the life of Lorenzo, his promising talents and accomplishments, and the administration of his father Piero until his death. In the third chapter we meet with an account of the political state of Italy at the period when Lorenzo was called to the administration of the affairs of the republic, of the wealth and commercial concerns of the house of Medici, and of the prevalence of the Platonic philosophy in Italy, together with much interesting biographical, political, and literary information. The fourth chapter develops the origin, the circumstances, and the consequences of the memorable but atrocious conspiracy of the Pazzi. The fifth chapter, which concludes the first volume, is devoted to the studies of Lorenzo, criticisms on his poetry, and on Italian poetry in general. Mr. Roscoe's second volume commences with the sixth chapter, which describes the measures pursued by Lorenzo in order to preserve the balance of power among the individual governments of Italy, and the independence of Florence, together with the great reputation which he enjoyed throughout Eu-

rope. The progress of literature, the exertions of Lorenzo for its encouragement, the estimation in which learned men were held at that period, and particulars concerning some of the most distinguished of them, are the subjects of the seventh chapter. In the eighth we are presented with the domestic character of Lorenzo, with an account of his villas, of his manner of spending his time with his literary friends, of his attention to the welfare of his children, and other interesting topics. The ninth chapter details the progress of the arts, from their early dawn in Italy to the commencement of the age of Leo X. In the tenth chapter Mr. Roscoe gives an account of the death, and a review of the character of Lorenzo, of the expulsion of his family from Florence, and of the varying condition of the republic until its extinction by the revolution which delivered it up, "a rich and unexpected prize," to Cosmo de' Medici, the first grand duke, who was a descendant from John, the brother of the first Cosmo. From the particulars which we have enumerated, our readers will perceive, that the work before us abounds in a rich variety of instruction and entertainment: that it comprehends a very important period in the history of Europe, and a still more important one in the history of literature and science. On the several subjects which have employed Mr. Roscoe's pen, he has discovered very extensive, and much novel information, together with that correctness of judgment, that impartiality and good taste, which secure to him a very high rank among modern historians. The

sentiments, likewise, which pervade his work, are uniformly favourable to the interests of virtue and liberty. His style is unaffected, perspicuous, and elegant.

The "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio, in which are incorporated Translations of his principal Letters, by Charles Burney, Mus. D. F. R. S." in 3 vols. cannot but prove highly gratifying at a period when a taste for Italian poetry and music is deemed one of the indispensable requisites for an accomplished man of fashion. Independently of this circumstance, however, the sterling merits of Metastasio as a dramatic poet and critic cannot fail of rendering them interesting to every person conversant in the beauties of polite literature. Dr. Burney's peculiar qualifications for such an undertaking are so well known, that it is entirely unnecessary for us to enlarge on them. The materials for this work were collected by him at Vienna, and in Italy, partly from the biographies of preceding writers, partly from the communications of the intimate friends of our bard, and partly from the posthumous edition of his letters. Indeed the greater part of the volumes before us, after we are presented with a preliminary account of the earlier incidents of the poet's life, consists of a translation of those letters, intermixed with a judicious connecting narrative illustrative of the circumstances to which they refer, and various pleasing digressions relative to his own life, or those of his friends and correspondents. The letters above mentioned, in the words of one of his Italian biographers, "discover his most intimate attachments, his most secret thoughts, his favourite opinions,

and the history of a man who was all heart and all virtue." Dr. Burney's translation of them is accurate and elegant. The work before us having been undertaken as a kind of supplement to the general History of Music, the musical reader is presented, at the close of the third volume, with some valuable reflections by the author, concerning each class of Metastasio's poetical productions for music; to which he has added an account of his "Abstract of Aristotle's Art of Poetry, with Remarks," which was his sole work in prose, and, being posthumous, but little known.

The next biographical article which we have to introduce contains Memoirs of the Life, and is prefixed to "the Works of Anthony Raphael Mengs, first Painter to his Catholic Majesty Charles III. translated from the Italian published by the Chevalier Don Joseph Nicholas D'Azara, Spanish Minister at Rome, in 3 vols." The author of these memoirs is an enthusiastic admirer of the talents and genius of the artist whom he celebrates. He speaks of him as having "appeared to the world to re-establish the arts;" and adds, "if the transmigration could be admitted, one might say that some genius of Greece, in its most florid state, had transfused itself in him; such was the profundity of his ideas, the elevation of his invention, and the simplicity and candour of his manners." And his translator mentions his having "visited the capital of Spain, where the paintings of Mengs appear in all their greatness; where not to admire him is almost a violence against church and state; an enthusiasm supported not by the wild rumour and folly of a day, but authorised by men of undoubted

undoubted taste and knowledge in the profession." It is not our province to decide on the artist's claim to such superlative praise, and on the judgments of "the swarm of critics of every kind" which his works have produced. Among our selections under the head of Biographical Anecdotes, and Characters, we have extracted such particulars from the memoirs of his life, as, we doubt not, will afford entertainment to our readers, and excite their inclination to peruse the whole. These memoirs are followed by a list of the paintings done in Spain by Mengs, as well for the royal family as for private persons. His works collected in the volumes before us consist of Reflections upon Beauty and Taste in Painting, in three parts; Reflections upon the three great Painters, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian, and upon the Ancients, in five parts; a Fragment of a Discourse upon the Means of making the Polite Arts flourish in Spain; Letters; Reflections on Style, Colouring, Invention, Composition, &c.; Description of the principal Paintings in the Royal Palace at Madrid; a Letter on the Rise, Progress, and Decay of the Art of Designing; Memoirs concerning the Life and Works of Correggio, with Reflections and Annotations; a Discourse upon the Academy of Fine Arts at Madrid; and Practical Lessons upon Painting. The translation appears to be the work of a foreign amateur, who is not perfectly master of the English idiom.

"The Life of Robert Grosseteste, the celebrated Bishop of Lincoln, by Samuel Pegge, LL.D. &c. with an Account of the Bishop's Works, and an Appendix," is a curious and interesting piece of biography.

The learned and industrious author has taken uncommon pains in collecting and appreciating the materials which relate to the character and conduct of a prelate, who was one of the most noted men of the age in which he lived, for abilities, learning, and virtue, and one of the boldest opposers, within the pale of the catholic church, of the scandalous abuses and oppressions of the court of Rome. He was, however, at the same time attached, even to bigotry, to the doctrines and "orthodox traditions of the fathers, and the decretal constitution of the holy see," and "soars so high," says our author, "in his ideas concerning the privileges and prerogatives of the clerical order, that he even leaves archbishop Becket far behind him." Dr. Pegge, while he bestows due praise on the commendable part of the bishop's character, does not sacrifice his "own notions and sentiments to a blind indiscriminate admiration of the prelate," but exercises impartiality united with candour, in pointing out what was exceptionable in him, and accompanies his narrative with judicious and useful reflections. In enumerating the works of the bishop, he has arranged the whole, whether edited or inedited, under their proper heads, and very honestly acknowledges, that the greatest part of his labours on divine subjects, sermons, commentaries, dissertations, &c. would prove of very little service in these far more enlightened times.

"The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert, and Dr. Robert Sanderson, by Isaac Walton, with Notes, and the Life of the Author, by Thomas Zouch, A. M." call for our notice solely.

on account of the new matter which has been introduced by the present editor. In his life of Walton, Mr. Zouch has collected whatever information he could obtain relative to a worthy man, and industrious tradesman, who, on his retirement from business, cultivated the acquaintance of some of the eminent characters of his age, and drew up, among other articles, the memoirs mentioned in the title; but who is more extensively known as the author of the "Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation," than as a biographer. We have found ourselves, however, at a loss to discover in the particulars of his life, the peculiar merit which entitles his general or his literary character to the distinction which Mr. Zouch's partiality is willing to confer upon him. The notes to Walton's lives consist of biographical sketches, critical remarks, and illustrative annotations, which are the result of much learned industry, and will afford the reader information and amusement. But of the tendency of some of them we cannot approve, as they are calculated to excite and exasperate the animosities of religionists of different persuasions, and of political partizans, rather than to promote a spirit of mutual candour and liberality. This work is recommended by elegance of typography, and eight well-executed engravings.

The next publication which we have to notice, from the celebrity of the author whose remains it presents to the world, cannot fail of being highly interesting to the reader: it consists of the "Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq. with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, composed by himself; illustrated from his Let-

ters, with occasional Notes and Remarks, by John Lord Sheffield," in 2 vols. 4to. The most important part of these volumes are the Memoirs of Mr. Gibbon's Life and Writings, which he "seems to have projected with peculiar solicitude and attention, and of which he left six different sketches in his own hand writing, from all which these memoirs have been carefully selected and put together." In the long extract which we have given from them among our Biographical Anecdotes and Characters, our readers will meet with a specimen of the entertainment they afford. They contain what the author intended to be a faithful delineation of "the series of his thoughts and actions;" in which he does not appear to have concealed any thing that could serve to illustrate the principal outlines of his character, or the course of studies by which he acquired his distinguished literary reputation. But, from the solicitude and attention above alluded to, they are rendered too laboured and artificial, and present us with few of those familiar incidents and minute particularities which distinguish man from man. They exhibit him, however, as a scholar, in those points of view which reflect the highest honour on his literary diligence and perseverance, and hold him out as an admirable model for studious young men. And they give us a pleasing picture of those amiable manners, which rendered his intimacy so desirable to his private friends, and in the intercourse of polished society. In the series of his familiar letters, during a correspondence with different persons through a period of thirty seven years, the qualities of his heart appear to eminent advantage. But the politician will not be able to gather

gather from these remains any proofs of the philosophy of his views, or of the firmness and consistency of his character, with respect to the great principles of liberty. Nor will the divine be led, from his account of his religious vacillations, till he sunk into what is falsely called philosophic indifference, his incidental sarcastic remarks when the subject of religion is introduced, or from his ecclesiastical anecdotes, to pronounce him accurately informed, or capable of deciding with impartiality in his province. These volumes, in addition to the author's memoirs and letters, contain interesting abstracts of reading, with reflections upon men and books, selected from the journal of his actions, studies, and opinions; a collection of his remarks, and detached pieces on different subjects; outlines of the history of the world, from the ninth century to the fifteenth, a juvenile sketch; republications of some of his pieces, critical, apologetical, and political; a dissertation on *L'Homme au Masque de Fer*; *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, of which we have given a specimen among our selections; and an address to the public, on the improvement of English history.

The "Memoirs of a late eminent Advocate, and Member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, by William Melmoth, Esq." are an elegant tribute of respect to the memory of the author's father, who appears to have filled his station in society with credit to his professional character, and with great honour to himself as a man and as a Christian. The subject of them was the author of a very popular work, entitled "The great Importance of a religious Life," and of some able discussions

on the lawfulness of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy after the era of the revolution in 1688, which are inserted in these memoirs in the form of letters.

The "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson, late Minister of the Dissenting Congregation in St. Andrew's Parish, Cambridge, by George Dyer, late of Emanuel College, Cambridge," contain interesting particulars of a singular but very worthy man, who, by the exertions of an energetic mind, and laborious study, raised himself from a very humble situation to considerable literary eminence, and became distinguished among the advocates of civil and religious freedom. On the importance and value of his writings, we have had frequent opportunities of expressing our opinion; and they are too well known to require our enumeration. Mr. Dyer, from his literary talents, with which the public are not unacquainted, from his habits of strict intimacy with Mr. Robinson, from a considerable similarity of sentiment, and an unaffected simplicity and candour, was well qualified to become his biographer; and his memoirs will be read with pleasure by those who entertain very different opinions in theological and ecclesiastical matters. They do not consist of an unbroken narrative, but are intermixed with digressions arising out of the subject, copious extracts from the writings of Mr. Robinson, and critical remarks and reflections by the author. "But," says he, "my eye has been fixed on Robert Robinson; a man who possessed strong characteristic features; who, in his manners, was peculiar; in his religion, a little inconstant, perhaps; in his pursuits, a great manufacturer of varieties."

rieties. As he diversifies his pursuits, I diversify my chapters. The only questions with me of importance are, have I, on the whole, preserved the truth of character, and yet maintained something like unity of design?" We think that he has; and conclude by observing, that his volume, independently of what is appropriate to the life and writings of Mr. Robinson, contains some curious documents relative to the history of modern non-conformists.

"The Life of the Rev. William Romaine, M.A. &c. by William Bromley Cadogan, M.A." relates what particulars the author was able to collect respecting a gentleman, who for many years sustained a considerable reputation among the Calvinistic members of the church of England, and who was zealous in propagating, by numerous publications, as well as incessant pulpit exertions, what he conceived to be the true orthodox system of doctrine and discipline. It contains few facts, however, that will prove interesting, excepting to those who have adopted a similar mode of thinking with Mr. Romaine: and to persons of that description, the biographer's manner, as well as matter, will prove highly acceptable.

The fourth volume of "Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, chiefly of the present and two preceding Centuries," maintains the same character with the former volumes, noticed in our last year's Register, as an entertaining and interesting publication. It discovers equal variety in the extracts from old and scarce treatises, and at least a proportionate share of original information.

From the title of "The Biographical Mirrour, or Connoisseur's

Repository, comprizing a Series of Antient and Modern English Portraits of Eminent and Distinguished Persons, from original Pictures and Drawings," our readers will perceive that it is a work belonging rather to the fine arts than to the province of biography. The portraits, which are fifty in number, possess considerable merit, and are accompanied with brief and well-written memoirs of the persons whom they represent. These memoirs, as it may be expected, are chiefly compilations.

In the remarks in our last volume on bishop Hurd's "Discourse by Way of Preface to the Quarto Edition of Bishop Warburton's Works," we freely censured that author's evident want of candour and justice, when appreciating the characters and labours of some of Dr. Warburton's contemporaries, and literary opponents. During the present year, an elegant and masterly defence of two great men to whom Dr. Hurd had not done justice, has been published in "A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Worcester, occasioned by his Strictures on Archbishop Secker and Bishop Lowth, in his Life, &c. by a Member of the University of Oxford." Besides the learning and taste which the author discovers in refuting the statements of Dr. Hurd, and in supporting the claims of the learned prelates to the rank in which they have hitherto stood in the estimation of the public, his remarks and admonitions are uniformly candid, liberal, and gentlemanly.

In our Register for the year 1793, our readers will find, among the articles under the head of Antiquities, an account of Mr. Chevalier's "Description of the Plain of Troy, &c." and of the principal topics which the author undertook to

to discuss. During the present year, a veteran in antiquarian lore, Mr. Bryant, has published "Observations" on that work, in which his erudition and ingenuity are employed in controverting the accuracy of Mr. Chevalier's classical geography; and in maintaining, that the conical mounds, which, in the opinion of the latter, are the identical tombs raised over the ashes of the heroes of the Trojan war, are, in reality, ancient Thracian barrows, founded prior to the era of Troy. Of the force and perspicuity of his arguments, we must leave the reader to judge from the perusal of the author's treatise.

The last-mentioned work was soon followed by a more extensive "Dissertation concerning the War of Troy, and the Expedition of the Grecians, as described by Homer; shewing that no such Expedition was ever undertaken, and that no such City of Phrygia existed, by Jacob Bryant." In the progress of his dissertation, the author endeavours to support his curious hypothesis, partly by reasoning on the ground of what he deems to be probabilities, and partly by an appeal to history. We do not conceive, however, that he will meet with many readers who will not, in the first instance, dispute his probabilities, and, of course, refuse to subscribe to the legitimacy of his conclusions from them. The arguments which he deduces from history are, the inconsistencies and contradictory accounts of different writers, which certainly throw considerable darkness on particular circumstances; and the opinions of some philosophers who lived several centuries after the generally received era of the Trojan war, and even after the time of Homer, who considered his poem to be an

allegorical description of virtue and justice. But we cannot admit that these arguments invalidate the grounds which we have for believing, that the leading events in the poet's representation are founded in truth, especially as their reality is supported by the evidence of the earliest and most authentic historians, without reducing the whole of historic testimony to uncertainty and fable. Were Mr. Bryant's hypothesis to obtain credit, we fear that the conclusions drawn from it would materially injure the evidence for the truth of revelation, which he intended to serve by this investigation.

Mr. Coxe's "Letter on the Secret Tribunals of Westphalia, addressed to Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke," contains a collection of authorities, from authors of undoubted credit, to prove the actual existence, for a considerable period, of that abominable system of jurisprudence in Germany, which has been portrayed in terrific colours in the novel entitled *Herman of Unna*. It is a curious and interesting publication, and will be found useful in illustrating the history of legislation on the continent, from the time of Charlemagne to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Brydson's "Summary View of Heraldry, in Reference to the Usages of Chivalry, and the general Economy of the Feudal System, &c." is a performance on a dry, and, to the majority of readers, uninviting subject, which the author has contrived to recommend to their attention by a judicious intermixture of information and entertainment. It is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, Mr. Brydson gives an account of the structure of the feudal system; of the

the origin and progress of political and ecclesiastical rank; and of the origin, spirit, discipline, laws, &c. of chivalry. The second chapter treats of the history of tournaments; of the object, regulations, materials, &c. of armorial ensigns; and of the history of the croisades, as far as heraldry is concerned. In the third chapter we have an account of the manners of chivalry; of the armorial bearings of knights-errant; of the symbolical meaning of those bearings; and of the origin of the arms of particular families and states. In the fourth chapter, we find a discussion of the form, and various modes in which arms are exhibited, &c. &c. together with a recapitulation, and general observations respecting the organic or symbolical part of heraldry. The fifth chapter is employed on the political department of heraldry, comprehending all the distinctions of ranks belonging to the feudal system, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; and the present state and acceptance of some of the inferior distinctions and titles derived from chivalry. The sixth chapter contains a dissertation on the distinction of ranks in society, which the author conceives to be unavoidable and necessary; and a recapitulation of the advantages arising from the feudal government, and the spirit of chivalry. To these chapters the author has added an appendix, describing the distinction of ranks included in the British constitution, with the different privileges annexed to each. To the privileged orders this treatise cannot fail of being acceptable; and to readers in general, who either lament or rejoice that the days of chivalry are over, it will afford instruction, and amusement, as it brings into a small

compass what is most material in a science intimately connected with the past history of Europe. The author's style and language, while they are appropriate, are, in general, correct, perspicuous, and pleasing.

During the present year, a most impudent and immoral literary forgery was attempted to be practised upon the public, which was contrived with a degree of industry and art that served, for a short time, completely to impose upon credulous and hasty inquirers, and to promise much pecuniary advantage to the projectors. According to reports and advertisements, which were very generally circulated, a Mr. Samuel Ireland was said, by a combination of mysterious circumstances, to have obtained possession of a number of legal instruments and papers which had belonged to Shakspeare; comprehending letters, dramatic pieces, &c. in the hand-writing of that bard, and other curious documents in the hand-writing of queen Elizabeth, the earl of Southampton, and other patrons and contemporaries of Shakspeare. Specimens of these papers were submitted to the examination of the curious, and obtained (we are as sorry to relate the fact as the parties concerned must now be ashamed of their having been so easily duped) certificates from many learned and respectable characters, containing an avowal of their perfect conviction of the genuineness of the manuscripts. Fortified by their opinion, Mr. Ireland published a costly volume of "Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, under the Hand and Seal of William Shakspeare; including the Tragedy of King Lear, and a small Fragment of Hamlet, from the original Manuscripts," illustrated

illustrated with twenty-six engravings, in order to furnish the public with sufficient proofs of the genuineness, and to impress them with the importance of the treasure in reserve. Before the appearance of this volume, the more cautious and intelligent examiners of the specimens, without any scruple or hesitation, declared their conviction that the whole was an attempt at a most scandalous and gross imposition. Soon after the appearance of the volume before us, the whole fabric of delusion "melted into air, into thin air." The internal evidence was of itself sufficient to satisfy the true "scholar, the man of taste, the antiquarian, the herald, the paper-maker, &c." and the less informed had their curiosity on the subject satisfied, or their credulity disabused, by the publications to which it speedily gave rise.

The first of these, in point of importance, though not in the order of time, was "an Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Papers, &c. attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry Earl of Southampton; illustrated by Fac-similes of the genuine Hand-writing of that Nobleman, and of her Majesty, a new Fac-Simile of the Hand-writing of Shakspeare, never before exhibited, and other authentic Documents; by Edmund Malone, Esq." Of this very able performance, it is sufficient to say, that it is a masterly piece of argument and criticism; and that the author may congratulate himself and the public on the satisfaction which he has been enabled to offer to the injured manes of Shakspeare, by vindicating him from all this "imputed trash," and rescuing him "from the hands of a bungling impostor,

by proving all these manuscripts to be the true and genuine offspring of consummate ignorance and unparalleled audacity."

In Mr. Boaden's "Letter to George Stevens, Esq. containing a Critical Examination of the Papers, &c." we have another satisfactory detection of the forgery; and also in Mr. Waldron's "Free Reflections on Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, &c." In justice to both these authors it should be mentioned, that although at first they had been imposed upon, with many other literary characters not so ingenuous as themselves, their calm reflections had corrected their judgments, and they had published their remarks before the appearance of Mr. Malone's complete death-blow to the imposture.

The "Original Letters, &c. of Sir John Falstaff and his Friends, now first made public by a Gentleman, a Descendant of Dame Quickly, from Genuine Manuscripts which have been in the Possession of the Quickly Family near 400 Years," consist of humorous and ingenious imitations of the language, and descriptions of the manners of some of the comic characters drawn by Shakspeare, well adapted to expose to ridicule "Master Samuel Irelaunde," to whom they are dedicated.

For some short time after the appearance of the above-named Master Ireland's "Miscellaneous Papers, &c." efforts were made to support their authenticity by different anonymous authors. One of these published his lucubrations under the title of "A Comparative Review of the Opinions of James Boaden, &c." with the signature of A Friend to Consistency; another his, with the signature of

Phil-

Philalethes, under the title of "Shakspeare's Manuscripts in the Possession of Mr. Ireland examined, respecting the internal and external Evidences of their Authenticity;" and a third under the title of "Vortigern under Consideration, &c." which in point of composition were not contemptible, but are now consigned to oblivion with the forgery they were meant to defend. We are far from wishing to include the authors among the participes criminis. The title of the last-mentioned treatise gives us the opportunity of adding, that a play from Mr. Ireland's collection, called "Vortigern and Rowena," found its way to the boards of a theatre royal, but, in the technical language, was damned on the first night.

We close our list of treatises on this subject of literary fraud, with announcing "An authentic Account of the Shaksperian Manuscripts, by W. H. Ireland," son of Mr. Samuel Ireland, in which the young man takes upon himself the whole criminality of the infamous business; and "Mr. Ireland's Vindication of his Conduct, &c." on the ground of his son's confession and solemn declaration. Of the credit due to the former, and of the pleas which candour may be induced to admit in extenuation of the reprehensible conduct of the latter, we leave the public to judge from their respective productions.

Since the last notice which we took of "Archæologia, or, miscellaneous Tracts relative to Antiquities, by the Society of Antiquaries, of London," the XIth and XIIth volumes of that work have made their appearance. These volumes present us with a great variety of papers, chiefly the result of the researches and studies of the members; by many of which we

1796.

have been instructed and entertained. The most valuable articles in the XIth volume are. Observations on Pliny's Account of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, by Thomas Falconer, Esq; an Account of Roman Antiquities discovered in Cumberland, by the Rev. D. Carlisle; a Memoir on British Naval Architecture, by Ralph Willett, Esq; a Memoir on the Origin of Printing, by the same gentleman; and Remarks on the European Names of Chessmen, by Francis Douce, Esq. Among the most important articles in the XIIth volume, we may point out different papers on Druidical Remains, and Roman and other Antiquities in Derbyshire, by Hayman Rooke, Esq; an Epistolary Dissertation upon the Life and Writings of Robert Wace, an Anglo-Norman Poet of the 12th Century, by the Abbé de la Rue; a Letter concerning the Lives of various Anglo-Norman Poets of the same Age, by the same author; an Essay towards the History of the Venta Icenorum of the Romans, and of Norwich Castle, with Remarks on the Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, by William Wilkins of Norwich; Extracts from a M.S. entitled the Life of Mr. Phineas Pette, one of the Master Shipwrights to King James I. drawn up by himself, and communicated by the Rev. Samuel Denne; and the Account of Sir Edward Waldegrave, Knight, of the Money, Cloaths, Velvets, Silks, Provisions, &c. &c. expended at the Funeral of King Edward VI. communicated by Graven Ord, Esq. from the original in the exchequer. To which we may add the articles inserted among our selections. These volumes are amply illustrated with well-executed engravings.

Q

The

The publication entitled "Vestiges of Oxford Castle, or a small Fragment of a Work intended to be published speedily, on the History of ancient Castles, and on the Progress of Architecture, by Edward King, Esq. F. R. S. and F. S. A." accompanied with plates, affords abundant evidence of the learning, accuracy, and ingenuity which the author is capable of employing in investigating the curious remains of ancient times; and is a promising specimen of the entertainment which may be expected from his larger work. His design in that undertaking is, "to elucidate the history of the whole gradual progress of architecture, in all its branches, both ecclesiastical, civil, and military, in successive periods in this country; and to afford a striking illustration of coeval and contemporary manners; and an elucidation of several obscure ordinances in feudal and other laws; giving clear proofs of the one by means of the most unquestionable remaining specimens of many ancient structures, now brought into one point of view, and compared together; by means of the comparison of these with the most positive evidence of ancient records and historians, from the age of the first Britons, down to the beginning of the 17th century:" and to throw light "on the history of manners of those primeval eastern nations, and on those patriarchal ages, from whence many of the first ideas of building, and of rearing either fortresses or sacred structures, were unquestionably derived."

Mr. Cordiner's "Remarkable Ruins, and romantic Prospects, of North Britain; with ancient Monuments, and singular Subjects of Natural History," in 2 vols. 4to.

with numerous beautiful engravings, will be received with pleasure by the antiquary, the man of taste, and the natural historian. This work was originally published in numbers, which are now collected, and arranged under the divisions implied in the title. We cannot particularize its various contents. Blemishes and defects we might point out in the narrative and descriptive part, with respect to the language and composition, and what we deem to be liable to animadversion in the author's antiquarian conjectures, and the reflections incidentally interspersed throughout his work. But the ornamental part, on which it was designed chiefly to depend for recommendation, entitles it to a very respectable rank in this class of productions.

Of the plan and contents of the next work which we have to announce, our readers will be able to form a tolerable idea from its ample title. It is "The History of the County of Cumberland, and some Places adjacent, from the earliest Accounts to the present Time: comprehending the local History of the County; its Antiquities; the Origin, Genealogy, and present State of the principal Families, with biographical Notes; its Mines, Minerals, and Plants, with other Curiosities, either of Nature or of Art. Particular Attention is paid, and a just Account given of every Improvement in Agriculture, Manufactures, and the other Arts, in 2 vols. By William Hutchinson, F. A. S." Vol. I. in 2 parts. On the author's industry in collecting and disposing the materials of this work, it would be unjust were we not to bestow a considerable degree of praise; ~~as~~ it would, likewise, were we not to pro-

pronounce it replete with that species of information and entertainment which we expect to meet with in topographical histories. We do not pronounce it a perfect, or unobjectionable performance: but its general merits greatly outweigh its defects. This history is illustrated with several neat engravings.

Mr. Lodge's "Introductory Sketches of a topographical History of the County of Hereford," are offered to the public as a specimen of a larger work, on which it is his intention to employ himself, should he meet with the encouragement and assistance necessary to the completion of his design. They contain a brief but pleasing description of the situation, boundaries, extent, general appearance, rivers, soil, productions, peculiar customs, and climate of Herefordshire; together with a short abstract of the history of the successive inhabitants, and political revolutions from the earliest times, to the reign of Charles I. From what Mr. Lodge has performed, we are induced to think that he is possessed of the qualifications requisite for such an undertaking; and we hope that he will meet with that patronage, and receive those communications, which may enable him to present us with a full and minute account of this interesting district of our island. His plan is to devote a small octavo volume to each of the eleven hundreds into which the county is divided.

"The History of Monmouthshire, by David Williams, illustrated and ornamented by Views of its principal Landscapes, Ruins, and Residences, by John Gardner, Vicar of Battersea," is divided into twelve sections. Eleven of these consist, chiefly, of historical and antiquarian information; the ma-

terials for which Mr. Williams has collected with industry, discriminated and arranged with judgment and attention, and formed into an interesting narrative, delivered in a correct and forcible style. The text is also frequently enriched with entertaining anecdotes, with liberal philosophical and political reflections, and useful scientific remarks. The topographical part of this work is confined to the first and last sections; and presents us with what is most important relative to the situation, divisions, population, general appearance, natural history, manners, manufactures, rural economy, &c. of the county. To the whole is added an Appendix, containing documents, curious and interesting papers and letters, and miscellaneous remarks which could not with propriety be incorporated in the work itself. But one principal recommendation of this volume consists in Mr. Gardner's numerous and beautiful views, judiciously selected from a country which "forms one exquisite landscape: hills covered with woods, which the roads beautifully limit or boldly climb, vallies fructified by streams, where smaller eminences seem to recline against the mountains; thickets indefinitely diversified, where objects, as the traveller moves, seem perpetually to peep and retire; turrets rising in coverts, and ruined arches almost buried within them; mutilated castles, and mouldering abbeys partially concealed; hamlets, churches, houses, cottages, and farms blended into one general and extensive scene which is wonderfully picturesque."

In our Register for the year 1793, when noticing the "Literary Life of the late Thomas Pennant, Esq." we adverted to the whimsical

sical manner in which the author chose to announce the termination of his authorial existence, and intimated the probability of his resuscitation. During the present year our expectations and our wishes have been gratified, by the appearance of his "History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell." In the former parish are the seats of the Pennant and Mostyn families, and in it our worthy author first saw the light: in the latter a considerable part of his property lies. These circumstances have led him to enter into a variety of family and literary anecdotes, from which we have received no small degree of entertainment. But the author's favourite scenes supplied him with much other matter, antiquarian, commercial, and economical, which enabled him to collect together a considerable variety of curious and useful information. It is sufficient for the reader to recollect the corner of our island in which these scenes lie, the celebrated metallic, cotton, and other manufactories that have been erected in them, and St. Wenfrede's well, so famous in the annals of superstition, to excite in him a curiosity to peruse the narrative of our lively and intelligent old acquaintance. In an Appendix, Mr. Pennant has given an account of the five royal tribes of Cambria, from Vaughan's "British Antiquities revived;" of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, from a manuscript in the possession of the Rev. L. Owen; and of his own inedited and voluminous manuscript, in 22 volumes folio, entitled "Outlines of the Globe." This volume is embellished with numerous well-executed engravings from the drawings of Moses Griffith, the author's favourite artist.

"The History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester, by Valentine Green, F. S. A." in 2 vols. 4to. is a splendid work in point of typography, and ornamented with several elegant engravings. In point of composition, it is too stiff and artificial for a popular and pleasing work. Of the information and entertainment to be derived from its contents, the following summary will convey a general idea. The first volume contains an account of Worcester under the Romans, and under the Saxons; of the college; of the cathedral and monastery to the reformation; of the establishment by Henry VIII; of the cathedral subsequent to the reformation; of the successive bishops of Worcester, of the priors to the dissolution of the monastery, and of the deans of Worcester; of the prebendaries, members of the ecclesiastical court, and of the archdeacons; of the religious houses; of the castle and its hereditary constables; of the earls and marquesses of Worcester; and of battles, sieges, and other memorable events. The second volume contains an account of Worcester in its present state; of the civil government, parochial state, &c; of the hospitals and other charitable foundations; of persons of note, seals, coins, &c. To the whole is added a long Appendix of illustrative papers.

Mr. Price's "Historical Account of the City of Hereford, with some Remarks on the River Wye, and the natural and artificial Beauties contiguous to its Banks, &c. embellished with elegant Views, Plans, &c." has been drawn up with attention, and judgment, and in an agreeable, pleasing style. It appears to comprize every thing of importance,

importance, either to the inhabitants or strangers, relative to the history of the city and neighbourhood; its commerce; population; government; public buildings; bishops; eminent natives; earls, &c. The author's remarks on the Wye will not be found the least entertaining part of his volume.

In our Register for the year 1793, we introduced to our readers Mr. Newcombe's "History of the ancient and royal Foundation, called the Abbey of St. Alban, &c." The volume then before us closed with the year 1335. We have now to announce the author's continuation of that work, which carries down the history of that religious house, from the period above mentioned to its dissolution in 1539. This volume partakes of the same general character with the preceding, and presents the student in ecclesiastical antiquities with much information and amusement. We were surprized, however, to find Mr. Newcombe, who is a clergyman of the church of England, adopting the sentiments and language of Popish historians and bigots, when speaking of John Wicliffe and the first reformers; indirectly intimating his wish for the introduction of more of those externals into the worship of the reformed church, which constituted some of the chief and most pernicious abuses of the papal system; and expressing indignation at the suppression of the religious houses which took place at the reformation.

"The ancient and modern History of Lewes and Brighthelmston, in which are comprized the most interesting Events of the County at large; under the Regnian, Roman, Saxon, and Norman Settle-

ments," is an anonymous work, which reflects great credit on the compiler's industry, literary abilities, and manly liberal sentiments. Independently of topographical and historical matter, it contains some interesting particulars on subjects connected with jurisprudence, and constitutional representation.

Mr. George Cumberland's "Attempt to describe Hafod, and the neighbouring Scenes over the Fynach, commonly called the Devil's Bridge, in the County of Cardigan," contains an animated and elegant picture of some beautiful scenery in Wales, which the author pronounces more striking and impressive than any which he met with in repeated tours among the Alps, the Appennines, the Sabine hills, the Tyrolese, along the shores of the Adriatic, over the Glaciers of Switzerland, and up the Rhine. It is well calculated to excite the curiosity of travellers into the principality, and will prove an useful companion in their visit to Hafod.

Mr. Ledwich's "Statistical Account of the Parish of Aghaboe, in Queen's County, Ireland," cannot fail to engage the notice of the public, on account of the author's celebrity as a writer on subjects intimately connected with topographical history. And we can venture to assert, that the information which it conveys will abundantly repay the reader for the trouble of perusing it. This information is comprized under the heads of, the name and origin of the parish; its topography; the face of the parish; its soil and fossils; proprietors, houses, population; the size of farms, leases, tythes, implements of husbandry, and poor; tillage; rental, stock, and industry

of the parish; and the parish church of Aghaboe, the Dominican Abbey, and other antiquities.

The first place among the books of Travels which were published during the 1796, is due to the "Narrative of a five Years Expedition, against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, &c. from the Year 1772, to 1777, elucidating the History of that Country, and describing its Productions, &c. by Captain J. G. Stedman," in 2 vols. 4to. This work, although the author very modestly disclaims all pretensions to literary excellence, is written in an interesting and pleasing style, and presents us with a vast mass of novel, curious, and entertaining matter, which, from the internal evidence, as well as our own enquiries, we have every reason to believe to be authentic and accurate. For the origin, the object, and the particulars of captain Stedman's expedition, we must refer our readers to the work itself. In the course of it, he had repeated opportunities of penetrating farther into the wild country of Guiana, than any traveller whose account we have seen or heard of; and he has delivered his details in a frank and lively manner, that is peculiarly adapted to engage and gratify attention. But his narrative is intermixed with much miscellaneous information, which constitutes its principal value. This information relates to the history, and the present state of the colony; its productions; its commerce; its natural history; the character and manners of the European and Creole settlers; the customs of the Aborigines; and the character and situation of the fugitive negroes, who have establish-

ed their liberty and independence on the back frontier of the colony. It contains, likewise, such descriptions of the barbarities practised by the colonists on their unhappy slaves, as must excite the utmost horror in minds possessed of any sensibility, not only against the agents in those scenes, but against the diabolical traffic in human flesh, which has given occasion for such barbarities. The author's narrative also presents the reader with many pleasing episodes; among which the principal, as it is interwoven with a considerable part of his personal adventures, relates to his attachment to a beautiful mulatto. These volumes are illustrated with eighty elegant engravings, from drawings made by the author.

Mr. Hearne's "Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay, to the Northern Ocean, &c. in the Years 1769, 1772," was undertaken by order of the Hudson's-Bay Company, in order to discover some copper mines, which had been represented by different Indians who came to trade at the factory, to be near a large river, supposed to empty itself into Hudson's Bay, and to be so rich and valuable, that a ship might be ballasted with ore instead of stone, and that with the utmost ease and dispatch. Another object proposed to be accomplished in this journey was, a final resolution of the question whether there exist a north-west passage through Hudson's Bay. The result of this toilsome and dangerous journey was, a conviction that the Indians had grossly imposed on the company's servants; and, in the author's judgment, the entire demolition of all hopes of a north-west passage. In the course of this journey, Mr. Hearne was accompanied by a

famous

famous Indian leader as a guide, and numerous Indian attendants, with whom he was obliged to mix for a considerable time in the habits and employments of savage life. In this situation he had an opportunity of acquiring much curious and interesting information respecting the different tribes of northern Indians, their manufactures, character and customs, their country and its natural history; which he has related in the volume before us with a plainness and perspicuity that will ensure it a favourable reception with the public. This volume is ornamented with nine maps and plates.

The "New Travels into the interior Parts of Africa, by the Way of the Cape of Good Hope, in the Years 1783, 4, and 5, translated from the French of Le Vaillant," &c. in 3 vols. will afford the philosopher, the historian, and the naturalist, much curious information and entertainment. In our account of the literature of France for the year 1789, we laid before our readers the character of this lively and intelligent author's narrative of his former travels into the interior of Africa, which is in every respect applicable to the volumes before us. The scenes, however, of his peregrinations are different, and the incidents which occurred to him have the recommendation of proportionate novelty. Previous to M. Vaillant's new expedition into the African wilds, he made an excursion among the colonists settled round the Cape, whom he has divided into three classes, and described their manners with apparent fidelity, and just discrimination. His grand journey was directed northwards, through the desolate regions on the western coast of Africa, the country of the

Nimiquas and Kabobiquas, to that of the Houzouanas under the tropic of Capricorn, a people who are the probable stem of the various tribes of Hottentots, and from their bravery and activity the terror of all the neighbouring hordes: and from thence, southwards, through a variety of perils, to the Cape. Among our selections we have given the author's pictures of the character and manners of the Nimiquas, and Houzouanas. This translation is well executed, and is accompanied with a large map, delineating the route of M. Vaillant's present and former travels, and twenty-two other copper-plates.

The volume of "Travels through various Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples, in 1789, by Charles Ulysses, of Salis Marschlins, translated from the German, by Anthony Aufrere, Esq; illustrated with Engravings," will prove an acceptable present to the English reader. The various branches of natural history and economics were the principal subjects which engaged our traveller's attention; and the information which he has collected, together with his own reflections, and incidental discussions, are instructive and entertaining. The translator, who has executed his task in a correct and pleasing manner, offers these volumes as a useful supplement to Mr. Swinburne's valuable Travels in the Two Sicilies. We announced the original in our View of the Literature of Switzerland for the year 1795.

Mr. Owen's two vols. of "Travels into different Parts of Europe, in the Years 1791 and 1792, with Familiar Remarks on Places, Men, and Manners," detailed in a series of letters, form a pleasing addition to the collection of our English tourists.

tourists. The Netherlands, Liege, the western districts of Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, Piedmont, Italy from the northern divisions to the kingdom of Naples, the Tyrolese Alps, Switzerland again and part of France, the Circle of Austria, Bohemia, Saxony, the Prussian dominions, and Holland, were the scenes which our traveller successively visited, and which called forth his various intelligent remarks. Although "the outline of his tour differs in very few respects from the ordinary track of fashionable travel," and the author pretends neither to offer to his readers "the voyage of the connoisseur, nor the journal of the naturalist," neither "to throw light upon the schools of painting, nor the science of physics;" he has, nevertheless, furnished them with much rational entertainment, in the various articles of information which he has collected, and in his observations on the manners of the different nations through which he passed. The reflections which are introduced throughout these volumes do honour to Mr. Owen's good sense and liberality; and his style and language are accurate and elegant.

Mr. Hunter's "Travels in the Year 1792, through France, Turkey, and Hungary, to Vienna, &c. in a Series of Letters to a Lady in England," if they do not convey much new or important information, contain many particulars that will be found interesting and amusing by readers in general, and are written in a neat and lively style. While describing the circumstances and incidents of his journey through the Turkish dominions, Mr. Hunter's reflections exhibit a just abhorrence of despotism and superstition, and a manly indignation at

the wretchedness produced among the commonalty, by the effects of a corrupt and oppressive government. But while describing his travels through France in the year 1792, so great is his dislike to republicanism, which he considers to be the opposite extreme of evil, and of modern religious innovations, that he indulges in lamentations over the ruins of the old monarchy, and the monastic institutions.

The 2 vols. of "Letters from Scandinavia, on the past and present State of the Northern Nations of Europe," are written in a generally easy and lively, though not always regular or correct style, and contain no small share of various information. A considerable part appears to have been compiled from good authorities, and the rest to be the result of the author's observations and enquiries. The reflections which occur in them, in general, are sensible and just, but sometimes fanciful, and not easily reconcilable with genuine liberality. These letters contain amusing descriptions of the government, religion, customs, and manners of the Russians, the Tartar tribes, the Finlanders, and the Laplanders, together with an account of Petersburg, Cronstad, the imperial palaces, &c.; numerous particulars of the last war between Russia and Sweden; curious and interesting anecdotes; and a well-drawn sketch of the history of Poland. To the body of the work is added an appendix, describing a voyage round the islands of Denmark.

Mrs. Wollstonecraft's "Letters written during a short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark," are distinguished by numerous proofs of the authoress's well-known

known vigour and strength of mind, lively fancy, and keen sensibility. Her plan was "simply to endeavour to give a just view of the countries which she passed through, as far as she could obtain information during so short a residence:" in executing which, she "determined to let her remarks and reflections flow unrestrained, as she perceived that she could not give a just description of what she saw, but by relating the effect different objects had produced on her mind and feelings, whilst the impressions were still fresh." The descriptions which she presents of natural scenery are sometimes bold and highly picturesque, and sometimes beautifully soft and charming: her pictures of men and manners are well drawn, and appear to be faithful and characteristic; and the sentiments which she has introduced, are, in general, just and important. A vein of melancholy, however, runs through the whole, occasioned by some cruel disappointment; which, while it irresistibly excites our sympathy, accounts for the introduction of some remarks that otherwise would seem to have been dictated by a spirit approaching to misanthropy.

The "Letters written in France, to a Friend in London, between the Month of November 1794, and the Month of May 1795, by Major Terch, of the Marines, late of his Majesty's ship *Alexander*," abound in much curious information, relative not only to the treatment of the author, and the other English officers and seamen who were carried prisoners with him into France, but to the actual state of French sentiments and manners, the condition and discipline of the French marine, and the naval operations of France and England.

They contain, likewise, a variety of observations and reflections that do honour to the author's candour, and to his humane and patriotic feelings; and they are written in an agreeable and unaffected style.

Mr. Wansey's "*Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America, in the Summer of 1794*," is published, as it was written, with less attention to method and correctness of style, than to a desire of communicating matters of fact, and of enabling the English reader to form a tolerably accurate idea of the civil, political, and commercial situation of that rising continent, and of the character and manners of the inhabitants. On these topics it presents us with much useful information. It is embellished with a profile of general Washington, and a view of the state house of Philadelphia.

With respect to the numerous Political publications of the year, we must pursue our usual method of admitting the most important only into our catalogue.

"*The Political State of Europe at the beginning of the Year 1796*," &c. translated from the French of M. Calonne, by D. St. Quentin, is an enlarged edition of the treatise noticed by us in our last volume. The new matter is intended to effectuate a coalition between the royalist and constitutional emigrants, in support of a limited monarchy, and to impress on the public mind a conviction, that the establishment of order in France, which is no longer to be expected from the force of arms alone, must proceed from a voluntary movement on the part of the nation; that it is ripe for this movement; and that, in order to render it successful, an agreement

ment should be made and adhered to, of founding the new government on a constitutional basis, and tempered by laws in such a manner as to be fixed and immoveable. But one of the most curious circumstances in this treatise which fixed our attention was, the author's explicit avowal of the famous treaty of Pilnitz. The "Considerations on the State of Public Affairs, at the Beginning of the Year 1796," contain an eloquent, but sophistical declamation in praise of the magnanimity of this country, and the personal character of the government, and in defence of the continuance of war against France, till "the proud misery of her government" shall sue for peace, with contrition for her political guilt, and offers of ample atonement for the injuries which she has done to Europe. The "View of the Relative State of Great Britain and France, at the Commencement of the Year 1796," the "Considerations on the Present State of England and France, by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart." "the Prosperity of Great Britain compared with the State of France, her Conquests, and Allis, &c. by Rowland Hunt, Esq." and the "Remarks upon the Conduct of the Persons possessed of the Powers of Government in France," are severally intended to increase the public confidence in the wisdom of administration, as displayed in internal as well as external politics; and to point out the resources of this country for carrying on the present just and necessary war, the perfidiousness of the directory, and the calamitous ruined condition of the French republic. But the most distinguished publication in support of the continuance of the war with France, and of the politics

in which it originated, was Mr. Burke's "Two Letters addressed to a Member of the present Parliament, on the Proposals of Peace with the Regicide Directory of France," of which a spurious edition appeared, entitled "Thoughts on the Prospect of a Regicide Peace," &c. In this work the author makes use of his well-known powers of rhetoric in attempting to produce the conviction, that the French republic must be destroyed, or it will destroy all Europe; and he descants, with his accustomed energy, against the dangerous nature of French principles, and the licentious, prostitute, abandoned, rude, coarse, savage, and ferocious character of the French people. Every person who is not actuated by the same frenzy with the author, must execrate the tendency of his inflammatory production. Several treatises soon made their appearance in answer to Mr. Burke. Among others, that entitled "Strictures on Mr. Burke's Two Letters, addressed to a Member of Parliament," by an anonymous author, is sensible and animated, and completely refutes the arguments of Mr. Burke, while it exposes the audacity and ferocity of his endeavours to perpetuate the horrors of that ruinous war of which he has been an active instigator. Mr. Waddington's "Remarks on Mr. Burke's Two Letters," &c. are less regular and systematic than the preceding Strictures, but not deficient in marks of ability, and convincing as far as they go. Mr. Williams's "Reply to Mr. Burke's Two Letters," &c. contains many acute and shrewd remarks, which sufficiently expose the principal errors and misrepresentations of that author. So, likewise, does Mr. Thelwall's letter to the

the people of Great Britain, entitled "the Rights of Nature against the Usurpation of Establishments," and the "Retort Politic on Master Burke, &c. by a Tyro of his own School, but of another Class."

Another publication of Mr. Burke's which provoked considerable discussion was, his "Letter to a noble Lord on the Attack made on him and his Pension in the House of Lords, early in the present Session of Parliament, by the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Lauderdale." In this work Mr. Burke stands upon the merits of his public services, which, he contends, entitled him to the reward which he has received. But not satisfied with this, he has suffered his resentments to carry him so far, as to aim a deadly blow at the respectability of the privileged orders, once panegyrised by him as the "Corinthian capitals of polished society," by drawing an odious picture of the means by which great hereditary honours and fortunes have been acquired by the ancestors of our present nobility. He has, likewise, done violence to fact and probability, in order to class the duke of Bedford, and the founder of his family, with the most detestable characters of modern and ancient times. This injudicious and angry publication was soon followed by an eloquent and spirited "Reply" by Mr. Gilbert Wakefield. In this publication the author, after paying due respect to the literary merits of Mr. Burke, and pouring forth classic lamentations at the recollection of what he once was, severely reproaches him for his apostacy and venality, and in an able manly manner vindicates the interests of truth and humanity. Mr. Street likewise, in

his "Vindication of the Duke of Bedford's Attack upon Mr. Burke's Pension, in Reply," &c. and Mr. Thelwall, in his "Sober Reflections on the Seditious and Inflammatory Letter of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke," published sensible and acute animadversions on the sentiments and language of Mr. Burke. Mr. Miles, in his "Letter to Henry Duncombe, Esq. on the Subject of Mr. Burke's Pamphlet," is successful, but not very decorous, in pointing out the inconsistencies and the dangerous tendency of the late writings of that fallen patriot. The Old Whig's "Three Letters to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, on the State of Public Affairs, and particularly on the late outrageous Attack on his Pension," contains cool, sarcastic, and spirited remarks on the principles and political conduct of that gentleman, and on the arguments generally resorted to in defence of the present war. This controversy gave rise to several other publications, which are already buried in oblivion.

Mr. O'Bryen's "Utrum Horum? the Government or the Country," is an able and energetic attack on the whole public conduct of Mr. Pitt, and urges many serious reasons to shew the necessity of putting an end to the present war, and of changing the present ministry, in order to preserve the nation from ruin. Dr. Beddoes' "Essay on the Public Merits of Mr. Pitt," is also a masterly production on the side of opposition, in point of argument, and is enlivened by genuine strokes of humour and ridicule. To the treatises already enumerated we can only add the titles of the following: "a Letter to Mr. Pitt, on the alarming State of Public Affairs;"

fairs;" "a Letter to the same on his Conduct respecting the Loan;" "a Letter from a Chancellor out of Office, to a King in Power;" "an Essay on the Causes which have produced the Principles which supported the two Bills, by J. R. Head, Esq;" "the Rights of the People, or Reasons for a Regicide Peace, by W. Williams;" "the Tribune," a periodical publication in numbers, by J. Thelwall;" "a short Defence of present Men, and present Measures, by P. Kennedy;" "the Authentic Correspondence with M. le Brun, the French Minister, and others, by W. Miles;" "the Correspondence between a Traveller and Minister of State, in October and November, 1792, translated and prefaced by N. W. Wraxall, Esq;" "Letters Political, Military, and Commercial, on the present State and Government of the Province of Oude;" "Remarks on the above, by E. O. Ives;" "Hints addressed to the Electors of Great Britain, preparatory to the next Dissolution of Parliament, by Charles Falconer;" and "an Address to the Electors of Great Britain, by an Englishman."

Among the publications of the year 1796, belonging to the department of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature, the first which calls for our attention is, "Ευριπίδης Ἰππολύτος Στεφανηφορος; cum Scholiis, Versione Latina, Variis Lectionibus, Valckenari Notis integris, ac selectis aliorum, V. V. D. D. quibus suas adjunxit, Fran. Hen. Egerton," 4to. This is a splendid and costly work, the mechanical part of which does great credit to the Clarendon press, and the literary to the industry and extensive reading of the editor. For he has

accompanied the text with a profusion of illustrations and emendations, partly original, partly selected from notes and observations which he wrote down as they were delivered by his tutors, doctors Foster and Davies, at Eton; but chiefly taken from preceding annotators, or inedited manuscripts. In the number of the latter were Stanley's and Taylor's manuscripts, in the public library at Cambridge; Mr. Tyrwhitt's, communicated by Mr. Burges, and those of the late Nicholas Mann, of the Charterhouse, in the library at Eton college. Among the editor's annotations, the reader will find several parallel passages and illustrative quotations from the Hebrew scriptures, and from Persian and Arabic writers.

From the same press the learned world has received another elegant and valuable work: "Αρχιμήδους τὰ Σωζόμενα, &c. Archimedis quæ supersunt omnia; cum Eutocii Ascalonitæ Commentariis. Ex Recensione Josephi Torelli, Veronensis, cum nova Versione Latina. Accedunt Lectiones variantes ex Codd. Mediceo et Parisiensibus." Folio. This edition of Archimedes, which will be received with gratitude and pleasure by all mathematicians, was undertaken, and prepared for publication, by the celebrated Torelli, of Verona, in consequence of an agreement with the curators of the Clarendon press, to whom, after the death of that author, his manuscripts were delivered by his executor. In Torelli's preface we are presented with a short account of the life of Archimedes, and of the plan which he thought fit to adopt in preparing this edition. To this succeed the works of Archimedes, with the original readings at the bottom of those pages in which

which any alterations are introduced in the text, accompanied with the new version, and followed by two appendixes, containing various readings from the Basil edition, and the manuscripts mentioned in the title-page. To the whole is prefixed a life of Torelli, in the usual style of the Italian eulogists; and a catalogue of his numerous writings, published and unpublished. It is highly honourable to the university of Oxford, that the funds which she possesses are so liberally expended in promoting the interests of literature and science.

From the same press, on a scale adapted to the immediate design of the publication, have issued "*P. Virgilii Maronis Opera, Locis Parallelis ex Antiquis Scriptoribus et Annotationum Delectu illustrata, in Usum Juventutis. Accedunt Tabulæ Geographicæ, et Index Maittairianus;*" 2 vols. 8vo. Of this work we have to remark, that it appears to have been prepared and edited with great care, and that to its accuracy and utility the text and notes of Professor Heyne have greatly contributed, as well as the labours of preceding critics. To which we have to add, that the editor is entitled to much praise for the judgment with which he has selected and compressed their commentaries, as well as for the learning which he has displayed when he has chosen to differ from them. The parallel and illustrative passages are taken from Homer, Æschylus, Euripides and other ancient authors. Of this edition there are two impressions, one on a large, the other on a smaller paper.

Of the following edition of the Mantuan bard, likewise, there are two impressions, on paper of different sizes. "*P. Virgilii Maronis*

Opera: emendabat et Notulis illustrabat, Gilbertus Wakefield, A. B." &c. in 2 vols. 8vo. This very beautiful work is a part of that series of correct and elegant pocket editions of the Greek and Latin poets, announced by us in our two last volumes, in which Mr. Wakefield's critical abilities, accuracy, and editorial taste are abundantly conspicuous. The character and value of that gentleman's classical productions are so well known to every scholar, that it is unnecessary to add any thing to this short notice of his Virgil. We understand that Lucretius is the next poet who will receive his corrections and illustrations.

The following work we have only seen announced, as highly splendid and valuable, and must reserve our farther notice of it to a future volume. "*C. Cornelii Taciti Opera, recognovit, emendavit, Supplementis explevit, Notis, Dissertationibus, Tabulis Geographicis, illustravit Gabriel Brotier; typis Jacobi Mundell,*" in 4 vols. 4to. and in 4 vols. royal 8vo.

The treatise "*on the Prosodies of the Greek and Latin Languages,*" is a very learned and ingenious work, in which the anonymous author defends the high antiquity of the Greek accentual marks, and endeavours to revive and enforce the use of them in the pronunciation of the Greek language. Those of his readers who may concur with us in thinking that his efforts are unsuccessful, will, nevertheless, receive much pleasure from the perusal of the whole, and particularly from some of the collateral topics which he has discussed in order to elucidate his main object. This treatise is attributed to a dignitary in the church, who has rendered himself conspicuous as a zealous champion

champion of her doctrines, as well as of the prerogatives of the crown.

The three volumes in two, entitled "*Musæ Etonenses, seu Carminum Delectus nunc primum in Lucem editus*," form a very pleasing and interesting collection of exercises, by Eton Scholars, many of whom, in their maturer years, have risen to considerable public eminence. They possess, as must be supposed, very different merits. But while a few may be thought not to rise above mediocrity, the greater part of them do credit to the abilities and genuine classical taste of the writers, and some of them are exquisitely beautiful. They reflect great honour on the public school in which their authors were educated.

• The work entitled "the Lives of the first Twelve Cæsars, translated from the Latin of C. Suetonius Tranquillus, with Annotations, and a Review of the Government and Literature of the different Periods, by Alexander Thomson, M. D." will be received with pleasure by the English scholar. It is the most faithful and pleasing version which our language affords, of that accurate and impartial historian; and is farther recommended by this circumstance, that the translator has judiciously softened or suppressed some highly indelicate and objectionable passages which occur in the original. But "a version of Suetonius, though a valuable historian, was only a secondary object with the present translator, whose principal design was, to examine the state of literature among the Romans," in periods when "almost all the classic writers flourished;" to "ascertain the causes which carried it to such a degree of perfection; and to elucidate the

state of government, and the progress of manners in those times." This he has done upon a contracted scale, it is true, in observations which he has added at the end of each life, and in brief biographical memoirs of the principal writers under each emperor; which are evidences of his learning, judgment, and good taste.

Mr. Salmon's "*Stemmata Latinitatis, or Etymological Dictionary*, wherein the whole Mechanism of the Latin Tongue is methodically and conspicuously exhibited, upon a Plan entirely new, and calculated to facilitate the Acquisition, as well as to impress the Knowledge of the Language," &c. is a work which displays much learning, and uncommon labour, and will afford valuable assistance to the classical scholar and critic. The object of the author is, to trace the derivation of the primitive words in the Latin language from the Greek, and to point out the specific terminations and prepositions or particles employed in framing derivatives from primitives, in order distinctly to unfold and explain the structure of the Latin tongue. The nature of our work prevents us from laying before our readers the outlines of Mr. Salmon's plan, which is equally to be commended for its novelty and ingenuity. Considering the extent and difficulty of his undertaking, and the numerous grounds for difference of opinion which are perhaps inseparable from etymological researches; it is but justice to say, that it appears, in general, to be as successfully and satisfactorily executed, as it was ingeniously contrived. Prefixed to the body of the work is a large Key, or introduction, ascertaining not only the origin, but the value

of the several terminations and prepositive particles; and it is followed by a general index of every Latin derivative and word entering into composition.

Mr. Stevenson, in his "Remarks on the very inferior Utility of Classical Learning," has undertaken the discussion of a question of considerable importance, and which has employed the ingenuity of many able authors, among foreigners and in our own country. What he has written is not devoid of weight as far as it relates to the propriety of making classical learning a part of the system of general education, and of devoting so large a portion of time to it in our public seminaries, to the entire neglect of other useful branches of knowledge. But when he urges his objections against the comparative utility of classical learning, in the education of persons intended for the professions, or to excel in the liberal accomplishments of polished life, he does not seem to possess the information and knowledge necessary to enable him to decide upon the subject.

Mr. Galignani's "Twenty-four Lectures on the Italian Language, delivered at the Lyceum of Arts, Sciences, and Languages, in which the Principles, Harmony, and Beauty of the Italian Language, are by an original Method simplified and adapted to the meanest Capacity, and the Scholar enabled to attain, with Ease and Facility, a competent Knowledge of the Language, without the Help of any Grammar or Dictionary," constitute a work of considerable originality and ingenuity, which appears peculiarly well calculated for the purposes mentioned in the title-page.

The treatises entitled "Hermes Unmasked, or the Art of Speech founded on the Association of Words and Ideas, with an Answer to Dr. Vincent's Hypothesis of the Greek Verb," in the form of two letters, and "Letters III and IV. containing the Mysteries of Metaphysics, with an Answer to M. President Le Brosse's System of Imitative Sound, by Captain T. G. Browne," present us with a curious and laughable mixture of argument, humour, and satire. The object of the first letter is to simplify the theory of language on the principles of the Hartlean doctrine of association of ideas, and to shew that there is in reality but one part of speech, and that originally there was no distinction between the noun and the verb. The second letter is employed in ridiculing Dr. Vincent's hypothesis on the origination of the Greek verb, which was noticed by us in our Register for the year 1794, and has since been published in an enlarged form. The third and fourth letters contain a satirical defence of the metaphysics of language, and a banter on metaphysical grammar, accompanied with keen political allusions, and witty illustrative stories. It is impossible for those grammarians who may be unconvinced by his arguments, not to be entertained with his motley and whimsical illustrations of his theory.

Mr. Wolstenholm Parr's miscellaneous publication entitled "The Story of the Moor of Venice, translated from the Italian, with two Essays on Shakspeare, and preliminary Observations," adds little to the stores of English literature or criticism. The story, on which Shakspeare founded his tragedy of Othello, is taken from

the novels of Giral di Cintio, an Italian author of the sixteenth century, and has already been presented to the English reader, by Mrs. Lennox, in her Shakspeare illustrated. Mr. Parr's essays contain criticisms on the tragedies of Coriolanus and Othello, in which, notwithstanding that the author discovers respectable abilities, there is nothing sufficiently novel or important to secure to him any peculiar fame. In an Appendix we are presented with a Mohammedan prayer, or charm, said to have been worn about his neck till he died, by the celebrated Wortley Montague.

Mr. Plumptre's "Observations on Hamlet, and on the Motives which most probably induced Shakspeare to fix upon the story of Amleth, from the Danish Chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus, for the Plot of that Tragedy, being an Attempt to prove that he designed it as an indirect Censure on Mary Queen of Scots," are written with ability, and urge many plausible reasons in support of the author's hypothesis. But we cannot say they have had the effect of producing conviction on our mind.

Mr. Collard's treatise entitled "Essentials of Logic," is the second and improved edition of a little work which escaped our notice last year, and was then published under the title of "an Epitome of Logic," with the feigned signature of N. Dralloe. It is intended to afford young persons a concise and perspicuous summary of the useful rules for right reasoning, divested of all unnecessary and embarrassing matter. It is well adapted to the design in view, and is illustrated by familiar examples, from approved authors.

"The Sylph, Volume the First," is a collection of periodical essays on different subjects, some moral, some humorous, and some satirical, expressed in an easy and pleasing style, and affording an agreeable mixture of useful reflections, and entertaining remarks on men and manners.

Mr. Watkins' "Peeper, a Collection of Essays, Moral, Biographical, and Literary," will likewise be an acceptable present to the lovers of light reading, especially those of a more serious cast. But the author's style is frequently inelegant and incorrect; and the sentiments which are occasionally introduced, on religious and political topics, are illiberal and uncandid.

The volume of "Letters for Literary Ladies, to which is added, an Essay on the noble Science of Self-justification," is a sensible, elegant, and lively publication, which, from the pleasure the perusal of it has afforded us, we strongly recommend to the attention of our female readers. The design of the author is, to draw the line between the very opposite opinions insisted on by late writers respecting the intellectual talents and proper education of the female sex, and to point out wherein their true excellence of character consists. This design is accomplished with great judgment and delicacy, in the letters before us. The essay on the noble Science of Self-justification, is an admirably conducted piece of ironical satire, in which young married women are instructed how to combat that common enemy, an husband.

The "Dictionary of Literary Conversation," is an instructive and amusing compilation, in a little pocket

pocket volume, of curious facts, anecdotes, and remarks, on various subjects, drawn up in neat and pleasing language.

"The Correspondent, a Selection of Letters from the best Authors, &c," in two volumes, is a species of publication, of which the merit must depend solely on the taste and judgment made use of in collecting its materials. In this respect, the volumes before us are not distinguished by higher claims to approbation than preceding collections; particularly that of *Elegant Epistles*, in one large volume, which has been for some years in possession of the public favour.

"The German Miscellany, consisting of Dramas, Dialogues, Tales, and Novels, translated by A. Thomson, Author of a Poem on Whist, &c." like the "*Varieties of Literature*," noticed in our last volume, but on a much more confined scale, presents the English reader with well chosen and acceptable entertainment, selected from some of the popular productions of the German press.

Among the publications of the year 1796 in Poetical Translation, and Poetry, we find "*Specimens of Arabian Poetry, from the earliest Time to the Extinction of the Khalifat; with some Account of the Authors; by J. B. Carlisle, B. D. Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.*" These specimens consist of some entire pieces, and numerous fragments of various species of composition, in a beautiful Arabic character, accompanied with English versions from the pen of Mr. Carlisle. Whether these versions are rendered with strict fidelity, and convey a just conception of the genuine beauties of Arabian poetry, we must leave to be
1796.

decided by those who are greater proficient than ourselves in the idiom of the originals. But considered as English poems, they are entitled to no small share of praise. They are distinguished by energy, elegance, and harmony, and a happy variation of style, as the subjects of them vary. On the whole, our professor, by publishing these amusements of his leisure hours, appears to have accomplished his commendable design, which was, "by arranging the several productions in chronological order, and affixing a short preface to each, which should contain a few anecdotes of the author, and an account of the occasion of his composition, not only to afford a specimen of the writings of the principal Arabian poets, but a sort of history (slight indeed and imperfect, yet to an English reader perhaps not uninteresting) of Arabian poetry and literature during the most splendid period of the Mahomedan empire."

—Mr. Clubbe's "*Six Satires of Horace, in a Style between free Imitation and literal Version*," may afford evidence to the reader, that he is not incapable of entering into the sense and spirit of his original, and of expressing them with tolerable ease and harmony of versification. But his plan is in a high degree objectionable. "Where I have found," says he, any parallelism in modern manners and customs, I have introduced them; and where it has appeared necessary to the sense and intention of the author, I have followed the ideas of the original." By assuming such a licence, Mr. Clubbe has presented us with a strange and uncouth version, in which neither ancient nor modern manners are displayed, but an inconsistent jumble of both. And he has, likewise, confounded to-
R together

gether ancient and modern characters in the same injudicious manner.

During the present year, different translations have been offered to the public of "Leonora, a Tale," from the German of Gottfried Augustus Bürger. Bürger is a German poet, who has obtained the most decided popularity among his countrymen. "To this his subjects and his language equally contribute; for the former he has mostly chosen local traditions or legendary anecdotes; and, in the latter, he is generally elegant, often sublime, and never unintelligible. One of the most powerful causes of Mr. Bürger's literary popularity, is the deep tinge of superstition that shades almost all his compositions." Such is the account given by the translator of one of the versions above-mentioned. Leonora belongs to the class of ballad poetry; and its characteristics are simplicity, and the most terrific preternatural fictions. The first English translation that was announced to the public was "by J. T. Stanley, Esq; F. R. S." with, or without the original. This translation, which possesses considerable poetic merit, is professedly a free one, and written in stanzas of six lines; a species of versification which we cannot pronounce the most judicious that might have been adopted. In a second edition, Mr. Stanley has taken the liberty of changing the catastrophe of the story, and in so doing, as we conceive, greatly injured its poetic character. The next version, "by Henry James Pye," in an eight line stanza, with alternate rhymes, is more close and literal than the preceding, and is entitled to the praise of elegance and correctness; but it is sometimes too stiff and unimpassioned to convey the just sense and spirit of the

original. The translation "by W. R. Spencer, Esq; with designs by the right honourable lady Diana Beauclerc," is splendid in point of typography, and ornamented with exquisitely beautiful engravings, illustrative of the story. As a version of Bürger, it is sometimes paraphrastic; but as a poem, it is throughout correct, elegant, and spirited. This translation also is in eight line stanzas with alternate rhymes. The last version which we have to notice, by an anonymous author, was circulated in private some years ago, and made its first public appearance in the second number of the Monthly Magazine. It has since been published separately under the title of "Ellenore, a ballad written originally in German, &c." The style of composition which this author has chosen, is that of the old English ballad stanza; and his orthography and phraseology are often equally antiquated. By adopting the former, he has very happily copied the manner of the original, and by the latter been enabled to introduce terms and expressions peculiarly adapted to transfuse its sense and spirit into an English version.

The "Poems by Thomas Hoccleve, never before printed, selected from the Manuscript in the Possession of George Mason, with a Preface, Notes, and Glossary," appear to be the genuine productions of a poet who flourished at the latter end of the 14th, and in part of the 15th centuries. But whatever attention may seem to be due to them as objects of antiquarian curiosity, they are essentially defective in that intrinsic merit necessary to give them rank among the productions of invention and fancy.

"The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, translated by Mr. Pope, &c."

new Edition, with additional Notes critical and illustrative, by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." in eleven vols. cannot fail of meeting with a favourable reception from the public. With his well-known diligence, that learned and ingenious critic has examined, and compared with the original, Mr. Pope's popular version, as well as those of preceding and subsequent translators, and from the materials which this investigation supplied him with, united to his own taste and classical knowledge, produced the explanatory notes, critical remarks, and suggested emendations, which accompany this valuable edition. Although it cannot be expected that all his criticisms should be universally received, and objections may be allowed to be valid against the freedom and boldness of some of his corrections, still enough will remain to entitle him to the character of the most acute and useful annotator on these labours of our favourite poet.

In our Register for the year 1794, we introduced to our readers the first volume of "the Works of Alexander Pope, esq, with Remarks and Illustrations," by Mr. Wakefield, which was intended by him to be the commencement of a complete and correct edition of that poet's publications. Since the appearance of that volume, however, he has been induced to relinquish his design, in consequence of Dr. Warton's having undertaken the same task. Highly as we deem of Dr. Warton's editorial abilities, we regret that any circumstance should have taken place to prevent us from receiving the whole of Mr. Wakefield's intended commentaries and illustrations. An additional specimen of what he wished to have performed, he has presented to the public in his "Observations on

Pope," which, as far as they are finished, are entitled to the same reception from scholars and readers of taste with his former remarks and illustrations. In a preface to these observations, Mr. Wakefield has entered into a critical and pleasing discussion of the poetical merits of Mr. Pope, which he has tried by the rules of excellence laid down by Horace and Longinus.

To the number of elegant pocket editions of some of the most admired of our British poets, ornamented with engravings, of which those of Akenfide and Armstrong were announced in our last volume, we have now to add, in the catalogue of this year's productions, "the Chase, a Poem, by William Somerville, Esq. to which is prefixed a critical Essay on the Poem, by Dr. Aikin," and "the Spleen and other Poems, by Matthew Green, with a prefatory Essay," by the same editor.

Mr. Cox's edition of "Fables by John Gay," although not distinguished by similar decorations with those which accompany the last-mentioned publication, deserves, nevertheless, and will, doubtless, meet with a favourable reception from the public, on account of its useful literary recommendations. These consist in a well-drawn life of Mr. Gay, with judicious remarks on his merits as a poet; and in explanatory notes, illustrations, comments on the moral lessons inculcated, quotations of similar passages from other authors, and curious and instructive particulars in natural history.

"Joan of Arc, an Epic Poem, by Robert Southey," in ten books, as the author informs us in his preface, was finished in its first form of twelve books in six weeks time; and afterwards new modelled according to its present plan, and al-

most entirely recomposed while the printing went on. Owing to this injudicious and very blameable haste, several faulty parts in respect to diction and versification will present themselves to the reader's eye, which we may venture to pronounce would not have existed, had the author employed sufficient time in revising and correcting his work. For notwithstanding these blemishes, it abounds in beauties and excellencies of the highest order. The story upon which it is founded is a very interesting one in the history of France, and too well known to render it necessary for us to repeat it. Mr. Southey, in forming the plan and arrangement of his poem, besides the circumstances of the story, with an alteration in the chronology of some of the facts, has called to his aid the advantages of learning, poetical fiction, and preternatural agency. And in executing it, he has displayed powers which entitle him to a high rank among modern poets. His conceptions are frequently bold and lofty, his imagery rich and beautiful, and his language and versification, with the exceptions to which we have already adverted, elegant, energetic, and harmonious. To which we have to add, that the sentiments which are incidentally expressed, or directly inculcated throughout the whole poem, are noble and liberal, and shew the author's mind to be inspired with an ardent wish to promote the interests of humanity and benevolence. The author's friend, Mr. Coleridge, has contributed the greatest part of the lines in the second book, in which the allegorical personages in the palace of ambition are introduced.

"The Paradise of Taste, by Alexander Thomson, Esq." is an allegorical production, the perusal

of which, although it is not free from inequalities, will afford the lover of genuine poetry much pleasure and entertainment. It is divided into seven cantos. In the first canto, entitled the Library, and which has no necessary connexion with the plan of the work, the author takes a survey of different classes of books, which he characterizes, and describes the pleasures they are capable of affording. In the second canto, entitled the Vision, the Power of Taste appears to the author, and, after addressing him in complimentary terms, carries him through the air to view "the various wonders of his bright domain." These wonders are the subjects of the remaining cantos, which are entitled, the Garden of Beauty; the Vale of Pity; the House of Ridicule; the Mountain of Sublimity; and the Island of Fancy. In these different divisions of the Paradise of Taste, different poets, and a few prose writers, ancient and modern, are grouped, in beautiful and appropriate scenery, and characterised in a manner that does credit to the author's extensive reading, and poetical talents. The style and measure of his poetry Mr. Thomson has judiciously varied in his cantos, as his subjects varied.

"The Birth and Triumph of Love, by Sir James Bland Burges, Bart." is an allegorical poem, in the stanza of Spencer, the subject of which was supplied by a series of beautiful engravings, entitled "the Birth and Triumph of Cupid," which are understood to have been copied from drawings by the princess Elizabeth. These drawings, it is said, were meant to compliment the king and queen on their connubial felicity. Notwithstanding that our poet's invention was necessarily

farily restricted and cramped by the plan which he adopted, his performance affords such proofs of ingenuity, and fancy, as will lead the reader to form no mean idea of his talents for an original and more important work. The style which he has chosen is that of majestic and lofty poetry: not the most congruous, surely, with his subject. The sentiments, however, which he has introduced, are lively and delicate; his descriptions are beautiful and poetic; his diction is highly polished, and his versification is uniformly harmonious.

“The Progress of Civil Society, a didactic Poem, in six Books, by Richard Payne Knight,” is a work which we have read with no small share of pleasure. In the first book the author delineates man and his manners, in the earliest and rudest state of society, that of hunting tribes. The second book describes the pastoral state, and the alterations effected by the ease and leisure which it introduced. In the third book man is represented in the more advanced and improved state of agricultural life, when Mr. Knight supposed the refinements of love first inspired the true art of poetry, of which he traces the progress. The fourth book treats of the rise of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and their effects on the state of society and manners. The fifth book describes the influence of climate and soil on man, and presents us with the novel and singular hypothesis that the primitive race of men were negroes, “beneath the burning tropics bred,” whose descendants have acquired various degrees of fairness, from various degrees of “climate’s cold.” In the sixth book the author illustrates the effects of government and conquest on men and manners, from the pe-

riod of the subversion of the Roman empire, to that of modern Europe. In each book he has introduced discussions on various collateral topics, philosophical, moral, and political, in a manner that shews him to possess a well-informed, enlarged, and liberal mind. Mr. Knight’s poetry is frequently distinguished by sublimity of conception, considerable vigour and force of expression, propriety and elegance of language, and harmony of numbers. Exceptions, indeed, we might point out against each of the characteristics we have mentioned; which we must attribute to the circumstance “that he has not spent so much time in correcting and polishing what he has written as it requires.” But the defects and blemishes in this poem will be found to bear but a small proportion to its numerous excellencies.

Mr. Cooke’s “Conversation, a didactic Poem, in three Parts,” contains many sensible remarks, and judicious rules, delivered in neat and pleasing, although not very elegant and animated verse. The first and second parts contain directions for avoiding gross, or unpleasant improprieties in conversation; and the third part describes the qualities that tend to render it lively and entertaining.

“The Pleader’s Guide, a didactic Poem, in two Books, by the late John Surrebutter, Esq; Special Pleader, and Barrister at Law,” is a witty and humorous jeu d’esprit, written in accurate and easy hudi-brastic verse, and excellently calculated to make the readers’

“————— matches play
And give their cheeks a holiday.”

In the first book, which is the only one yet published, the author delivers to his cousin Job eight lectures on the preliminary proceedings of a

suit at law, together with burlesque memoirs of Mr. Surrebutter's professional career. And in performing this task, he has discovered a wonderful facility in blending the crabbed and uncouth technical terms of law, with the elegant and lively language of the muses. This poem is accompanied with grave notes, explanatory of the professional phrases, and conveying useful legal information.

Mr. Fosbrooke's "Economy of Monastic Life, (as it existed in England) a Poem, with Philosophical and Archæological Illustrations, from Lyndwood, Dugdale, &c. and copious Extracts from original Manuscripts," is a work on which the author has bestowed much industry and attention, and what will be found highly gratifying to antiquarian curiosity. It is divided into three books, accompanied with illustrative notes, and a preliminary dissertation; in which the origin of monkery, monastic buildings, their ornaments and furniture, the manners and employments of the residents from the abbot to the porter, the different branches of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the destruction of the monasteries by Henry VIII. are described with considerable particularity, and from the most genuine sources of information. The manner in which Mr. Fosbrooke has chosen to convey the result of his researches, is the stanza of Spenser; in which he has made free use of antiquated and obsolete phraseology. With respect to the character of his poetry it is but justice to say, that it is frequently distinguished by energy, and beauty of description; but it is sometimes, likewise, very blamably defective in ease, perspicuity, and melody.

"The Progress of Despotism, a Poem, in two Parts, with Notes,"

abounds in liberal sentiments, and useful reflections, by which it is much more powerfully recommended to the reader's attention than by any peculiar poetical merit. For notwithstanding that it presents us with some well wrought description, and pleasing versification, as a whole it does not rise above mediocrity, while it displays numerous instances of prosaic feebleness, and negligence of composition. The object of the author is, to trace the progress of society from the earliest periods; the origin of despotism; its connexion with superstition; the changes which have taken place in the world from despotism to liberty, and from liberty to despotism; and to exhort his countrymen from the examples which he adduces, to guard the British constitution against the encroachments of civil tyranny.

"The Pains of Memory, a Poem, by Robert Merry, A. M." offers the reader a contrast to the charming picture of the "Pleasures of Memory," drawn by Mr. Rogers in his poem under that title, noticed by us in our Register for the year 1792. The latter presented some of the most interesting scenes on the bright side of human life, which afford delightful sensations in the recollection. Our author has chosen to direct the attention to such gloomy and afflictive circumstances, as produce painful and bitter remembrance. In the descriptions to which this choice of subject has given rise, he has displayed much vigour of conception, and striking imagery, and clothed his sentiments in correct and elegant language. We cannot approve, however, of the tendency of his poem; which, as it consists solely of dark and melancholy scenes, is calculated to impress the mind with dissatisfactory

satisfactory and unjust views of the order of nature.

"The Influence of Local Attachment with respect to Home," is a poem of very considerable merit, in which the author has united philosophical discussion, on the principle of association of ideas, with poetical description, in illustrating the general sentiment which he has adopted. It is written in the stanza of Spencer, and is spirited, correct, elegant, and interesting. From the large extract we have given in a preceding department of our work, we have no doubt but that our readers will be induced to join with us in this verdict, and to add the "Influence of Local Attachment" to their lists of choice collections of modern poetry.

Miss Seward's "Llangollen Vale, with other Poems," will prove an highly acceptable offering to the lovers of genuine poetry. They are distinguished by great boldness of fancy; beauty of description; refinement of sentiment, elegance of language, and harmony of versification. Llangollen Vale is celebrated in animated and pleasing strains; first as the principal scene of Owen Glendwr's martial exploits, when he gallantly resisted the attacks of Henry IV. on the independence and liberties of his country; secondly, as the spot consecrated to love by the tender songs of the poet Hoel; and thirdly, as rendered interesting by having been for seventeen years the sequestered retreat of an accomplished pair of female friends, lady Eleanor Butler, and miss Porsonby. The other pieces in this collection are, Verses on Wrexham, containing elegant compliments to some of the inhabitants of its environs; Hoyle Lake, which we have inserted among our poetical selections; a

spirited paraphrase on an ancient Norse poem, of which a literal prose translation is subjoined; interesting Lines on visiting Eyam, the authoress's native place; an Address to Time past; and some sonnets.

"Bewsey, a Poem," is the production of a young bard, who, from the powers of fancy and description which he displays, the elegant simplicity of his diction, and his tuneful numbers, gives fair promise of future excellence. Among our selections under the head of Poetry, our readers will find a specimen of his talents in painting rural scenery.

"The Sea, a Poem, in two Books, by John Bidlake, B. A." possesses numerous marks of those poetical powers which we attributed to the author when we introduced his former pieces to our readers, in our history of the literature of the year 1794. And it gives us pleasure to be able to remark, that, although we can not pronounce it free from blemishes, in point of language and composition, it affords much less scope for animadversion than the above-mentioned poems. This performance of Mr. Bidlake is written in blank verse, and contains a variety of high wrought scenery, and beautiful description, intermingled with just and liberal reflections, philosophical, commercial, and moral, together with interesting and pathetic tales.

Mrs. Robinson's "Sappho and Phaon, in a Series of Legitimate Sonnets, &c." delineates the varieties produced on an elegant and accomplished mind, which yields itself up to the unresisted and tyrannical influence of the tender passion. It consists of forty-four sonnets, which are distinguished by
R + brilliancy

brilliancy of fancy, tenderness of sentiment, and elegance of diction. They possess, likewise, the merit of chasteness and simplicity. Prefixed to them are anecdotes of the Lesbian muse, the character of her poetry as far as it can be ascertained from the few remains that are handed down to us, and an engraving of her head, from a marble bust in the palace of prince Giustiniani at Rome.

Sir Brooke Boothby's "Sorrrows, sacred to the Memory of Penelope," are a pleasing tribute of parental affection, consisting of twenty-four sonnets, and two elegies, which breathe the most tender and pathetic sentiments, in simple, yet highly polished and melodious strains. To these are added some miscellaneous poems, imitations of Horace, and a translation of Tasso's account of the death of Clorinda. This volume is printed in the highest style of elegance, and is ornamented with several exquisitely beautiful engravings.

The little volume of "Poems by Lady Tuite," contains a variety of pleasing pieces, which, if they are not marked by the higher characters of poetry, abound in just and delicate sentiments, dressed, in general, in correct language, and easy versification. Many of them wear that pensive cast, from which the reader will be led to surmise that they have been dictated by a wounded, and disappointed mind.

The volume of "Poems, and Fugitive Pieces by Eliza," likewise, among many trifling productions which might have been omitted without any injury to her reputation, contains some easy and elegant pieces, distinguished by just sentiment, simplicity, and pathos.

"The Poetical Works of the Rev. Samuel Bishop, A. M. late

Head-master of Merchant Taylors' School, &c." in 2 vols. 4to. consist of a vast mass of miscellaneous pieces, some serious, but most of them comic, the employment of his leisure hours, and written, chiefly, for the amusement of himself and his friends. The design of collecting and publishing them, would seem to have originated in a benevolent desire to serve the author's family, by inviting those who knew and esteemed the man, to encourage an extensive sale of what frequently delighted and entertained them in their neighborly intercourse, or when handed about in manuscript. We will not injure such a sale, by what might be deemed severe, or fastidious remarks. Many of these pieces are ingenious, many are elegant and affectionate, and many are distinguished by lively effusions of wit and humour. The life of Mr. Bishop, which is prefixed by the editor, the rev. Thomas Clare, represents him in a very respectable light, as far as relates to his domestic, friendly, moral, and religious character: on the judgment and impartiality with which he has appreciated his poetical merits, we leave his readers to decide, from the ample materials which he has afforded them.

The two volumes of "Poems by the Rev. Henry Rowe, L.L.B." appear to have been published with the view of relieving the author from the pressure of severe personal, and domestic distress. We trust that the mention of this circumstance, will recommend the patronage of them to many benevolent and feeling bosoms. Were they to read one of them, entitled "The Poet's Lamentation," it would plead, although in humble and artless strains, very powerfully in the author's favour.

The

The volume of "Poems on various Subjects, by S. T. Coleridge, late of Jesus College, Cambridge," offers numerous unequivocal proofs of genius, and cultivated taste, that will secure it a favourable reception with the lovers of genuine poetry. The critical eye, indeed, will discover, in the different pieces which it contains, some marks of negligence, as well as objectionable and unauthorized expressions and compound epithets. But for these blemishes, the beauties which they afford will abundantly atone. Among the principal poems in this collection, are a Monody on the Death of Chatterton, and Songs of the Pixies, who, in the rustic superstition of Devonshire, are a kind of fairies, harmless, or friendly to man; which are in irregular verse, and abound in pathetic passages, and pleasing imagery: and a piece entitled Religious Musings, in blank verse, distinguished by important sentiments and sublime conceptions. Of the smaller pieces, the most beautiful and impressive are what the author calls Effusions, which breathe liberal and tender sentiments, in animated and pleasing language.

The "Poems, consisting of Elegies, Sonnets, Odes, Canzonets, and the Pleasures of Solitude, by P. Courtier," are not destitute of considerable merit, as works of genius, and examples of easy harmonious versification. They cannot, however, be exculpated from gross inaccuracies, and debasing conceits and phraseology. The just and liberal sentiments that pervade them, will forcibly recommend them to the candid critic.

With similar recommendations, and, we must in justice add, with fewer defects, we announce "Revolutions, a Poem, in two Books,"

in blank verse, by the same author, which contains numerous passages that do him great credit as a poet, and as a man of feeling and reflection.

The volume of "Poems by G. D. Harley, of the Theatre-royal, Covent-garden," affords evidence of the author's possessing powers of invention and description, which entitle him to a respectable rank among modern poets. His defective education, however, which he feelingly laments, has betrayed him into various inaccuracies, in point of language and expression. The larger poems in this collection are in blank verse, and are descriptive, and moral. Among the smaller pieces, some are written in the ballad style, and are simple, tender, and pleasing.

Mr. Parsons's elegant, and, in its intention, highly commendable "Ode to a Boy at Eton," we have inserted among our poetical selections. The publication in which it appears contains also three pleasing sonnets, an epigram, and explanatory and critical notes. Among the latter will be found, some severe and just strictures on the inaccuracies to be met with in Gray's poetry.

The volume entitled "Sketches in Verse, with Prose Illustrations," consists of odes, sonnets, songs, and lines, written on various occasions, very elegantly printed, which, if they bear no striking marks of genius and originality, are recommended by pleasing imagery, and easy smooth versification. Among the prose illustrations, the reader will meet with an attempt to vindicate the absurd and superstitious belief of the vulgar and ignorant in apparitions; and a defence of the equally unphilosophical and ridiculous notions, that a natural
6 respect

respect is due to family and birth, and that the endowments of the mind are hereditary.

"The Sea-sick Minstrel, or Maritime Sorrows, a Poem, in six Cantos," is a mock heroic, in which the author, by a strange perversion of taste, has combined together an abundant portion of filthy descriptions, and criticisms on the fine arts. In the latter, he is employed in characterizing our principal artists, and in satirizing Mr. Bromley, the author of a philosophical and critical history of the fine arts, and Mr. Knight's poem, entitled the Landscape. His lines are not devoid of poetic merit, but they bear too numerous marks of carelessness and negligence.

In our Register for the year 1794, we introduced to our readers the "Pursuits of Literature, or what you will, a satirical Poem, in Dialogue." During the present year, parts II. and III. of that work have made their appearance, in which the author's object is still the same, and pursued in a similar manner.

Our necessary limits will permit us to insert the titles only of the following articles: "Poems by Mrs. J. Pilkington, in 2 vols;" "Donald Bane, Lord of the Hebrides, or Western Isles, an Heroic Poem, in 3 Books, by George Skene, Esq;" "Poems of various Kinds, by Edward Hamley, Fellow of New College;" "Poetic Effusions, pastoral, moral, amatory, and descriptive, by W. Perfect, M.D;" "Miscellaneous Poems, by Richard Cooksey, esq;" "Poetical Essays, by W. Wainhouse;" "Odes, and Miscellaneous Poems, by a Student of Medicine;" "Poems on the Death of Priscilla Farmer, by her Grandson Charles Lloyd;" "Poems by Joseph Cottle;" "Elegiac

Stanzas, written during Sickness at Bath, December 1795, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, A. M;" "Hope, an Allegorical Sketch, on recovering slowly from Sickness," by the same author;" "Address to Sympathy, addressed to Mrs. Leigh;" "Meditations by Moon-light, a Poem;" "The Village Muse, or a Poem on Summer, by Juvenis;" "The Alps, a moral and descriptive Poem, from the German of Haller;" "A Collection of Trifles, in Verse, by C. E. Stewart, A. M;" "Sketches in Verse, by Thomas Robinson;" "The Balance, in three Cantos;" "Quashy, or the Coal-black Maid, by Captain T. Morris;" "A Paraphrase on Gray's Elegy, written on the unfortunate Catastrophe of the late H. Weston, executed for Forgery;" "The Triumphs of War, by W. Amphlett;" "The Triumph of Innocence, an Ode, written on the Deliverance of Maria Theresa Charlotte from the Prison of the Temple, by Eyles Irwin, Esq;" "A select Collection of Epigrams, many of them original, by Thomas Clio Rickman;" "Sketches on various Subjects, by the Author of the Democrat;" "An Epistle in Verse to the Rev. Dr. Randolph, occasioned by the Publication of his Correspondence with the Earl and Countess of Jersey, with Notes;" "An equestrian Epistle, in Verse, to the Earl of Jersey, Master of the Horse to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales," occasioned by the same correspondence, by the same author;" "Memoirs of the Royal Academicians, by Anthony Pasquin, Esq;" "The New Brighton Guide, or Companion for Young Ladies and Gentlemen to all the Watering Places in Great Britain, by John Williams, alias Anthony Pasquin, Esq;" "The Pin-basket, a Satire,

by Anthony Pasquin, Senior;" "A critical Review of Mr. Burke's two Pamphlets, in a poetical Epistle from Simkin the Second to his Brother Simon in Wales;" "The Political Dramatist, in November 1795, a Poem;" "A Consolatory Epistle to Mr. Reeves;" "Peace, Ignominy, and Destruction, by Mr. Jerminham;" and "Familiar Letters from the Ghost of Shakspeare to Sammy Ireland."

The Dramatic publications of the year 1796 were, "Fiesco, or the Genoese Conspiracy, a Tragedy, from the German of Schiller;" "The Modern Arria, a Tragedy in 5 Acts, from the German of F. M. Klinger;" "The Negro-Slaves, a dramatic historical Piece, in 3 Acts, from the German of De Kotzbue;" "Almeyda, Queen of Grenada, a Tragedy, by Miss Lee;" "The Sicilian Lovers, a Tragedy, by Mrs. Robinson;" "The Battle of Eddington, or British Liberty, a Tragedy, by J. Penn;" "Vortimer, a Tragedy, by A. Portal;" "Inez, a Tragedy;" "The Days of Yore, a Drama, in 3 Acts, by Mr. Cumberland;" "The Iron Chest, a Play, in 3 Acts, by George Colman the younger;" "The Fugitive, a Comedy, by J. Richardson, Esq.;" "The Man of Ten Thousand, a Comedy, by Thomas Holcroft;" "The Way to get Married, a Comedy, by Thomas Morton, Esq." "Abroad and at Home, a comic Opera, in 3 Acts, by George Holman, Esq.;" "Lock and Key, a musical Entertainment, in 3 Acts, by Prince Hoare, Esq.;" "The Smugglers, a musical Drama, by S. Birch;" and "Village Virtues, a dramatic Satire, in two Parts."

In the list of our Miscellaneous

articles, we have to insert the fifth and sixth volumes of the popular and excellent little work entitled "Evenings at Home, or the Juvenile Budget opened, consisting of a Variety of miscellaneous Pieces for the Instruction and Amusement of young Persons." What we have said of the preceding volumes in our Registers for the years 1793 and 1794, renders it unnecessary for us to do more in this place, than to announce the appearance of those before us; excepting that it may be proper to add, that they are the last which are to be expected from the same authors, on the same plan.

In our last year's Register we introduced to our readers Mrs. Charlotte Smith's pleasing and instructive little work entitled "Rural Walks." During the present year she has published "Rambles farther, a Continuation of Rural Walks, &c. in 2 Vols." which are written on the same plan, and equally merit the notice of young persons, for whose benefit they are intended.

The "Address to a Young Lady on her Entrance into the World, in 2 Vols." is delivered in the character of a governess taking leave of her pupil of rank and fortune, and inculcates much serious and useful advice, in plain, perspicuous, and impressive language. The topics on which she expatiates are, the reading of the scriptures, the observance of the sabbath, truth, content, fortitude, pride, and the duties of children to parents.

"The Juvenile Olio, or Mental Medley, consisting of original Essays, moral and literary, Tales, Fables, Reflections, &c. intended to correct the Judgment, to improve the Taste, and to humanize the Mind," is a pleasing and useful work,

work, in which good moral lessons are agreeably intermingled with interesting stories, designed and calculated to render them impressive, and young persons are judiciously brought to the threshold of scientific knowledge.

Mr. Stedman's "Study of Astronomy, adapted to the Capacities of Youth, in twelve familiar Dialogues, and illustrated with Copper-plates," appears well calculated to lead young persons to an acquaintance with the rudiments of that science. His explanations of technical terms are easy and perspicuous, his descriptions and illustrations plain and judicious, and his language correct and pleasing.

M. D'Israeli, on whose industry in multifarious reading, taste in selection, and ingenuity of remark, we have had repeated opportunities of bestowing our applause, has published, during the present year, a volume of "Miscellanies, or Literary Recreations," of the same character with his preceding works, and which we recommend as a lively and entertaining performance. It is written in the form of essays, and embraces various curious and interesting topics, too numerous to be specified in our catalogue.

The volume entitled "Anecdotes, historical, and literary, or a miscellaneous Selection of curious and striking Passages from eminent modern Authors," is not destitute of interesting and entertaining matter, industriously collected from a variety of books, on different subjects, but it is mixed with too much trash, which a tolerable share of judgment and taste would have excluded.

The same remarks apply to the "Interesting Anecdotes, Memoirs, Allegories, Essays, and poetical

Fragments, &c. in 4 Vols. by Mr. Addison."

The volume entitled "Epistles Domestic, Confidential, and Official, from General Washington, written about the Commencement of the American Contest, when he entered on the Command of the Army of the United States, &c." is a collection of most impudent and malignant forgeries, fabricated, and originally published in a ministerial newspaper, at New York, when it was in the possession of the British army. The object of them was, to destroy the confidence of the Americans in the integrity and public spirit of their commander in chief, and to alienate the country from the grand cause in which they had embarked. We need not say how completely they failed in producing their designed effect. Their recent republication in America, and since that in this country, after the most satisfactory evidence of their being the invention of some infamous prostitute writer, we cannot reconcile with our notions of honour, or honesty. The greater part of the official papers which are added, are garbled, or altered so as to give an appearance of authenticity to some parts of the forgeries.

The "Three Dialogues on the Amusements of Clergymen," are said to have been published from a manuscript of Dr. Josiah Framp-ton, whose library and papers were sold in London, about the year 1730, and to have been penned by him, as containing the substance of real conversations which passed between himself and dean Stillingfleet, the author of *Origines Sacre*. Some of the remarks and observations which they contain may perhaps appear too precise and rigid; and it may be thought that, in more than one instance, the exercises

exercises and amusements proscribed, are full as innocent and decorous as others which are permitted. They offer, however, much judicious and useful advice, deserving the attention of all the serious clergy, particularly the younger members of the order, delivered in an easy lively style, and interspersed with illustrative anecdotes.

Mr. Burges's "Desultory Hints on Violence of Opinion and Intemperance of Language," reflect great honour on the good sense, liberality, and candour of the author, and merit the notice of polemics of all parties, political and theological. The good advice which they enforce, was never more seasonable than at the present period.

The "Hints to Fresh-Men, from a Member of the University of Cambridge," consist of excellent moral and prudential rules, delivered in the form of maxims, and enlivened by strokes of wit and pleasantry.

"The Correspondence between the Earl and Countess of Jersey, and the Rev. Dr. Randolph, on the Subject of some Letters belonging to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of late so much the Topic of public Conversation," was published by lord Jersey, to vindicate his lady from the suspicion of being concerned in the interception of a packet, which, among other circumstances, is understood to have contributed to an unhappy misunderstanding in high life. We cannot say that it throws much light on that mysterious business.

"The Triumph of Acquaintance over Friendship, an Essay for the Times, by a Lady," is a lively but desultory performance, in which,

if the writer has any serious design, it is to decry all indulgence to the generous emotions of the heart, and to recommend the cultivation of cold politeness, and artificial good breeding, as the surer means of self-enjoyment. If the lady's feelings correspond with her theory, her happiness will not excite our envy.

The Romances and Novels of the year 1796 were very numerous, and many of them possessed considerable merit in that species of composition. In this number we must rank "Camilla, or a Picture of Youth, by the Author of *Evelina* and *Cecilia*, in 5 Vols;" "Nature and Art, by Mrs. Inchbald, in 2 Vols;" "Emma Courtney, by Mary Hays, in 2 Vols;" "The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents, by Mrs. Radcliffe, in 3 Vols;" "Marchmont, a Novel, by Charlotte Smith, in 4 Vols;" "Angelina, by Mrs. Robinson, in 3 Vols;" "Hubert de Sevrac, a Romance of the eighteenth Century, by the same, in 3 Vols;" "Letters of a Hindoo Rajah, written previous to, and during his residence in England, by Eliza Hamilton, in 2 Vols;" "Edward; various Views of Human Nature, taken from Life and Manners, chiefly in England, by the Author of *Zeluco*, in 2 Vols;" "The Monk, a Romance, by J. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. in 3 Vols;" "Travels before the Flood, from the Arabic, in 2 Vols;" "Man as he is, a Novel, in 4 Vols;" "Hermsprong, or Man as he is not," by the same author, in 3 vols; "Theodore Cyphon, or the Benevolent Jew, by G. Walker, in 3 Vols;" "Clarentine, in 3 Vols;" "Modern Novel-writing," a satirical production, by lady Marlow, in 2 vols; "The Knights

Knights of the Swan, or the Court of Charlemagne, a Romance, from the French of the Countess of Genlis, in 2 Vols;" "Paul and Virginia, from the French of Bernardin St. Pierre, with original Sonnets, by Helen Maria Williams;" "James the Fatalist, a philosophical Romance, from the French of the late M. Diderot;" "The History of Peregrinus Proteus, the Philosopher, from the German of Wielaw, in 2 Vols;" "The Life and Opinions of Sebalus Nothanker, translated from the German of Frederic Nicolai, by Thomas Dutton, A. M. Vol. I;" "The Black Valley, a Tale, from the German of Weber, Author of the Sorcerer;" and "Albert de Nordenschild, translated from the German, in 2 Vols. The following belong to the same class of publications: "The Foresters, altered from the French, by Miss Gunning, in 4 Vols;" "The Abbey of Clugny, by Mrs. Meeke, in 3 Vols;" "Anzoletta Zadofski, by Mrs. Howell, in 2 Vols;" "Georgina, or the Advantages of grand Connections, by the same, in 2 Vols;" "The Children of the Abbey, by Maria Roche, in 4 Vols;" "Joan, by Matilda Fitz-John, in 4 Vols;" "Isabinda of Bellefield, by Mrs. Courtney, in 3 Vols;" "Select Fairy Tales, from the German of Wielaw, in 2 Vols;" "The History of Ned Evans, in 4 Vols;" "Maria, or the Vicarage, in 2 Vols;" "Edington, by R. Hey, Esq. in 2 Vols;" "Clementina, by J. I. Cambon;" "The Magnanimous Amazon, in 2 Vols;" "Angelo, by E. H. Iliff, in 2 Vols;" "Adela Northington, in 3 Vols;" "Fatality, in 3 Vols;" "The Pavilion, in 4 Vols;" "Ma-

tilda and Elizabeth, in 4 Vols;" "Lewis de Boncœur, by Catherine Lara, in 2 Vols;" "Durval and Adelaide, by the same;" "Consequences, or Adventures of Wraxall Castle;" "Hannah Hewitt, or the Female Crusoe, by Mr. Dibdin, in 3 Vols;" "The Mansion-House, in 2 Vols;" "The Creole, or the Haunted Island, by Samuel Arnold, jun. in 3 Vols;" "The Mystery of the Black Tower, by J. Palmer, jun. in 2 Vols;" "Love's Pilgrimage, in 3 Vols;" "Memoirs of the Ancient House of Clarendon, in 3 Vols;" "Agatha, in 3 Vols;" "Memoirs of the Marquis de Villebon, in a Series of Letters, in 2 Vols;" "The Woodland Cottage, in 4 Vols;" "The Farmer of Inglewood Forest, by Elizabeth Helme, in 4 Vols;" "The Hermit of Caucasus, by Joseph Moser, in 2 Vols;" "The Abstract, a Character from Life, in 3 Vols;" "Montgomery, or Scenes in Wales, in 2 Vols;" "Eloise de Montblanc, by a Young Lady of Fashion, in 4 Vols;" "Augusta Fitzherbert, or Anecdotes of Real Characters, in 2 Vols;" "The Castle of Inchvally, a Tale, by Stephen Cullen, in 3 Vols;" "The Sorrows of Edith, by Mrs. Burke, in 2 Vols;" "A Gossip's Story, and Legendary Tales, by Mrs. West, in 2 Vols;" "The Mansion-House, by a Young Gentleman, in 2 Vols;" "Manfredi, Baron St. Osmond, an old English Romance, by Sarah Lansdell, in 2 Vols;" "The Ruins of Avondale Priory, by Mrs. Kelly, in 3 Vols;" "Delves, by Mrs. Gunning, in 2 Vols;" "Horrid Mysteries, from the German of Grotz, by P. Will, in 4 Vols;" and "The Disappointed Heir, by A. Gomerfall, in 2 Vols."

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1796.

WHEN we turn our attention to the foreign productions of the year, we still find ourselves very scantily supplied with materials for presenting to our readers an historical catalogue of the literature of the northern European kingdoms, and of the United Provinces, now denominated the Batavian republic. Among the few articles belonging to the Russian dominions, of which we have seen any account, we have to announce the Vth, VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth parts of Mr. Herder's "Letters to promote Humanity" (perhaps the word Humanization, if we may be allowed to use it, will better convey to the English reader an idea of the author's meaning), published at Riga. In some of our preceding volumes we have introduced to our readers the former parts of this ingenious and interesting work, in the order of their appearance. English poetry is characterized by Mr. Herder in his VIIIth part; but not with uniform impartial justice to some of our most favourite authors, especially in his comparison of their merits with those of the most popular of the German poets.—At Petersburg, the 1st volume of "Prize Papers and Essays of the Free Economical Society at Petersburg," has been published, containing many valuable articles,

illustrated with several plates. The contributors to this volume are; M. Friebe, M. G. F. Engelmann, M. Ornæus, M. Laxmann, M. P. Eberhard Schrœter, M. Dalgren, Dr. Formey, and M. Pallas.—At Riga, M. H. Storch has published the first volume of "Materials towards a Knowledge of the Russian Empire," which consists of a selection of Russian tracts, translated entirely, or in part, into the German language.—At the same place, M. W. A. Hupel has published, from the original of general J. H. Von Weymarn, a treatise "On the First Campaign of the Russian Army against the Prussians, in the Year 1757," which is a valuable document respecting an interesting period in the seven years' war.—At Petersburg, M. F. E. Schrœder has published "Dr. J. Reinegg's General Historical and Topographical Description of Caucasus, compiled from his Posthumous Papers, Vol. I." which the author's literary talents, and the opportunity he enjoyed of collecting information during five different journeys into the Caucasian mountains, will render an acceptable present to the naturalist, the historian, and the geographer.—At the same place have appeared three numbers of well-executed aquatinta plates, of which there are six in

in each number, entitled "The Cries of Petersburg," drawn and etched by Schoenberg and Geißler. These plates contain views of different parts of the city of Petersburg, with figures of the persons who follow their trades in the streets, each in his proper habiliments; accompanied with descriptions, conveying every necessary information respecting the subjects, in French and German.

Among the few articles which we have seen announced in Swedish literature, we find "Memoirs of the Society for the Promotion of general Knowledge among the Citizens, Vol. I. Parts 1—8." published at Stockholm. This useful work is more particularly adapted to the improvement of political economy among the Swedes, and according to the situation and climate of their country: but it offers many valuable hints from which other nations may profit. So, likewise, does the periodical work, entitled "The new Economical Journal," published at the same place, containing essays on various important subjects, coincident with the design of the work. The last volume of which we have seen any notice, consists of the papers received and approved from January to June 1794.—At the same place, M. J. Alb. Flintberg has published a treatise on "The Maritime Law of Sweden, with Remarks, containing the new Ordinances introduced into it, with an Account of the Duties of the Swedish Consuls at the several foreign Ports, and the Perquisites due to them;" which must prove an useful publication to those who are engaged in commercial connections with that country.—At Abo, professor Tengström has published well-written "Memoirs of Dr. J. E. Terserus,

Bishop of Linköping," who appears to have been a very respectable and liberal man; too liberal to escape the persecution of his less informed and envious contemporaries.—At Stockholm a splendid work has appeared, entitled "Ex Museo Regis Sueciæ Antiquarum e Marmore Statuarum Series integra;" which presents to the public, in seventeen copperplates, an idea of the nature and value of many antique statues, purchased at Rome by Gustavus III. accompanied with descriptions, attributed to C. F. Von Fredenheim, inspector of the royal cabinet.

The Danish dominions have been unusually barren of literary productions during the year 1796, or we have been peculiarly unfortunate in our inquiries concerning them. At Altona, C. Fred. Cramer has published a work, intitled "On my Lot, a Manuscript for my Friends," which is valuable as a document illustrating the spirit of the times in Denmark. It appears, that M. Cramer, having advertised a translation of Petion's works on the subject of legislation, and expressed himself in his advertisement in terms of praise respecting the author, received a severe reprimand from the government at Copenhagen; on his modestly justifying what he had written, he was ordered to be dismissed from his professorship at Kiel, with the allowance of half his salary, provided he would avoid all propagation of his principles. The petition of his colleagues, who gave him a very high character, was unavailing to prevent the execution of the harsh and impolitic sentence. His account of the whole transaction, and his reflections upon it, do honour to his temper and independent spirit.—At the same place,

M. A. F. Hecker has published the first part of a "Repository of Pathological Anatomy and Physiology," and in the prosecution of his plan is promised the assistance of several of the most able anatomists of the present day. What he has already performed is highly spoken of by the foreign reviewers. At Copenhagen, M. J. Sylvester Saxthorp, lecturer on midwifery, has published "An Examination of Obstetrical Instruments, an Inaugural Dissertation," which is stated to abound in judicious remarks, that will be found of considerable use to practitioners.—At the same place, Dr. C. H. Pfaff has translated, from the enlarged English edition, "Browne's System of Medicine, with a critical Dissertation on the Brunonian Principles;" from the appearance of which, together with the other translations of that author's Elements, and the late speculative productions of medical writers on the continent, we may perceive that a change is rapidly taking place in foreign medical science.

With respect to the productions of the Batavian republic, we have received scarcely any information since our last imperfect notice of Dutch literature. At Utrecht, M. Hennert, mathematical professor, has published "A Treatise on the Fortification of Towns and Camps, and the Range of Bombs, with a Plan of Instruction for Officers." This publication is spoken of as a very valuable manual for professional men, and an honourable testimony of the learned professor's patriotism, in devoting his distinguished talents to the service of his country.—At Amsterdam, a volume has been published, intitled "Essays and Observations in Natural History, chiefly relating to our own
1796.

Country, by J. Florentius Martinet, Fellow of the Dutch Society of Sciences, &c." illustrated with plates. These essays, which we believe have already appeared in the Haarlem Transactions, contain useful materials for a natural history of the Dutch territory, and remarks and observations that will not prove unacceptable to foreigners as well as to natives.—At Utrecht, M. Jer. de Bosch has published the long-wished-for edition of the "Anthologia Græca," with the Latin version of Hugo Grotius. The original of this version, which is an excellent one, and in many respects superior to all others, lay for a considerable time concealed from the inquiries of the learned, in the possession of the celebrated Dorville. The younger Burmann obtained permission from his surviving son to take a copy of it; which after his death came into the hands of our editor. And he expresses his hope of being able to procure the whole of Dorville's critical labours on these poems, which, with his own remarks, and such as he may think proper to select from the works of other critics, he intends to publish in a future volume. The literary world is much indebted to him for the present volume, and will impatiently expect the supplementary one.

The publications in German literature which call for our first notice, are such as belong to the department of Biblical Criticism and Theology. In this number we find "Novum Testamentum Græce. Textum ad Fidem Codicum, Versionum, et Patrum recensuit, et Lectionis Varietatem adjecit, D. O. Jac. Griesbach. Volumen I. Quatuor Evangelia complectens. Editio secunda, emendatio, multoque locupletior, 8vo." The two volumes
S of

of the first edition of this very valuable and important work were published in the years 1775 and 1777, and raised the author to distinguished eminence among biblical critics. Since their appearance, he has diligently employed himself in collecting materials for carrying his work to the highest pitch of perfection in his power. The volume before us is part of the result of his arduous labours, in which he appears to have used the utmost care to settle the text as perfectly as possible, and to mention every various reading, of real importance, that had been either noticed by former editors, or observed by himself in his very numerous collections. To the whole he has prefixed seven sections of Prolegomena, which present us with abundant proofs of extensive erudition, and profound critical skill. It is highly honourable to our own country, that Dr. Griesbach was encouraged in his undertaking by the munificent patronage of the duke of Grafton, at whose expence a considerable number of copies has been printed on paper sent on purpose from England, of a much superior quality to that of the common edition. This work was printed in Germany, and is published both at Halle, and in London.—At Berlin, another important work in biblical criticism has been published, intitled “*Codicis Manuscripti N. T. Græci Raviani, in Bibliothecâ Regiâ Berolinensi publicâ asservati Examen; quo ostenditur, alteram ejus Partem majorem ex Editione Complutensi, alteram minorem ex Editione Roberti Stephani tertiâ, esse descriptam, instituit Georgius Gottlieb Pappelbaum, &c.*” In this work the author has proved, with a weight of evidence equal to that of

mathematical demonstration, that the Ravian manuscript, so called from professor Rave of Upsal, to whom it belonged in the last century, is a bungling and contemptible forgery, of which no use whatever can be made in any question of biblical criticism. The sources whence, as he shews beyond dispute, it was compiled, are indicated in the title-page. To this work the author has added an appendix, containing, 1. Addenda to Wetstein’s Collection of various Readings from the Complutensian Edition. 2. A Letter written to Mr. Travis on the 1st of December 1785, of great importance in the controversy relative to the authenticity of 1 John, v. 7. the contents of which he was so disingenuous as to withhold from the public. This letter to the defender of the spurious passage is sufficiently severe, but not more so than his conduct warranted.—At Hilburghausen, a republication has appeared, with corrections, omissions, and additions, of “*Dr. J. G. Rosenmüller’s History of the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church, from the Age of the Apostles to that of Origen, Part I.*”—At Lemgo, M. I. F. Leun has published the first and second volumes of “*A Manual for a cursory Reading of the New Testament, intended for the Use of Schools and Universities,*” which is drawn up much in the form of a dictionary, and contains the significations of the principal words and modes of expression in the New Testament, according to the order in which they occur.—At Erfurt, professor Christ. Gotthilf Herrmann has published “*Elements of the Christian Religion, for the Use of Academies and Schools of the middle Rank,*” which is said to be executed with ability.

ability, and well adapted to the author's design. — At Gottingen, Dr. C. Fred. Ammon has published a "Sketch of Christian Morality, on scientific Principles, intended chiefly as a Text-book for his Lectures," in which he shews the agreement of the Christian religion, when the spirit is separated from the letter, with the dictates of pure reason. — At Leipzig, M. Politz, second professor of morals and history at the equestrian academy at Dresden, has published the first volume of "A philosophical View of the Theology of the later Jews." This volume consists of Prolegomena to the author's greater work, and is written with that learning and ability, which will lead the reader to entertain high expectations of the information to be derived from the prosecution of his plan. — At Frankfort and Leipzig, an anonymous author has published "An Inquiry into the Negative Religious Principle of the modern French," in which his object appears to be to prove the necessity of some established religion to the existence of a state: a dogma not supported either by arguments *à priori*, or *à posteriori*, in the estimation of some of the most zealous friends to religion in the old and new worlds. — At the latter place, M. C. G. Ribbeck has published a volume of "Sermons adapted to the Spirit and Wants of the Times and Place;" which are represented to possess very superior merit, but to be chiefly calculated for readers of cultivated minds and refined taste. — At Gotha, M. J. Fred. Christ. Lœffer has published a volume of "Sermons adapted to the Occurrences and Spirit of the Times," which are nine in number, and stated to be excellent discourses of

the moral kind. — At Leipzig, M. J. Rud. Theoph. Beyer has published "The History of the Primitive World, in Sermons, being an Attempt to render the unlearned better acquainted with the Spirit and Meaning of the Mosaic Records, and defend them against the Attacks of Raillery and Superstition;" of which the foreign journals speak in terms of respect, although they do not assign them an high rank in the list of pulpit compositions.

Under the head of Philosophy and Ethics, we meet with a treatise "on the Laws of the Association of Ideas, and particularly on a fundamental Principle of it hitherto unnoticed, by C. G. Bardili," published at Tübingen. The object of the author is, to simplify the laws of the association of ideas, and to trace them back to some higher determinate law. This law he denominates the principle of completeness, which appears to pervade all nature, to which, as to an endeavour to form a perfect whole, he refers all the modes of the association of ideas. — At the same place, professor Theodore Tiedeman has published 5 volumes of a truly elaborate and learned work, intitled "The Spirit of Speculative Philosophy, &c." in preparing which, he has been original and select in collecting his materials, and has judiciously interwoven civil history, and the circumstances and events of the lives of individual speculators, with the record of their theories and opinions, and grounds of proof, in a manner that renders his performance peculiarly interesting and instructive. As far as he has proceeded, he has, on a smaller scale, improved upon the arrangement and method of Brucker. — At Halle, professor J. Christ.

Hoffbauer has published a treatise intitled "The Natural Philosophy of the Mind, in Letters," the object of which is to explain, in an easy and perspicuous manner, the theory of the different mental faculties, and the state of the mind in exercising them. This design he has prosecuted with very great success. The more common phenomena of mind he reserves for a future investigation.—At Leipzig, M. G. Henrici has published a philosophical dialogue on the question "Do great Virtues or great Vices require the greater Powers of Mind?" This dialogue is very creditable to the author's abilities as a philosophical writer, and, while it satisfactorily establishes the position that true virtue alone denotes greatness of mind, contains many interesting, and important collateral observations.

Among the articles in German literature which are to be referred to the head of Government and Political Economy, we meet with a treatise "On the Government of the Roman Republic, by Al. Adrien de Texier," in three volumes, published at Hamburg. This is a very important and instructive work, intended to supply what the ablest writers on the Roman people and constitution have left in a considerable degree a desideratum, viz. a methodical and philosophical sketch of the institutions and spirit of Roman polity, and of the circumstances which gradually combined to render it so vigorous and efficient. It appears to be written throughout, with a designed allusion to the state of politics in this age of revolutions.—In our catalogue of the Foreign Literature of the year 1793, we announced the appearance of professor Heeren's "Ideas on the Policy, Intercourse, and

Commerce, of the principal Nations of Antiquity," vol. I. published at Gottingen. During the present year he has sent into the world the second volume of that valuable and interesting work, which comprehends the Persians, the Phenicians, the Babylonians, and the Scythians.—At Gottingen, likewise, M. de Martens has published "An Essay on Privateers, Captures, and Re-captures," which is a learned and ingenious performance, and offers much useful assistance in ascertaining what are the principles of the law of nations on the subjects discussed. The history presented in it of the origin and progress of legalized privateering, will gratify the curiosity of the reader.—In our last year's Register we announced the publication, at Hamburg, of Dumouriez' "Political View of the Future Situation of France." During the present year, he has published, at the same place, "A Continuation" of that work, in which, as circumstances and events have changed, the author has changed his sentiments and language, and accommodated them to the present order of things. Since the majority of the French nation, by the acceptance of the constitution of 1795, have given an unequivocal proof of their attachment to a republican form of government, he now thinks it his duty to offer up his vows for the safety of the French republic, and to present his countrymen with those remarks on the form they have adopted, and that advice which, in his judgment, will contribute to its amelioration and stability. Whatever may be thought of the man, his ideas may be useful; and we think that some of them merit the attention of the French nation.—The "Free Thoughts

on the most important Concern of Germany, respectfully offered to his own and other good Princes, for their Examination and serious Reflection, by a Friend to his Country," are the productions of an anonymous author, and privately printed. They have, however, obtained an extensive circulation in Germany, and not undeservedly. For they contain judicious exhortations to that reform in the government of the German states, without which a revolution is unavoidable, and at the same time point out the means of accomplishing it.—Under similar circumstances of concealment with respect to the name of the author, and the place where printed, another work appeared entitled "Of the Interest of the Prussian Monarchy, in the Situation of Affairs as they were in January, 1796," the object of which was to persuade the Prussian cabinet to rejoin the confederacy against France. They pursued, however, a line of better policy, and escaped the disgrace in which the allies, since that period, have been involved.—At Erfurt, M. J. Meichior Moeller has published a prize "Essay on saving Moveables and Household Furniture in Case of Fire," which the German Reviews, without entering into particulars, pronounce to be a work of importance.—The "Four Papers relative to the Cultivation of the Danube Morafs in Bavaria," (where printed not mentioned) contain complaints against that economical project, which was noticed by us in our last volume, together with answers to those complaints, and the report of a committee of enquiry, stating the benefits which have arisen to the country from the patriotic undertaking.—At Nuremberg, C. Fred.

W. Glasers has published "A Description of a newly invented economical Lamp for Students, calculated for preserving the Eyes, and attended with some other Advantages." This lamp is on the principle of Argand's; but the glass tube is surrounded with another at a small distance, and the interval between them is filled with a solution of verdigrease in vinegar, to render the light emitted through them less prejudicial to the eyes. A moveable mirror is also added, to throw the light wherever required.

The next articles in German literature which call for our notice, belong to the department of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. In this number is "The Polynomial Theorem, the most important Problem in Algebra, with some others, demonstrated anew by Tetens, Kluegel, Kramp, Plaff, and Hindenburg, published with Remarks, and a brief Sketch of the Combination Method and its Application to Algebra, by C. F. Hindenburg," at Leipzig. This work is a defence, as well as illustration of professor Hindenburg's method exhibited in his "Novi Systematis Permutationum, Variationum, ac Combinationum primæ Lineæ," which is represented in the foreign Journals to be as great an acquisition to the whole science of algebra, as that of infinite series was at the end of the last century.—At the same place M. H. A. Rothe has published "Formulæ de Serierum Reversione Demonstratio universalis, Signis localibus combinatorio-analyticorum vicariis exhibita," which is calculated only for adepts in mathematical science, and for those in particular who are acquainted with the language of

professor Hindenburg.—At Berlin, M. A. Buria has published a work entitled "The Mathematical Painter, or the fundamental Principles of Perspective according to various Methods, with an Appendix on theatrical Perspective, and a Description of a new Perspective Instrument," which may properly be considered as a continuation of his valuable treatise on optics, noticed in our view of the Foreign Literature of the year 1794.—At Erfurt, M. E. F. F. Chladni has published a curious and ingenious essay, "On the longitudinal Vibrations of Strings and Rods," which will prove interesting to the natural philosopher, and add to the reputation which the author has already acquired by his treatise on the theory of sounds.—At Frankfort on the Main, professor C. Theoph. Schmidt, of Gießen, has published an instructive treatise "On the Use of the Micrometer in ascertaining Distances upon the Surface of the Earth, with practical Instructions for making Glass Micrometers, by a Machine purposely constructed for dividing them."—At Prague, professor F. Jos. Gerstner has published "The Theory of the Impulse of Water on Millwheels, with a View to practical Application and Experience," which is said to be a master-piece of practical mathematical investigation.—At Altdorf, M. D. C. C. Langsdorf has published "A Continuation of the Elements of Hydraulics, (noticed in our last Register) containing the Theory of Fly Wheels, and their Application to Machines," which is a valuable addition to the author's original work.—At Berlin, the physical society, in consequence of some improper conduct on the part of their bookseller, came some time since to a resolu-

tion to publish their Transactions themselves, and to begin a new series. The first volume of their "New Memoirs," which hath appeared in consequence of that resolution, consists of a variety of articles, many of them important and interesting, by authors of considerable reputation in the scientific world. Among other names, those of M. Bode, M. Karsten, Dr. Reus, Dr. Lampe, Dr. Chladni, professor Hacquet, and M. Herbst will recommend their contents to the attention of the reader.—At Prague hath been published the second volume of the "New Memoirs of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences," which, besides the history of the society from 1791 to 1795, biographical accounts of deceased members, and other papers of various merit, contains some important and valuable ones by count Sternberg, professor Schmidt, the chevalier Landriani, baron Pakassi, professor Jos. Mayer, professor Gerstner, mine-counsellor Haidinger, professor Sternadt, and Ab. Dobrowski.—At Halle, Dr. Fred. Alb. C. Gren has published "Elements of Chemistry, according to the latest Discoveries, intended as a Text Book for academical Lectures," vol. I. which, from the author's well known abilities, will be received as an acceptable present by students in that science. Instead of the atomic, Dr. Gren follows the dynamic system of Kant.—At Berlin, and at Posen, professor Martin Heinrich Klaproth has published "Contributions to mineral Knowledge," volume I. c memoirs and dissertations published by German collectors, and of

which the acknowledged intelligence, industry, and accuracy of the author cannot but stamp a high degree of value in the estimation of the scientific world. — At Leipzig, Dr. C. H. Pfaff has published "An Essay on the latest Discoveries in animal Electricity and Irritability," containing an able examination of what has been done or advanced by others on the subjects of his enquiry, illustrated by experiments of his own. — At Weimar, the same author, in conjunction with Dr. A. H. Scherer, and Dr. C. C. F. Jaeger, has published "Experiments on the Shining of Phosphorus in Azotic Gas, with Remarks on M. Götting's Essay towards correcting Antiphlogistic Chemistry," in which many facts are ascertained, and hints thrown out, which will be useful to scientific chemists, in determining the constitution of the permanently elastic fluids, and the chemical action of light and heat. — At Halle, professor J. C. Reil has published the first number of a work entitled "Archives of Physiology," containing an ingenious essay on the vital principle; in which he considers the phenomena of organized bodies to be the effects of their composition, and the phenomena peculiar to each living system to be the consequence of the matter of which it consists. — At Hanover, Dr. J. D. Brandis has also published "An Essay on the Vital Principle," in which he endeavours to establish the existence of a phlogistic process in the cellular substance, and urges many ingenious objections against the attempts made to improve physiology by means of the antiphlogistic chemistry. — At Königsberg, M. S. T. Scemmering has published a treatise "On the Organ of the

Soul," in which he contends that the fluid contained in the ventricles of the brain is the sensorium commune, or seat of the mind, and supposes that it may possess a chemical organization by which different perceptions may be discriminated. — At Leipzig, M. J. Mat. Beckstein, mine-counsellor to the count of Schaumburg-Lippe, has completed, in three volumes, his important and valuable "Natural History of German Birds, for the general Use of Readers of every Description, particularly for Sportsmen, Teachers of Youth, and Economists." — At the same place, M. G. F. Hoffmann has published the IVth fasciculus, of the second volume, of his splendid and accurate "Description and Delineation of the Plants of Linné's Class Cryptogamia, which are called Lichens," with six folio plates. — At Prague, Dr. J. Christ. Mikan has published "A Description of the Bombylii of Bohemia," illustrated with four copper plates; and at Hamburg, M. Fred. Weber, a very promising young entomologist, has published "An Entomological Nomenclator, drawn up according to the System of the celebrated Fabricius, with the Addition of such Species as have been lately discovered, and the Varieties." — We can only add in this department the names of the following articles: "Mycological Observations, or a Description of the newest and most remarkable Mushrooms, by C. H. Persson, Part I. with six Copper Plates," published at Leipzig; "Physiological Observations on Amphibious Animals; by Robert Townson," published at Göttingen; Dr. J. C. F. Schlegel's new edition, with alterations and additions, of "Lieutaud's Compilation of Dissections, first corrected

and enlarged by Dr. Portal," in 2 vols. published at Gotha; professor Gmelin's "Continuation of the late Dr. Murray's *Materia Medica*, Part II. containing the Mineral Kingdom," in 2 vols. published at Gottingen; "A Manual of Anatomy, by professor W. R. C. Wiedemann," published at Brunswick; "Surgico-medical Observations, chiefly collected in the Ducal Hospital at Jena, by Dr. Just. Christ. Loder," vol. I. published at Weimar; "A Review of the most noted and useful Surgical Instruments of ancient and modern Times, by Dr. Julius Arnemann," published at Gottingen; "The Origin of Neurology, an anatomico-historical Dissertation, by J. F. Harles," published at Erlangen; "Medical Observations on some very difficultly curable Diseases, by Dr. J. T. V. Selig," published at Leipzig; "Ideas on the Production of Diseases, and the Influence of the Vital Principle on their Origin and Form, by Dr. C. W. Hufeland," published at Jena; "Some unpublished Works of A. de Haen, to which are added Histories of Diseases given by Stollus at the Clinical College," edited by J. Eyrell, at Vienna; "Medical Literature for the Year 1794, by Paul Uster," published at Leipzig; "Criticisms on practical Medicine, with a View of its History, and the new Systems, by Dr. C. Kramp," published at the same place; "A Treatise on the Diseases and physical Education of Children, by Dr. Christ. Girtanner," published at Berlin; "An inaugural Dissertation on the Utility of inspiring fixed Air in Consumptions of the Lungs, by G. F. Muehry," published at Gotha; and "The Phenomena and Sympathies of Nature,

with the wonderful Secret of healing Wounds by mere Sympathy, without Contact, by means of Vitriol, according to Kenelm Digby," by father Celestine Stœr, a Benedictine monk of Banz, who, at the close of the eighteenth century, is a believer in the efficacy of sir Kenelm Digby's sympathetic powder, the action of which he undertakes to explain!!

Among the Historical productions of Germany, we meet with "A History of the New World, translated from the Spanish of Don Juan Baptista Munoz, with illustrative Remarks, by M. C. Sprengel," volume I. published at Weimar. This valuable work, in the original, was announced by us in our view of the Foreign Literature of the year 1793. In its German form, however, it appears with greater advantage, on account of the important additions which it has received from the learned and intelligent translator. — At Gießen, Mr. J. Ern. C. Schmidt has published the first volume of "Fragments of the History of the Middle Ages," which is a work of great labour and ingenuity, and abounding in entertainment and information. The first fragment contains the life and character of Boniface, the apostle of the Germans; the second, among other things, presents us with probable arguments to shew, that he was one of the principal instruments that placed Pepin on the throne; the third offers strong proofs that the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome was an intrigue of Leo III; and in the fourth the author undertakes to shew, how much more deserving Gregory VII. was of the epithet Great, than the emperor to whose history the preceding fragment is devoted. — At Vienna, M. J. Hager has pub-

published "A new Proof of the Relationship between the Hungarians and the Laplanders," which displays much historical and philological knowledge, and satisfactorily establishes the author's hypothesis by proving, that the Hungarian and Lapland tongues are dialects of the same original language. — Among the articles in German Literature under the head of History the reader will also find, an elegant Latin "Prospectus of a Work on the Affairs of the Netherlands, or a Commentary on the History and Historians of the Netherlands, in which are given a Catalogue of the Records to be published, the Argument of the Work, and the Heads of it; from the Library of Corn. Francis de Nelis, Bishop of Antwerp." From this prospectus we are led to conclude, that the work of which it is the harbinger, cannot fail of proving highly interesting. It is not mentioned where this work was printed. — At Berlin, M. J. E. Küster has published "a Picture of the present War between Germany and France, with a particular View to the Part taken in it by Prussia, to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace at Basle," containing documents which will be valuable to the future historians of these eventful times. One grand object of the author is, to set up a defence of the conduct pursued by Prussia. — At Hamburg, a publication has appeared, in 2 vols. generally attributed to M. Servan, formerly member of the parliament of Grenoble, entitled "On the real State of France at the End of 1795, and on the Political Situation of the European Powers at the same Period." This work contains much curious information relative to the internal state of France, and the dispositions and

proceedings of the allied powers, written with more impartiality than most of the productions of the French royalists. The author does not despair of the revival of monarchy in France. — At Chemnitz hath appeared "the Conduct of the French in the Palatinate of the Rhine, impartially delineated by an Eye Witness, in Letters to Privy Counsellor Girtanner," in which the author appears to represent circumstances and characters in their just and proper colours, and has collected a variety of interesting anecdotes, the authenticity of which is corroborated by strong collateral testimony. — At Augsburg, Baron L. Von Unterberger, major general and commander of the imperial artillery employed in the siege of Valenciennes, has published "a Diary of that Siege, dedicated to the Officers of the Imperial artillery," the principal object of which is to ascribe to himself and the Austrians all the merit of the conquest of that place, and to represent the efforts of the Hanoverian troops to have been useless, and those of the British artillery as having contributed to retard the progress of the siege. The German reviewers have convicted the author of gross partiality and injustice in his statement of facts. — At Jena and Leipzig, M. C. Gottlieb Steinbeck has published "A Chronological Table for the Past, Present, and Future, for the Use of Germany at large, and in particular for Lawyers, Historians, Diplomats, Keepers of Records, Advocates, and Merchants," which is represented to be an accurate and useful manual of Chronology from the year of Christ 300, and to contain distinct almanacks for every year to the 2000th of the common era, accompanied with tables, by means of which the French calendar

calendar is adapted to the rest.—At Lubec and Leipzig, M. C. Meiners, aulic counsellor, has published the first volume of “Reflections on the Fertility or Barrenness, ancient and present State of the principal Countries in Asia,” which exhibits the difference between ancient and modern Asia, at least of the western part, with much knowledge and judgment, and leads us to form considerable expectations from the prosecution of the author’s plan, in which he designs to present us with an enquiry into the origin, bodily form, way of thinking, &c. of the modern inhabitants at Asia.—At Gotha, M. A. Klebe has published a well-written and pleasing topographical work, entitled “Gotha and its Environs,” illustrated with plates, and accompanied with two prefaces, one by the author, the other by professor Galleti.—At Berlin, a sensible and acute anonymous author has published 2 volumes of letters “on Switzerland, and the Swiss,” which are chiefly confined to German Switzerland, and supply the reader with much interesting and instructive matter. The author’s reflections and remarks are intended to subserve the moral improvement of that country, and his own.—At the same place M. C. Aug. Fischer has published a work entitled “on Geneva, and the Lemman Lake,” in which he has presented his countrymen with some curious particulars respecting the modern state of Geneva, and the revolutions which of late years have taken place in the form of its government.—At Salzburg, M. L. Huebner has published, in 2 vols. “a Description of the Town of Salzburg, and surrounding District, with its ancient History,” which displays uncommon industry, and much taste. The first volume is

devoted to topography; the second to statistics.—At Vienna, Ant Von Gensau, knt. &c. has published a work in 4 vols. entitled “the History of the City of Vienna, in a certain degree connected with the History of the Country,” illustrated with numerous plates, and stated to be a valuable collection of facts, respecting the state of Vienna at different periods, and its history from its foundation to the year 1793, extracted from various authentic documents.—At Weimar, Dr. H. F. Conr. Henke has published “Records of modern Ecclesiastical History for 1794,” which work is conducted on an extensive plan, yet with a judicious selection of materials, and distinguished throughout by a spirit of freedom and moderation. Such a publication cannot but be useful to the age in which the author writes, and will be highly prized by subsequent historians of the period.—At Königsberg, Mr. J. Henry Voß has published 2 vols. of “Letters on Mythology,” abounding in learned researches, ingenious illustrations, and numerous curious topics of discussion, which will be found highly interesting to the reader.—At Berlin, the prince de Bethune has published a folio volume, containing “Genealogical Tables of the one thousand and twenty-four quarters of their Royal Highnesses the Princes of Prussia, Grandsons of his Majesty Frederic William II. King of Prussia.”—At Leipzig, J. F. Baron Racknitz, has published a representative “History of the Taste for Arabesques,” which is a specimen of a splendid work, intended to exemplify by engravings, and to illustrate with learned dissertations, the history of the taste of the most distinguished countries, in matters of furniture and ornamental architecture.

chitecture.—At Vienna, professor Eckhel has published the 5th and 6th vols. of his very learned and instructive “*Doctrina Nummorum veterum, &c.*” containing the Roman consular, family, and imperial coins, to the time of the emperor Hadrian.—At Prague, M. C. Ungar has published “*New Memoirs of the ancient History of Printing in Bohemia, with a complete View of every Thing pertaining to it, &c.*” At Chemnitz, Dr. Girtanner has published an “*Almanack of Revolution Characters for the Year 1796,*” containing much curious and important historical and biographical matter, collected with industry, and accompanied with reflections which are frequently valuable, but not always impartial as far as respects the characters of the principal agents in the French revolution.—At Nuremberg, Dr. Hacquet has completed, in 4 vols. his “*Physical and Political Travels through Dacia and Sarmatia, from 1789 to 1795,*” which, among a variety of scientific and economical remarks, contain many interesting facts and entertaining anecdotes illustrative of the manners of the inhabitants; and at Berlin, a Livonian has published “*a Journey from Riga to Warsaw, through Southern Prussia, &c. to Botze in Tyrol,*” in six parts, which will be found lively and amusing, and particularly interesting to the reader’s curiosity in what relates to the state of Poland, and the characters of the principal actors in the Polish revolution.

The remaining articles which we have to introduce into our list of the productions of Germany, belong to the head of Classical, Critical, and Polite Literature. In this number we find “*Homeri et Homericarum Opera et Reliquiæ;*

ex veterum Criticorum Notationibus, optimorumque Exemplarium Fide, recensuit Frid. Aug. Wolfius. Pars I. Ilias.” vols. I. and II. published at Halle. This is a very important and valuable work, by an editor possessed of that erudition, critical skill, and persevering industry, that peculiarly qualified him for undertaking such a task; and it will be gratefully received by the classical student. The volumes already published contain the Iliad, and very copious Prolegomena. In the latter the editor has given a critical history of the poems of Homer, from their first appearance to the present time; and an account of the various sources whence he has drawn his emendations of his original. His text is accurately printed, but without any version, notes, or scholia. The latter we are to expect after the Odyssey and other works attributed to Homer have made their appearance.—At the same place have appeared “*Hymni Homerici, cum reliquis Carminibus minoribus Homero tribui solitis, &c. Textum recensuit, &c. Carolus David Ilgen, Phil. & L.L. O.O. Prof. in Acad. Jenensi.*” This work is distinguished by proofs of learning and critical talents, which will secure it a favourable reception with classical scholars. The editor contends that the Hymn to the Delian Apollo may justly be ranked among the works of Homer; but that the other hymns and smaller pieces are not genuine.—At Züllichau, M. C. W. Halbkart has published “*Psychologia Homerica,*” &c. or, a Commentary on Homer’s Knowledge or Opinions respecting the Soul, which is spoken of as a work of no inconsiderable merit in point of learning, as well as ingenuity.—At Halle, another classical work has been published, which the editor’s

tor's celebrity renders it unnecessary for us farther to notice, than by the insertion in our catalogue of its title, which is "*Herodiani Historiarum Libri Octo, Græce; ex Recensione Frid. Aug. Wolfii. Textui subiecta est Argumentorum et Annorum Notatio, et præmissa Notitia literaria.*" — At the same place professor H. C. A. Eichstædt has published "*Quæstionum Philologicarum Specimen,*" &c. which is chiefly devoted to Theocritus, and is not unworthy the reputation which the author had before acquired by his critical labours. — At Brunswick, the "*Essays to promote the progressive Improvement of the German Language,*" noticed in our last volume, still continue to be published, with credit to their author, and advantage to the object in view. The materials already furnished have been collected in 3 vols. — At Berlin, D. Jenisch has published "*a Philosophical and Critical Estimate and Comparison of Fourteen Ancient and Modern European Languages,*" a prize essay, which displays an extensive acquaintance with the best writers of Europe, in almost every language, and no mean critical abilities. — At Berlin have appeared two volumes "*on the State of Letters, Arts, and Sciences, in France, since the Revolution, being Extracts and Remarks on those Subjects, by C. A. Böttinger,*" which abound in information and entertainment, that will richly repay the reader for the trouble of perusing them. It is the first attempt to collect, arrange, and discriminate the materials relative to the author's subjects, scattered throughout a variety of publications of different descriptions. — At Breslaw, M. Christ. Garve has published two volumes of "*Essays on various Subjects relative to Mo-*

als, Literature, and Social Life," which are entitled to a respectable rank in the line of critical and miscellaneous productions. One of his papers on the mad characters in Shakspear's plays, and that of Hamlet in particular, is highly spoken of by the German reviewers. — At Prague and Vienna have appeared three volumes entitled "*The Mirror of Mankind, or Practical Manual for those who would wish to form a Judgment of Men at once from their Features; composed by a Man who has had Opportunities of comparing Men's Actions with their Features for several Years,*" illustrated with numerous copper-plate heads, which the German reviews pronounce fully to answer its title, and to bear throughout marks of extensive observation, and philosophical judgment. — At Nuremberg, M. G. Theod. Strobel has published a new and enlarged edition of "*Select Letters of Martin Luther; intimately displaying his worthy Mind,*" with literary remarks by the editor, explaining many circumstances which would otherwise be unintelligible to the readers. — At Leipzig, M. J. Gottl. Buhle has published the third volume of "*The Literary Correspondence of J. D. Michaelis,*" which is the last of that valuable and interesting collection, and contains two indexes, one of remarkable passages and names, and the other of the writers of the letters. — To this department we are also to refer the following publications: four treatises in Latin, by M. Christ. Jef. Mueller, published at Zeitz and Leipzig, one containing "*An Account of a MS. of the Epistles of Peter de Vineis, in the Episcopal Library at Zeitz;*" and the others containing "*Observations on Gruter's Inscriptions, enriched with Notes, &c. by T. Reinseus;*" "*on Bernhart*

Bernhard Bertram, a learned Philologist of the Seventeenth Century;" and "on Suidas, enriched with the Remarks of T. Reinesius;" "A New Practical Italian Grammar," published at Frankfort; "Pedagogical and Philological Essays, by J. H. P. Seidenstruecker," published at Helmstadt; "Account of the present Regulations of the Ducal Academy at Gotha, by Fred. W. Docring," published at Gotha; "David Klaus, a Book of Moral Instructions for good People of all Conditions, by J. Werner Streit-horst," published at Halberstadt; "The Feast, by Schlosser," published at Konigsberg; "Historical Memoirs of teaching the Deaf and Dumb, and also Blind Persons, &c." published at Leipzig; "The Works of C. M. Wieland. complete," vols. XVI. to XX. both inclusive, published at the same place; "The Works of Cornelius Ayrenhoff, in 4 Vols." published at Vienna; "The Works of C. A. Tiedge, Vol. I." published at Gottingen; "The Poems of Dr. Valerius Wilhelm Neubeck, in 2 Vols." published at Liegnitz; "The Holy Sepulchres at Kom, and the Prayers, two satirical Poems, by J. D. Falk," published at Leipzig; "Schiller's Hours," in 2 vols. for 1795 and 1796, published at Tubingen; "The Art of Love, a Didactic Poem," published at Berlin; "Richard Lionhearted, a Poem, in 7 Books," published at the same place; "Sesostris, Pharaoh of Misraim, a Tale of other Times," published at Bremen; "James and his Master, from an unpublished MS. of Diderot, in 2 Vols." published at Berlin; "Clara Duplessis and Clairant, the History of a family of French Emigrants," translated into French from the German of the author of Rodolf of Werdenberg, in 3 vols.

published at Brunswick; "The History of an Orphan," translated into French from the German, and published at Berlin; "Charles Pilgrims's Romance of his own Life, written by himself, in 3 Vols." published at the same place; and "The Negro Slaves, a Dramatic Piece, in 3 Acts, by President van Kotzebue," published at Leipzig.

When we turn our attention to the literature of Switzerland, the first publication which calls for our notice, is "A Treatise on the Influence of the Passions upon Individual and National Happiness, by the Baroness Staël," daughter of the celebrated Necker, published at Lausanne. This volume, which contains only the first part of the authoress' plan, is divided into three parts. The first treats of the effects of each passion, properly so called, upon human happiness. The second analyses those affections which form a medium between the passions and the resources of the mind. The third part discusses the resources of happiness which we find within ourselves. On each of these subjects many sensible and valuable reflections and observations occur, which deserve to be recommended on account of their tendency to increase the quantum of public virtue, and to improve domestic morals. — At Basle, an anonymous author has published a treatise, in 2 vols. "on Equality, or the general Principles of Civil, Political, and Religious Institutions, preceded by an Eulogy of J. J. Rousseau, by way of Introduction." By equality, to which he is attached, the author understands the prevalence of the general will, and the sovereignty of the people; and he traces out the mischiefs which have arisen from the spurious doctrines propagated respecting it. When speaking

speaking of religious institutions, he is an advocate for an established religion; and he recommends to the people of France, in connexion with a federative democracy, an establishment of christianity, purified and reduced to what is useful. — At Zurich, Fred. C. Baron von Mosen has published 2 vols. entitled "Political Truths," which contain much interesting matter on the subject of government, and the character of governors, more particularly applicable to the circumstances of the petty German states. Some of his reflections discover a strange and incongruous mixture of zeal for freedom of thinking, and the progressive improvement of the human mind, and a pertinacious attachment to a dogmatic system of faith and church government. The author was dismissed from an employment which he held under the house of Wurtemberg, on account of the independence of his principles; and his writings calculated to render the servants of princes the servants of the public. — In Switzerland, but without the mention of any particular place, M. Mallet du Pan has published the first of a projected series of letters entitled "Political Correspondence, intended to serve as Materials towards a History of French Republicanism," in which he discovers his usual and unabated virulence of invective against the French revolution; and his well-known zeal in the cause of kings and religious establishments, not unmixed with severe censures on the blunders of the generals and ministers, who have professed to act in hostility to the new order of things. — In the same country M. Necker has published four volumes "on the French Revolution," which will naturally attract the attention

of the public, on account of the part which the author sustained in the French political drama at the commencement of that grand event. They consist of historical details, intermixed with a variety of reflections, intended to justify himself and his administration, and to criminate his adversaries; and of criticisms on the constitution of 1795, compared with those of England and America, the justice of which can alone be ascertained by time. It is not improbable that, before the publication of our next volume, we shall have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with this work in an English dress. — At Lausanne, M. F. J. Durand has published 4 vols. of a work entitled "the Elementary Statistics of Switzerland, for the Use of young people," which he should rather have denominated "Historical and Geographical Notices, intended to introduce young People to an Acquaintance with the Objects worthy of Attention in Switzerland." Considered under the latter character, it deserves to be recommended as a methodical, instructive, and amusing guide to the traveller through that romantic and interesting country. — At Zurich, M. J. J. Hottinger has published "the Life of Solomon Gessner," which is a well-written piece of biography, by an eminent literary character, who lived on terms of intimacy with Gessner, and will prove interesting to readers in every polished European country, on account of the widely extended celebrity of that charming poet. — At the same place an anonymous writer has published 2 vols. entitled "Notices of my Travels in England," which are lively and interesting, and contain remarks on the metropolis, the country, the constitution, and the character.

character, manners, and amusements of the inhabitants, instructive and entertaining to natives as well as foreigners. — At Neuchatel, M. Saussure has published vols. V — VIII. of his "Travels in the Alps," which abound in a rich variety of instructive, curious, and entertaining matter, and will be found essentially to contribute to the improvement of various branches of science, particularly of mineralogy. — At Zurich, M. C. M. Wieland has published vol. I. part 1. of a work entitled "the Attic Museum," which is to consist of translations of the principal Greek writers of the age of Pericles and Alexander, and original essays explanatory of the works translated, or illustrative of interesting matters of antiquity.

Among the very few articles in Italian literature of which we have seen any account, the first which we have to announce is "Johannis Lanigan, S. Th. D. et in Academia Ticinensi Professoris, Institutionum Biblicarum Pars prima," Vol. I. published at Pavia. This work is intended to encourage and promote the study of the scriptures, which the author complains is too much neglected in the Italian universities. The volume before us contains only a part of his plan, which is to comprehend the history of the sacred books, biblical antiquities, and hermeneutics, or the method of interpreting scripture. In drawing it up the author availed himself of the aid afforded by the best modern critics, protestant as well as catholic; and it affords ample evidence of his learning, industry, and ingenuity. Exclusive of the author's peculiar opinions as a catholic, he has endeavoured to establish several positions to which

the most rational and enlightened of modern theologues will not subscribe. He has, nevertheless, displayed uncommon liberality for an Italian professor of divinity, and advanced principles and remarks which must render his orthodoxy suspected at Rome. — At Pavia, likewise, a work has been published, in 2 vols. entitled "Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica," &c. containing a variety of treatises on different subjects, theological, historical, and miscellaneous. The historical are stated to be the most valuable. — At Venice, Vincenzo Dandolo has published a treatise entitled, "Elements of Chémico-physical Science," which partakes at the same time of the nature of an elementary work, and of a dictionary, and is well calculated to introduce the un-initiated to an acquaintance with the principles of chemistry. The author is an antiphlogistian. — At Naples, Dr. F. M. Scuderi has published a work, in Latin, in 2 vols. "on the Origin, Causes, and easily practicable Extirpation of the Small Pox, and Contagious Disorders," which is the result of long experience and minute attention, and has procured the ingenious and benevolent author the high medical honours of first physician in Sicily and the neighbouring isles, and first professor of medicine in the university of Catania. — At Florence, Dr. Vincenzo Chiarugi has published a work, in 2 vols. "on Insanity, general and particular, with a Century of Cases," which, as far as it is speculative, coincides with the opinions of Dr. Cullen. But the most important part of the work consists of the numerous cases which fell under the doctor's eye, in the asylum belonging to the new hospital

pital of St. Boniface, at Florence, of which he has given an interesting, and apparently faithful relation. — At Parma, Professor J. Bern. de Rossi has published, in the Latin language, “Annals of Hebrew Printing, in the 15th Century, with copious remarks,” which form a very splendid work, reflecting great honour on the industrious researches of the learned author. It is a proper companion to his Historico-critical Enquiry into the Origin of Hebrew Printing, which was published before the commencement of our annual labours. — At Rome, M. E. Q. Visconti has published “a Representation of an ancient Earthen Vase, found in Magna Grecia, and belonging to his Highness Prince Poniatowski, with an Explanation.” From the decorations of this beautiful vase it appears, that arabesques with animals issuing out of foliage are more than two thousand years old, and were used by the Greeks before the time of Alexander; they, consequently, could not have been borrowed from Alexandria in Egypt. From the figure of Jupiter on this vase, which has a bracelet with a gem on the arm, M. Visconti observes, that seals were worn in this manner before rings for the fingers were invented, and not about the neck, as Caylus and others have supposed. — At the same place, Dr. Stephen Borson has published a “Letter to M. Allioni, M. D. Professor of Botany in the Royal University of Turin, &c. concerning the Fine Arts, and particularly the Cabinet of Antiquities and Natural History, of his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Borgia, at Velletri.” This work affords abundant proof of the taste and judgment of the author. But

it is particularly valuable on account of the detail which it exhibits of cardinal Borgia’s rich and magnificent collection, under the heads of Egyptian Antiquities; Volscian Monuments; Etruscan Monuments; Grecian Monuments; Roman Monuments; Indian Monuments; Arabian Monuments; the Monuments of the Northern Nations; Mexican Monuments; Christian Monuments: each of which is subdivided into a great variety of curious and interesting particulars. — At Boviano, Count Antonio Maria Borromeo has published “Notices of the Italian Novelists,” in which the relative merit of many popular Italian novels is appreciated, and the best editions pointed out; and an account is also given of eight, hitherto unedited works of this description.

Our list of the literary productions of France commences with “the Origin of all Modes of Worship, or Universal Religion, by Dupuis, a French Citizen,” in 3 vols. 4to. In this voluminous work the author displays much erudition, diligence of research, ingenuity, and, we must add, many fanciful hypotheses, and conclusions. His grand design is to shew, that mankind originally attached the idea of divinity to the universe, and its constituent parts; and to trace the facts and doctrines of christianity, as well as the fictions of pagan mythology to one common source, the history of the phenomena of nature allegorised. He even goes so far as to identify the founder of our religion with the sun, and to deny his appearance upon earth in a human character. Such rêveries will excite the smile of the reader who is conversant in the writings which support the truth

truth of revelation. — The author of "Polytheism analysed and brought back to its Types, or Sabeical Prolegomena, intended to serve as an Introduction to the Mythology of the Greeks," undertakes to trace the origin of the worship of the pagan divinities. The principles of such worship he divides into two parts; the one philosophical, the other purely imaginary and fabulous. The former he endeavours to trace to the dogmas of a physico-religious system; the latter to the ignorance and fanaticism of priests, and the imaginations of poets. — M. J. F. C. Blanvillain's "Morality of an Adorer, or the Art of being happy in Society," contains a neat and pleasing explanation of the principles of morality. The author's object is to shew, that he is most happy, who occasions the happiness of the greatest number of his fellow creatures. — The author of "a New Problem to be resolved," &c. contends, with ability, against the establishment of any religion in a state, on the principle of the abuses to which such institutions give rise. — M. Villeterque's "Philosophical Vigils," in 2 vols. discuss various topics, partly in morals, and partly in natural philosophy. They are often lively and entertaining, but cannot be characterised as solid and methodical productions. One principal design of the author appears to be the defence of theism, against the objections of the advocates for epicurism. — "The Revolutionary Manual, or Moral Sentiments on the Politics of Nations in a State of Revolution," contains some useful truths, illustrative of the causes, effects, and spirit of revolutions, adapted to the ideas of republicans.

1796.

— The work entitled "a Political Problem," &c. was chiefly composed for the use of the Batavian nation. In discussing the question, what is the proper form of government for a people who have regained their liberty, and are jealous to preserve it? the author brings forward many powerful arguments to shew the propriety of their adopting an unity of government, rather than the federative system. — M. J. P. Garran's "Political Researches into the Ancient and Modern State of Poland, applied to the last Revolution in that Country," afford evidence of comprehensive enquiry, and liberality of sentiment, that reflect great honour on the author. They expose, with becoming freedom, the causes which have prevented the progress of civilization, and the establishment of popular liberty in Poland; and point out the measures by which, even yet, that unhappy country may be rescued from its abject state of slavery, and restored to political independence and importance among the European nations. — The "Letters on the Agriculture of the District of Rochelle, and the Neighbourhood, by Citizen Chafiron, Cultivator," contain remarks and observations, the result of long experience on artificial meadows, and the rearing of sheep, from which farmers in other districts may derive useful hints. — M. Baudin's treatise recommending "the Oil of Beech-mast," and the "Instructions for the Collection of Beech-mast, and the Extraction of its Oil, published by the Committee of Agriculture and Arts," are useful publications in rural economy. From the former it appears that beech oil, when properly made,

T

is

is equal in purity to oil of almonds, and capable of being kept six or eight years without becoming rancid: the title of the latter explains its design.—The committee of agriculture have likewise printed “Instructions for treating the Rot in Sheep,” drawn up by Citizen F. H. Gilbert; and an anonymous author has published “a Treatise on the Breed of English Horses,” with a view of engaging the French to attend to that branch of rural economy.

Under the head of Mathematics and Philosophy we find “a Treatise on Differential and Integral Calculation, by J. A. J. Cousin, of the National Institute of Sciences and Arts at Paris.” This work is the production of an author distinguished by the reputation with which for many years he filled the chair of professor of geometry in the college of France, and is highly spoken of for its utility in the science of mechanics. — The “Portable Tables of Logarithms from 1 to 108,000, &c. by François Callet,” are a new edition, by the younger Didot, of a very useful work, remarkable for its accuracy, the elegance of its typography, and for the circumstance of its being printed stereotypically, from types soldered into a solid mass: an ingenious method, and of great advantage in the printing of numerical tables, and works of permanent demand. They are adapted to the new centesimal division.—General Montalembert, in his “Friend to the Science of Defence,” &c. contests several of the positions laid down by general D’Arçon, in his observations on fortification, and his political considerations, published in the Polytechnic Journal

of the central school of public works. Professional men must decide who is in the right. — “The Architectural Works of Peyre,” in large folio, illustrated with twenty plates, have been published by his son, who is a member of the class of architecture in the national institute, and who has prefaced them by an introductory essay, containing a scientific comparison of the temples of the ancients with the churches of the moderns, and several elegant designs for public buildings, in the style of the ancients. — The “Year Book of the Lyceum of Arts, for the third Year of the French Republic, with the Names and Addresses of the Members of the Directory, as well as of the Artists who have obtained Prizes,” &c. affords striking evidence of what zeal and perseverance can effect under the most unfavourable circumstances, and will give pleasure to every one who has the success of the arts and sciences at heart. — “The Astronomical and Nautical Almanack for the fifth Year of the French Republic (from Sept. 28, 1796, to Sept. 21, 1797), published by Order of the Board of Longitude,” contains several valuable astronomical papers, and, in particular, a catalogue of a thousand circumpolar stars; a new theory of Mercury; and a journal of astronomy from 1782, when Bailly’s history ends, to 1789, by De Lalande. — The “Explanation of the System of the World, by Peter Simon de la Place, of the National Institute of France, and the Board of Longitude,” in 2 vols. cannot fail of proving acceptable to the votaries of science, from the high rank which the author sustains among modern geometers and astro-

astronomers. It treats of the apparent movements of the celestial bodies, of their real movements, of the laws that regulate their motions, of the theory of universal gravity; and presents the reader with a succinct history of astronomy, from the earliest ages to the present times. — The “Refutation of the Pneumatic Theory, or the new System of modern Chemistry, by Lamarc,” is an enlarged edition of that author’s enquiries into the causes of the principal facts in physics. — From M. Le Vaillant the public has received two numbers of his promised “Natural History of African Birds,” which are beautiful and splendid, and will prove highly interesting to ornithologists. — The work entitled “Operative Medicine, or an Elementary Treatise on the Operations of Surgery, illustrated with Plates, by Peter Lassus, Professor in the School of Health at Paris,” in 2 vols. and the “Treatise on Surgical Complaints, and the Operations which are necessary for their Removal, by Messrs. Chopart and Default, Professors in the Practical School of Surgery,” &c. in 2 vols. are both of them works of sterling merit, and will be found of considerable use to young practitioners.

The Historical department of French literature offers to us a well executed translation, by René Binet, of professor Meiner’s sensible and judicious “History of the Declension of Manners among the Romans,” which treats of the period of Roman history comprehended between the defeat of Perseus king of Macedon, and the introduction of the imperial office. — The “Revolutions of India during the Eighteenth Century, or

Memoirs of Tippoo Saib, Sultan of Mysore, written by himself,” in 2 vols. have been translated from the Hindostannee, by Ant. Fantin-Desodoards, and are reported to be instructive, curious and interesting — M. De Lalande in his “Essay on the Interior Parts of Africa,” maintains, in opposition to D’Anville, that the Niger and the Senegal are the same river, and treats of the practicability of traversing the interior parts of that vast peninsula, from West to East. Had not the records of the African and East-India Companies been unhappily destroyed, they would have supplied the author with numerous particulars from which he would have been enabled to extract much valuable information on the subject of this essay. — The “Philosophical History of the French Revolution, from the convoking of the Notables by Louis XVI. to the Separation of the Convention, by Ant. Fantin-Desodoards,” in 2 vols. is an interesting and valuable work, written after the manner of Sallust, and with as much impartiality as can be expected from a zealous republican, but who is neither Girondist nor Jacobin. It abounds in digressions, sometimes consisting of historical parallels, at others of general views of things, or discussions of questions in politics; but all connected with the author’s main design. — “The History of the Conspiracy of Louis-Philip-Joseph D’Orleans, first Prince of the Blood, &c. by the Author of the History of the Conspiracy of Maximilian Robespierre,” (noticed among our articles in Domestic Literature) in 3 vols. in point of composition, is written in an able and impressive manner, but is

grossly defective in the essentials of accuracy and impartiality. Many parts of it, from their total incongruity with other representations supported by authentic documents, are entitled to no higher character than that of romance, and materially affect the credit of the whole work. — Of David's "History of the Campaigns of General Pichegru," and the "Memoirs for the History of the War of La Vendée, by Louis Marie Turreau," we have already given an account in our View of the Domestic Literature of the present year. — The "Account of the Engagements and Events that occurred in the Naval War of 1778, between France and England; to which is added a Sketch of the present War, of the Causes of the Ruin of the Navy, and the Means of restoring it, by Rear-admiral Kerguelen," contains a simple and unadorned journal of the French navy during the American war; severe strictures on the present minister of the marine department; and the advice of one of the best seamen in France for preserving the French navy from irretrievable ruin, which, as the ministers have not thought proper to adopt it, he has deemed highly necessary to be laid before the public. — The "Reflections on the Colony of St. Domingo, or an Enquiry into the Causes of its Ruin, the Measures adopted to re-establish it, with a Sketch of the Plan of Organization proper to restore its ancient Splendor, addressed to the Friends of Commerce and National Prosperity," in 2 vols. abound in historical information, and important political and economical remarks, which will be found interesting to readers in general, and merit the attention of the French govern-

ment on their obtaining entire possession of that island. — "The Historic and Republican Gallery of the celebrated Men of all Ages and Nations," is the commencement of a series of volumes intended to form a philosophical history of the most celebrated men of former and modern times, sages, learned men, hardy republicans, and artisans; and of the different empires and governments, including the principal epochs of the French revolution. The editor designs to complete it in 12 vols. 12mo. illustrated with plates. — M. Dubois' "Historical Account of Christ. William Lamignon Malesherbes," is a good biographical sketch of a celebrated character, whom the editor compares with the famous English chancellor More. — The "Travels of two Frenchmen in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland, performed in 1790-1-2," in 5 vols. are distinguished by novelty and acuteness of remark, boldness and impartiality of sentiment, and contain a valuable fund of information for the artist, the virtuoso, the merchant, and the traveller. — Citizen Damin's "Trip to Chantilly, in Prose and Verse," will prove an agreeable companion to the traveller who may visit that beautiful scene.

The last articles which we have to notice in French literature are Classical, Critical, or Miscellaneous. In this number is the first volume of "the Works of Xenophon, translated into French, from the printed Editions, and four MSS. in the National Library, by Citizen Gail, professor of Greek Literature at the French College, Cambray Place. This translation is free and carefully executed, and accompanied with the original, together with

with notes and various readings, which shew the editor to be possessed of learning, good taste, knowledge of languages, and zeal for the improvement of letters. — “The Pronunciation of the French Language determined by invariable Signs,” is an anonymous work, which is said to possess considerable merit. — “The Works of Montesquieu,” in 5 vols. from the press of Didot, is the most complete edition which hath hitherto appeared of the productions of that celebrated writer, and is rendered valuable by the notes of Helvetius to the first eight books of the Spirit of Laws, and an eulogy of the author by D’Alembert. — The volume of “Maxims, Thoughts, Characters, and Anecdotes, by Nicolas Chamfort, one of the Forty Members of the French Academy, preceded by an Account of his Life,” by his friend Gingué, like most of the reliquiæ of celebrated characters, contains a mixture of what is excellent, tolerable, and indifferent. The reader will, however, from the whole, derive much entertainment, particularly from the memoirs of the author. — “Mirabeau’s Letters to Chamfort, printed from the Originals by Mirabeau’s own Hand,” were written during the author’s journey to England, and contain some bold sketches of this country, and numerous passages that give a considerable insight into the character of the writer. — “The French Spectator during the Revolutionary Government, by Citizen De la Croix, formerly Professor of Public Law in the Lyceum,” consists of miscellaneous essays, supposed letters, and anecdotes, some serious, and some lively, which display much

ingenuity, good taste, and just reflection, and uniformly breathe a spirit calculated to heal the wounds occasioned by civil discord, and to soften party prejudices.

The following publications will both gratify curiosity, and prove acceptable to the lover of the fine arts: the “Collection of New Dresses of the Constituted Authorities, both Civil and Military,” and “the Dresses of the Representatives of the French People, Members of the two Councils, Executive Directory, Ministers, Courts of Justice, Messengers of State, and other public Officers,” both illustrated with numerous elegant plates. The editor of the latter states in his preface, that “celebrated artists have executed the new constitutional dresses, designed by taste and genius, formed after the antique, and which are at once worthy of republican stateliness, and the riches of an opulent nation.” — The “Fables of Mancini Nivernois, published by the Author,” in two volumes, are written in pleasing versification, and are distinguished by justness of sentiment, and delicacy of feeling.

We close our catalogue of the productions of France and of Foreign Literature, with the titles of the following publications: “The Luciniad, or the Art of Midwifery, a Didactic Poem, by M. Sacombe; “The Jacobiniad, or the Madness and Agonies of the Jacobins, a Heroi-comic Poem, in four Cantos;” “the Adventures of Anselm, or Miscellany of Philosophy and Literature,” in four volumes; “Amusing Evenings’ Entertainments, a Collection of Novels,



F I N I S.

